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AMERICAN SUPREMACY

VOL. I

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TO the Great American Voter, the man behind the ballot, the man who makes governments and unmakes them, the man before whose dread opinion the mighty of the earth stand in awe, the man in whose hands is confided the destiny of the Western Hemisphere, the man of multifarious and perplexing mien, but whose heart is true as steel and pure as gold, I inscribe this work, in the profound conviction that while we may neglect our opportunities and evade our responsibilities, we cannot escape the inevitable consequences of so doing.

GEORGE W. CRICHFIELD

17243

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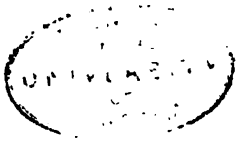
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AMERICAN SUPREMACY

BOOK I

LATIN AMERICA, HISTORICAL AND ACTUAL

PART I. — HISTORICAL



AMERICAN SUPREMACY

INTRODUCTION

OUR people believe in justice, and in the liberty which carries the torch of civilization over the earth. They have always earnestly desired to see stable republics established in South America. They do not believe in monarchies. They believe in "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Our people enthusiastically upheld President Monroe when he declared that European monarchies should not extend their territory on American soil, and each succeeding administration, without exception, has striven to aid in the establishment, maintenance, and development of decent republican governments in these countries.

When our State Department has seen revolutions, anarchy, and crime rampant in South America, foreigners being looted, robbed, and murdered (Americans suffering worse than any other class), infamy, perfidy, intrigue, and scoundrelism covering Spanish America as with a pall, — it has not shut its eyes to the facts. On the contrary, no father ever watched over his wayward offspring with more care, sorrow, and anxiety than has the beneficent government of the United States observed these countries, studying by what means it could bring order out of chaos, decency out of crime.

For three quarters of a century this has been our policy, followed with patience and a spirit of philanthropy to which history affords no parallel. As one bandit government after another has appeared on the horizon of South America, our government has counselled it to exercise moderation, to walk in the paths of civilization, to respect the lives and property of foreigners; and we have stood between these so-called "governments" and the civilized powers of Europe.

In spite of all that our country has done for them, the incontestable fact remains that Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Santo Domingo, Hayti, and practically all of Central America are in a worse condition to-day, politically, socially, commercially, and deeper in barbarism, than they were three quarters of a century ago. Dilettante philosophers, reactionists who are against every policy which has made the United States the peerless giant which it is, will go on shouting in behalf of our "poor oppressed Sister Republics." On such people the facts stated in the following pages will have no effect. But Americans, — the hardy, brainy, practical race which has founded the Great Republic, before the tremendous power of whose

solemn and deliberate judgment governments must stand or fall, — that innumerable army of men who have made and who constitute "God's country," — men who hate brigand governments (all the more if they assume the name of Republics), who love justice and truth, and hate wickedness whatever may be its form, — should know these Spanish-Indian-Negro countries as they actually are. If they could see Americans and American enterprises wiped off the face of the earth by the aggregations calling themselves Republics, it would not be long before the machinery of the government of the United States would be diverted towards bringing about a most thorough renovation in their conditions.

To many people it may seem impossible that in this day and age, and on the Western hemisphere, there could exist such conditions of semi-barbarism in Colombia, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and Central America as are here disclosed. To know a country thoroughly one must have lived in it and done business in it. Distinguished writers have written admirable descriptive works of South America, — of landscapes, of cities and rivers and lakes, of mountains and llanos, with a coloring of individual incident and interesting anecdote; they are admirable productions of scholarly men. One may describe a landscape from the window of a Pullman car, but one cannot in such a manner apprehend the social and political problems of the peoples through whose country the railroad passes. However brilliant a traveller may be, however acute his power of observation, it is not possible that he can probe into the depths and analyze the character and capabilities of a people, except by long and varied intercourse with them. Equipped with letters of introduction from the Secretary of State to the various American ministers or consular representatives, and by them introduced to the governments of the countries which he visits, he always encounters an atmosphere of official politeness. It is hard for him to realize that the suave Dictator or Military Jefe who says so blandly, "*Yo me pongo a sus ordenes, Caballero*," — "I place myself at your orders, sir," — is perhaps a man whose past would have sent him to Sing Sing or would have hanged or electrocuted him had he lived in another country.

Nor will the traveller derive from the American minister reliable information. This officer is bound by diplomatic precedent, and possibly by positive instructions, to be guarded in his speech; and the adulation which he shares in common with others in power will often blind his eyes to the real nature and character of the country to which he is accredited.

But a business man who builds wharves or railroads, who imports goods and employs labor, who comes in contact with every department of the government and every class of the people, who must of necessity study the laws, political institutions, and social peculiarities

of the people, and who has spent years in the most varied business and social relations with them, must obtain a more definite and accurate notion of the true state of affairs, particularly if he be at the same time thoroughly familiar with the laws, institutions, and people of his own country and all portions of it. There are many such American business men to be found in Mexico and in all parts of South America. Their experience and opinions would be of untold value to the government and people of the United States could they be ascertained. Most of them are, however, busy men, engrossed with their own affairs. Many of them are not accustomed to write for the press, and could not unaided put their thoughts into acceptable form. A larger proportion would hesitate boldly and frankly to tell the truth, realizing that to incur the enmity of the Dictator would jeopardize their financial interests.

What of the great American newspaper? it may be asked; why does it not print the facts? It is difficult to answer this question. Our American dailies have no correspondents to speak of in South America. Even in Mexico their facilities for getting news — in other words, their news organizations — are pitiably inadequate. Venezuela and Colombia are at our very doors, yet a revolution in them, jeopardizing all foreign interests, involving complete anarchy over half a million square miles of territory and the loss of ten or twenty thousand lives, may receive as much notice as can be crowded into a typesetter's stick.

Occasionally a really able and keen newspaper correspondent is sent to these countries, and his reports in all their horrible truthfulness awaken our people to some conception of the facts. If there were more of the light which emanates from such pens, there would be fewer crimes chargeable to the machete in South America.

It is a difficult task to combat error and prejudice, particularly when deep-seated; and the erroneous views entertained by the people of the United States with reference to Latin America are so numerous and so imbedded in their thought that an overwhelming array of facts is necessary successfully to attack and overcome them.

Our newspapers speak of a presidential election in Honduras or Paraguay, and the American minister or consul reports from these countries that some distinguished general has been elected President. With us the word "election" implies ballot boxes, voting, the counting of votes, judges and clerks of election, antecedent discussion, and, in general, a free vote and a fair count. When the word is used with reference to Latin America, our people naturally and instinctively assume that it connotes all these several functions and things. As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind is to be found in Latin America.

But a general disclaimer of this character is not sufficient to erase from the minds of the American people the impression that there are elections in Latin America. In order to settle this question and place

it beyond the bounds of discussion, a typical "election" in each of these countries should be described, — a description not in the words of the writer, but taken from the official reports made to the United States government by its representatives. When the reader has carefully examined these reports of elections in our "Sister Republics," he will see how absurd it is to talk of an elective or parliamentary system in South America.

There is also a widespread belief among American citizens that the assaults made upon foreign interests in Latin American countries are comparatively unimportant, and that the foreigners usually have themselves to blame for them. To destroy this erroneous idea requires the citation of vast numbers of illustrative cases, though not even an attempt can be made to mention hundreds of sensational and horrible cases which deserve condemnation.

There is also a prevalent belief among writers that revolutions in South America are tame affairs and of small consequence. A direct statement to the contrary would carry little weight. Here, again, evidence of a conclusive character is produced sufficient to forestall denial.

In order to understand a people thoroughly it is necessary to know their antecedents. Mankind is not developed into a civilized mass in a day. The key to the future is the record of the past. It has been deemed necessary, therefore, to give an outline of the history of the several countries within the past century sufficient to indicate their character and the performances we may expect from them. Only in the light of this record can the description of present-day social and political conditions be correctly apprehended.

The plan of this work is simple. It is not a history, though strict accuracy in statement of historic fact is sought. As the author prefers to rest statements of fact upon the testimony of others, extensive quotations from reliable authorities will be found in all parts of the work. This policy has been carried to some length in certain respects, as the descriptions of many of the Presidents, Dictators, and Jefe Supremos known personally to the writer are quoted from others. But while the facts thus produced are the property of the world, the argument and conclusions drawn are the writer's.

What are the actual conditions of the several Latin-American countries to-day? What is the status of foreigners, of foreign interests, and of the civilized natives who live in them? What influence has the Monroe doctrine, the national policy of the United States, in the premises? What are the prospects for the future, and what ought to be our own national policy? These are the questions to the consideration of which this work is devoted. These questions must be discussed fearlessly and without passion, honestly and without prejudice, with a desire to get at the truth. The writer has no prejudice against any man or race or creed or color, nor would he willingly offend

them, but he subscribes in its entirety to the doctrine of Bancroft when he says, "If I read life's lesson aright, truth only is immortal and omnipotent; therefore from all those I wrongfully offend I crave beforehand pardon; from those I rightfully offend I ask no mercy — their censure is dearer to me than their praise."

CHAPTER I

REVOLUTION OF INDEPENDENCE IN VENEZUELA

IN 1806 Francisco Miranda organized an expedition in New York, with the avowed intention of invading Venezuela for overthrowing the power of Spain. He was defeated in a sea-fight, losing 60 prisoners, 10 of whom were Americans, who were taken by their Spanish captors to Puerto Cabello, and shot. Miranda escaped to Jamaica and organized another expedition, and three or four months later captured Coro, but was forced to retire.

In 1807 there were many local uprisings against the Spanish Captain General, and the seeds of independence were widely sown by republican agitators.

In 1808 French commissioners arrived in Caracas, bringing news of Ferdinand's expulsion. They desired to unite Venezuela to France, but received no encouragement.

In 1809 Caracas decided to recognize the authority of the Seville Junta, pending the return of Ferdinand to Spain, but there were widespread disorders and dissensions.

In April, 1810, the Spanish Captain General informed the people of Venezuela that the French armies had overrun Spain. Revolutions broke out in all parts of Venezuela, a junta was formed at Caracas, and the Captain General was exiled. Coro and Maracaibo refused to follow the Caracas Junta, and under José Ceballos sent troops into the provinces in revolt. Caracas sent troops to Coro, which were defeated by Ceballos.

In 1811 a "Congress" met in March at Caracas, and on July 5 adopted a declaration of independence, on behalf of Cumaná, Barcelona, Caracas, Barinas, Trujillo, Merida, and Margarita. A caricature of a government was organized, unlimited quantities of worthless paper money were issued, and a riot of disorder and corruption was ushered in, which has continued to this day.

In February, 1812, Monteverde, the Spanish General, started out from Coro on a campaign through Trujillo towards Caracas, defeating the revolutionary army at almost every step and practising horrible atrocities.

On March 26 an earthquake almost destroyed Caracas, Barquisimeto, Merida, and other towns. Twelve thousand lives were lost in

Caracas. The ignorant, superstitious revolutionists took this as a punishment for rebelling, — a view which the priests were careful to foster. Miranda, who had been made Dictator, was an impractical visionary; Bolívar, his lieutenant, had been defeated at Puerto Cabello; there was much jealousy and fear of treachery among the "patriots," and, their peons having no desire to fight, Miranda, with the consent of "Congress," signed a capitulation, and Monteverde took possession of Caracas on July 30.

Bolívar and his fellow patriots treacherously made Miranda prisoner while he slept. He remained in prison until his death, on July 14, 1816, in Cadiz.

Monteverde imprisoned more than 1500 of the revolutionists in the month of August, confiscating their property and putting many of them to death. In September he was made Captain General of the Audencia of Venezuela, and was duly installed on October 3 at Valencia.

On October 9 Monteverde sent several of the principal patriot prisoners to Spain, thereby causing great consternation throughout Venezuela. He also sent troops to pacify the provinces of Barcelona, Cumaná, and Margarita. Hundreds of non-combatants were taken prisoners because of suspected sympathy with the revolutionists.

On December 3 there was published in Caracas the Spanish "Constitution," but every precept of it was disregarded. Monteverde, on December 11, decreed the arrest of 1200 persons suspected of disloyalty to Spanish rule, and placed them in the dungeons of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. Venezuela was one vast charnel-house of death and mourning.

The Revolution breaks out Afresh against the Spanish Misrule in Venezuela

In 1813 Don Santiago Mariño and other Venezuelan refugees in Trinidad raised 45 men and 6 cannon, and with these left Port of Spain for Chacachacare. On January 13 he arrived at Guiria, whose guard fled. Mariño recruited here, gathering about 200 men well armed. Bernardo Bermudez, in co-operation with Mariño, with 75 men, seized the town of Maturín.

Monteverde sent 300 men, under Zuazola and Boves, to aid Governor Antoñanzas of Cumaná. These troops defeated the revolutionists, March 16, at Magueyes, and later in Aragua, committing the most horrible atrocities on the inhabitants. The soldiers were given one dollar for each ear of an insurgent they brought to the chief, and about 500 inhabitants were mutilated in this manner at Aragua. At Cumaná boxes of these ears cut from the bodies of persons assassinated were received.

In April the Spaniards were severely defeated in Maturín by 500

patriots. Monteverde had to sustain a division of 2600 men in Barinas, under Antonio Tizcar, to repel an invasion from the province of Casanare. He sent 700 men against Maturín, sailing from La Guayra on April 27, arriving at Barcelona on May 3. They were under command of Fernandez de la Hoz and Zuazola. Here they were reinforced by the Spanish governors of Barcelona and Cumaná, until there were 2000 men, and Monteverde now led in person. They marched immediately to Maturín, and demanded its surrender on May 25. The patriots answered that they wanted "liberty or death." The battle opened with great fury. In a short time the royalists were completely defeated, leaving 479 dead on the field, among them 27 officials.

The island of Margarita now arose in rebellion, under Arismendi, and placed the Spanish Governor, Martínez, in prison on June 13.

On the western frontier of Venezuela Bolívar was preparing for an invasion. On February 28, after a four hours' battle, he overthrew a Spanish troop of 800 men at San José de Cucuta. He captured much artillery, and a great amount of merchandise belonging to business men in Maracaibo. He now united with the forces of Colonel Castillo, making in all 1000 men and 1200 rifles in the republican forces; but Castillo and Bolívar engaged in a bitter controversy, — the latter wishing to invade Venezuela, and the former declaring that his troops would not aid Bolívar in such a purpose.

In April Merida had risen in rebellion against the Spanish yoke, and Bolívar heard of this in Cucuta on the 30th of that month. He sent Dr. Cristoval de Mendoza to organize a provisional government there.

At about the same time Colonel Antonio Nicolas Briceño arrived at Cucuta from Cartagena, Colombia, with some soldiers, and was given command of the artillery. He proposed to Bolívar assassination of prisoners and "war to the death." He left San Cristobal to attack the royalists, but was surprised, on May 16, by about 500 Spaniards, when his force was practically destroyed.

Bolívar now set out for Merida, Venezuela, arriving there on May 30. He raised about 1000 men, cavalry and infantry, and at once gave orders to D'Elhuyar to proceed to Escuque to capture the Spanish colonel, Correa, who at once fled to Maracaibo. Girardot, one of Bolívar's lieutenants, occupied the city of Trujillo and the province of that name on June 10. This officer attacked the Spaniards, composed of 450 infantry under Manuel de Cañas, near Agua de Obispos, on June 19, and defeated them, taking 73 prisoners, 1 cannon, and 80 rifles.

On June 10 Bolívar left Merida for Trujillo, arriving there on the 14th. Before leaving, he issued his decree of war to the death, dated Merida, June 8, saying, "Our hatred will be implacable, and the war will be to the death."

On June 15, in Trujillo, he issued another proclamation: "Every Spaniard who does not conspire against tyranny in favor of the just cause, by methods the most active and efficacious, will be accounted as an enemy, and punished as a traitor to the country, and consequently will be without mercy shot as a criminal. Spaniards and Canarios, count upon death, even though you are indifferent, unless you work actively in aid of the liberty of America. Americans, count on life, even though you are criminals!"

In virtue of these proclamations all the prisoners captured by Girardot at Agua de Obispos were killed; while the Spaniards assassinated Antonio Nicolas Briceño, 8 companions, and 15 other prisoners, captured by them at Barinas, — the same Briceño who originally proposed the program of "war to the death" to Bolívar.

On July 2 Rivas and Urdaneta, under orders of Bolívar, with 450 men, attacked the Spanish Captain José Marti, with 800 men, in Niquitao. After five hours' fighting the Spaniards were overthrown, and 450 prisoners left in the hands of the patriots. Three Spanish captains and 8 Spanish soldiers were assassinated after being taken prisoners, but the remainder of the prisoners, on a promise to fight for Bolívar, were spared and incorporated in the patriot army.

On July 6 Bolívar occupied Barinas, the Spanish General Tizcar fleeing towards Nutrias with 700 men and 30 pieces of artillery.

On July 13 Bolívar organized a government for the province of Barinas, with Manuel Antonio Pulido as Governor, and on the 16th left for Guanare.

On July 6 the Spanish General Monteverde left Caracas for Valencia, intending to intercept Bolívar. In Barquisimeto the Spaniards had 1000 men under Francisco Oberto, and in San Carlos 2200 men under Julian Izquierdo.

On July 22 Bolívar's Colonel Rivas, with 500 men, attacked the royalist Colonel Oberto, with 1000 men, at Horcones. The latter was seriously defeated, leaving 100 dead on the field, and many prisoners, who no sooner surrendered to the patriots than they were murdered without mercy.

On July 31 Bolívar, with 1000 men, engaged the Spanish General Izquierdo, who had over 2000 men, at San Carlos. The battle was fought on the plains of Taguanes, where, after six hours of desperate fighting, the royalists were defeated, leaving their commander, Izquierdo, many officers, and 700 men dead on the field. More than 200 prisoners were taken. Those who promised to fight for Bolívar were put in the patriot army, and the remainder were shot.

Monteverde, who was on the road to aid Izquierdo, heard of the disaster at Carabobo. He hurriedly returned to Valencia, and with 250 men left there for Puerto Cabello.

On August 1 Bolívar set out for Valencia, where he captured 30 cannon and a great quantity of stores.

On August 3 Acting Captain General del Fierro called an extraordinary session of the Junta, agreed to capitulate, and sent commissioners to meet Bolívar, who was encountered the following day in Victoria. The Spaniards surrendered the entire power to Bolívar, who promised to spare their lives. But the night of August 4 was one of terror in Caracas. Over 6000 men, women, and children, royalists, fearing the vengeance of the revolutionists, fled from Caracas for La Guayra on foot, carrying what little food they could, while excited mobs paraded the streets of Caracas, shouting, "*Viva la independencia!*" "*Viva la libertad!*" "*Mueran los tiranos.*"

Bolívar enters Caracas in Triumph and assumes Supreme Power on August 6, 1813

Thousands of Spanish refugees were cooped up in La Guayra, or hiding in the mountains. The troops of the Captain General, under Colonel Budia, with 600 men reached La Guayra and there surrendered to Bolívar, as did Colonel Francisco del Marmol, with 400 men, and the garrison of La Guayra. Prior to this time Bolívar had claimed to be operating under the authority of the so-called Congress of Nueva Granada. He now threw all pretension aside, and assumed supreme military power in his own name and authority. He threw thousands of Spaniards into jails or locked them up in warehouses or corrals, shot large numbers of them, and confiscated the property of all of them, leaving hundreds of families in the most abject misery.

After the defeat of Monteverde, on May 25, at Maturín, the revolutionary armies in the eastern part of Venezuela had made campaigns no less daring and successful than those in the West. The patriot Colonel Mariño fought no fewer than ten battles, at Magueyes, Corosillos, Cumanacoa, arriving in July in front of Capuchinos, where there were about 800 Spanish troops. Colonel Arismendi, Governor of Margarita, sent Mariño three vessels, and fourteen smaller boats, under Captain José Bianchi, to aid in the blockade of Cumaná.

On July 30 Mariño demanded the surrender of the place, but Governor Antoñanzas answered that he would fight to the death. Nevertheless, under cover of darkness, Antoñanzas embarked with all his valuables and many troops, leaving the town at the mercy of Mariño. The place at once surrendered, but Mariño, with the viciousness of a savage, assassinated immediately 47 of the most prominent Spaniards, residents of the city. All the others were thrown in prison, and the following day 122 other Spanish prisoners were taken out and mercilessly shot. Mariño ordered his lieutenant, José Francisco Bermudez, to occupy the ports near Cumaná. He captured Carupano, Rio Caribe, and Cariaco, and assassinated every Spaniard he captured, among them many women and children.

Mariño now sent Colonel Piar to capture Barcelona, which was held by Field Marshal Juan Manuel Cajigal, with 1100 men. This general, upon learning of the loss of Caracas by the Spaniards on August 19, dispersed his troops and fled to Guayana.

Mariño now became Jefe Supremo of the provinces of Cumaná and Barcelona; while Bolívar was Jefe Supremo of the remainder of the country, except Puerto Cabello, which was still in the hands of Monteverde.

Mariño desired to establish a series of feudal states, each with its Jefe Supremo; but Bolívar aimed at a vast confederation, with only one Jefe Supremo, and, in consonance with his modest and self-effacing disposition, he was to be that one. Both Jefe Supremos were bloodthirsty, savage, and ambitious, and cared less for the sacred *patria*, if one can judge from their actions, than they did for the gratification of their personal aspirations.

On August 26 Bolívar's generals, Girardot, Rivas, and Urdaneta, commenced an attack on Puerto Cabello, capturing the outworks known as Vigias Alta and Vigias Baja. On the 29th the royalists attacked the revolutionists and were repulsed. On the 31st the revolutionists attacked the royalists and were repulsed. The Spanish General Zuazola, commanding the fort Mirador de Solano, abandoned his post and fled to the mountains. He was captured by the revolutionists on the following day and publicly hanged in full view of both armies.

On September 6 José Francisco Montilla, who had been sent by Bolívar to quell an insurrection in San Casimiro de Guiripe, attacked 800 men and dispersed them. The negro slaves arose in the valley of Tuy in favor of Spain, and insurrections started like wild-fire in all parts of the country. The towns of Santa Teresa, Santa Lucia, Yare, and many others, were sacked and burned, and their inhabitants massacred.

On September 16 reinforcements arrived at Puerto Cabello from Spain, consisting of 8 war-ships and 1200 men, under command of Colonel José Miguel Salomón. Counter-revolutions having started up against Bolívar in the interior, he hastily abandoned the siege of Puerto Cabello.

On September 16 Ramón García de Sena, under direction of Bolívar, attacked and defeated 100 men near Barquisimeto, who had declared in favor of the King of Spain, and were led by Reyes Vargas and a priest named Torrellas. About the same time the royalists of Maracaibo organized a force and captured the garrison of Bailadores, of about 60 men, and then cut all their throats.

On September 21 General Boves, royalist, surprised Bolívar's colonel, Thomas Montilla, with 600 men, in the prairies of Calabozo. Boves had about 800 men, cow-boys and desperadoes, with which he had terrorized that province, murdering people by the hundreds and

confiscating their property. In this fight Montilla was taken prisoner, and his troops were almost completely destroyed. His cavalry went over to the royalist General in a body. The prisoners taken were massacred. The next day Boves occupied Calabozo, captured all the anti-royalists he could lay hands on, and cut off their heads.

Francisco Tomas Morales and José Yañez, royalists, with forces of from 500 to 1000 desperadoes each, overran the provinces of Barinas and San Fernando de Apure, in the eastern part of Venezuela, committing unspeakable atrocities.

On September 25 Monteverde left Puerto Cabello with 1600 excellent troops, to attack Bolívar at Valencia.

On September 30 a sanguinary battle was fought on the outskirts of Naguanagua, in the plains of Valencia. The attack was made by Bolívar in three columns, led by Colonel Atanacio Girardot, D'Elhuyar, and Urdaneta. In this battle Girardot, Bolívar's ablest lieutenant, was killed.

On October 3 D'Elhuyar, with 1000 men, made a gallant attack on Monteverde in Aguacaliente, and after several hours' desperate fighting dislodged him, and drove his army back to Puerto Cabello, where he was again besieged.

On October 14 the man appointed Governor of Caracas by Bolívar called his other co-appointees together, and acclaimed Simon Bolívar, "Liberator, Captain General of the Armies of Venezuela."

On October 14 Campo Elias, Bolívar's lieutenant in the East, with 2500 men, attacked the royalist, Boves, at a place called Mosquitero, near La Puerto, and almost completely destroyed him. Elias took several hundred prisoners, but murdered them all. No quarter was given.

On October 17 Colonel José Ceballos, royalist, Governor of Coro, with 350 infantry and cavalry, attacked a republican column under Juan Manuel Aldao in Bobare, and dispersed it.

Reinforcements of 250 men, under Manuel Valdez, arriving in Orachiche for the anti-royalists, they reorganized the remnants of Aldao's force, and retired to Yaritagua; but Ceballos attacked them, and killed 126, among them Aldao and other officials.

On November 10 Bolívar in person attacked Ceballos at Barquisimeto. He had left Caracas precipitately, united with General Urdaneta in Gamelotal, and with a total of 1300 troops attacked Ceballos, who had 500 infantry and 300 cavalry. Bolívar's troops, at the moment of apparent victory, became panic-stricken for some unknown reason. The shout went up, "*Salvese quien pueda*," — "Save yourselves who can," — and uncontrollable terror seized them. They fled in all directions, leaving 350 dead on the field, among them 18 officers, 400 prisoners, many missing and deserters, 2 cannon, 3 flags, 600 rifles, and a great quantity of ammunition. Bolívar returned to Valencia.

The royalist Yañez in the mean time had been causing great havoc in the East, taking possession of and destroying numerous towns.

On November 2 Yañez captured the capital of Barinas. He got into communication with the Acting Captain General, Salomón, and with Governor Ceballos, by which a plan of campaign in unison was agreed upon.

On November 16 Colonel Salomón left Puerto Cabello with 1000 soldiers, and placed himself on the heights of Vijirima, commanding the road from Caracas to Valencia.

On November 23 D'Elhuyar, having been joined by Bolívar with the remnant of his army, attacked Salomón, but was badly defeated.

On November 25 Bolívar and D'Elhuyar renewed the attack, and dislodged the Spaniards, and Salomón again retired to Puerto Cabello.

On December 1 Bolívar, who had reunited about 3000 soldiers in San Carlos, near Valencia, took the road for Barquisimeto, again to attack Ceballos, who in the mean time had formed a junction with Yañez in Araure.

On December 4 Bolívar camped in front of the city of Araure.

On December 5 Bolívar gave battle to Ceballos and Yañez and severely defeated them. The royalists lost 500 men killed, 300 prisoners, 10 cannon, 1000 rifles, 5 banners, and a great quantity of ammunition. The royalists fled to Nutrias, their power in the West being apparently broken.

On December 13 the royalist Boves, operating in the eastern districts, had raised 3000 men with machetes, and united them with 100 soldiers and 1000 rifles under Morales.

On December 14 this army, in attempting to cross the river Guarico at San Marcos, encountered resistance from the anti-royalist lieutenant, Pedro Aldao, who commanded in Calabozo. The republican division was surrounded, and nearly every man had his head cut off.

Among the royalists in Puerto Cabello there was an uprising, and Monteverde was deposed and sent to Curoçao. Field Marshal Don Francisco Montalvo was sent by the Cadiz regency to take political and military control of New Granada and Venezuela, with Field Marshal Juan Manuel Cajigal as his assistant.

On January 2, 1814, Bolívar convoked an assembly of the government employees of Caracas, presided over by the Governor, Cristóval de Mendoza, and had himself declared Dictator.

Bolívar now sent two commissioners to see Mariño, the Jefe Supremo of the eastern provinces, and the two Dictators decided mutually to recognize the authority of each other in their respective territories, and work together to expel the Spaniards.

On January 4 Yañez, royalist, with 2000 cavalrymen, reinforced Nutrias.

On January 10 Yañez besieged Barinas with 1000 cavalrymen. The Governor, García de Sena, anti-royalist, who had 400 cavalrymen and 500 infantrymen, escaped at night, on the 18th, without fighting, leaving 80 soldiers in the town. Yañez and his troops at once took possession of the town, slaughtered the 80 soldiers, massacred every man, woman, and child in the place, and burned the town, leaving no trace of it on the map.

At the same time Bolívar's lieutenant, Urdaneta, with 1600 men, defeated 500 royalists in Baragua, commanded by Reyes Vargas.

On February 2, 700 anti-royalist infantry, under Colonel José Maria Rodriguez, attacked Yañez at Ospino, and were severely punished, but the terrible Yañez was killed, and his cavalry retreated to Guanare. His body was found by the anti-royalists, and horribly mutilated, under orders of the leading officers.

The troops of Yañez selected Colonel Sebastián de la Calzada as his successor, and he at once proceeded to attack the town of Ospino and destroyed it utterly.

On February 1 an important battle was fought at Florez, near Calabozo, between the royalist Boves and Bolívar's General Campo Elias. Boves had 3300 soldiers, and Elias about 1800. The fight lasted two hours; Elias was completely defeated, and escaped with only a few officers and soldiers to Cabrera. He lost more than 1000 men.

On February 12 Rivas, with 1000 men and 5 pieces of artillery, who had been sent by Bolívar to attack Puerto Cabello, was attacked by the vanguard of Boves' army, under Colonel Morales, near Victoria, and after ten hours of fighting the anti-royalists had lost 500 in killed and wounded; but at this juncture Campo Elias came up with 220 fresh troops, and attacked Morales in the rear, compelling him to retire. The next day Morales renewed the attack, but was repulsed, with losses, however, which were not materially greater than those of the anti-royalists.

On February 8 Bolívar ordered the massacre of all the prisoners in Caracas, La Guayra, and elsewhere under control of the anti-royalists. This butchery was continued daily in Caracas until 866 Spaniards were assassinated and their bodies burned. Hundreds met a similar fate in La Guayra and elsewhere.

On February 20 Bolívar's General Rivas, with 1000 men, encountered the Spanish General Rosete, with 800 soldiers, in Charayave, seven hours' march from San Mateo. After a fierce combat Rosete was defeated. No quarter was given, and several hundred prisoners were assassinated. Rosete only a few days before had murdered 300 persons in the same locality, among them 100 women and children.

On February 28 the Spanish General Boves, with 2000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, attacked Bolívar at San Mateo, with 1500 infantry and 600 cavalry. The battle lasted all day; Boves was wounded, and the anti-royalists, Campo Elias and Villapol, killed. Bolívar lost 203 men the first day, and the Spaniards a somewhat greater number.

On March 11, 16, 17, 20, and 25, the Spanish army attacked Bolívar, with varying fortunes. The engagement on the last day became general, with heavy losses on both sides. The royalists finally cut off the troops guarding the ammunition and stores of Bolívar's forces, and their commander, Ricaurte, seeing that their capture was inevitable, set fire to the magazines, killing himself and many of the royalists. About 900 men were killed in this fight, by far the greater number being royalists; but the loss of the magazines was irreparable to Bolívar. This series of battles was disastrous in the extreme to Bolívar, his total losses being 200 officers and 1500 soldiers.

On March 11 the anti-royalist Arismendi, with 800 men, — or rather children, for the greater number were under twenty years of age, and many of them only twelve or fifteen, — was completely destroyed by the royalist Rosete, on the plains of Ocumare, losing almost every soldier as well as all arms and supplies.

On March 9 General Juan Manuel Cajigal, royalist, appeared before Barquisimeto, with 1000 troops, to attack the anti-royalist Urdaneta, who had but 180 soldiers in the town, and 500 others under Domingo Meza, within a reasonable supporting distance. Urdaneta retreated, Meza retired to Trujillo, and the royalists wreaked their customary vengeance on the helpless inhabitants of Barquisimeto; looting, murdering, outraging women, with as much enthusiasm as the patriots themselves committed similar atrocities.

On March 17 General Urdaneta, anti-royalist, with 500 men, was driven from San Carlos by the royalists under Ceballos and Calzada, with 1200 cavalrymen. Urdaneta retreated in good order.

On March 20 General Rivas, with 600 men, attacked the royalist Rosete at Ocumare, and after a desperate conflict compelled him to retreat.

On March 29 General Urdaneta was shut up in Valencia, with only 280 infantry, by the royalist Ceballos, with 3000 soldiers, who laid siege to the town. Unspeakable atrocities were committed on the inhabitants.

On March 31 General Mariño, anti-royalist, attacked General Boves, royalist, at Bocachica. Boves lost 500 men, and Mariño 200. Boves retreated to Valencia, arriving there with 3000 men, having lost 300 prisoners and 1000 horses on the road. Boves and Ceballos immediately abandoned Valencia, which was soon occupied by Bolívar and Mariño.

On April 16 General Mariño, with 2000 infantry and 800 cavalry, attacked the royalist, Ceballos, with 2500 soldiers, in Arado, and was

disastrously defeated, and only able to save his retreat by aid of General Urdaneta.

On May 28 Bolívar gained the important victory of Carabobo, over the Spanish Field Marshal Cajigal. The royalists lost 300 men killed, 500 guns, 400 horses, artillery and supplies.

On June 14 Bolívar's army was almost completely destroyed at La Puerto by the royalist Boves, who had united an army of 3000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. Half of Bolívar's forces were killed outright, and almost all the remainder were wounded or else deserted. Boves also lost heavily. No official report was made of losses, but Bolívar's officers claimed the Spaniards lost 2600 men. This battle was decisive. The power of the anti-royalists was completely shattered. Bolívar, Mariño, and Rivas fled to Caracas.

On June 19 Boves laid siege to Valencia, which was defended by Juan Escalona with 500 men.

On June 25 D'Elhuyar abandoned the siege of Puerto Cabello, and united with Bolívar in Caracas.

On July 6 Bolívar abandoned Caracas, and started for Barcelona, taking with him everything portable of value. Hundreds of families fled from Caracas, fearing another reign of terror. They lived in the mountains like wild animals, and were hunted and shot by royalists and anti-royalists alike.

On July 7 the royalist Ramon Gonzalez, with 1500 men, under the direction of Boves, marched upon Caracas and took possession of the town.

On July 9 the Governor surrendered Valencia to Boves, on condition that the lives of all persons should be spared, — a stipulation violated by Boves, by murdering 65 officers, 300 soldiers, and 90 citizens.

On September 7 General Urdaneta, anti-royalist, after a rapid march, was surprised at Mucuchíes by the royalist Calzada, and completely routed. He lost 400 men. With the broken remnants of his army, some 800 men, he fled to Cucuta, Colombia.

On August 18 the royalist Morales, with 8000 men, attacked Mariño, Bolívar, and Rivas, with about 3000 men, at Aragua, near Barcelona. Mariño and Bolívar (in these provinces Bolívar was second in command, for Mariño was Supreme Chief) were overwhelmingly defeated. A general massacre ensued, in which the anti-royalists of the town were slaughtered without mercy, the total loss to this side in soldiers and sympathizers being about 3000 killed, while the royalists had 1011 killed and 832 wounded.

On August 25 Mariño and Bolívar embarked at Barcelona, and were taken to Margarita, whence they went to Costafirme, disembarking in Carupano. These Jefes claimed that the voyage was caused by the treachery of Bianchi, the commander of the small squadron of vessels at Barcelona, but the anti-royalists claimed that

the two Jefes had abandoned the *patria*, through cowardice, in the time of greatest need. They therefore selected General Rivas as First Chief, and General Piar as Second Chief; and when Mariño and Bolívar arrived at Carupano, they were made prisoners by their own countrymen.

On September 8 Mariño and Bolívar were liberated and sent to Cartagena, but not before Bolívar was given an opportunity to issue another manifesto.

On September 8 the anti-royalists under Bermudez, at Maturín, numbering 1250 men, were attacked by about 6500 soldiers under Morales, royalist. Battles continued daily until the 12th, when the royalists were badly defeated, losing 2200 men, 2100 rifles, 700 horses, and 150,000 cartridges. The anti-royalists claimed to have lost only 74 men killed and 100 wounded.

On September 29 General Piar attacked 2000 royalists at Cumaná and defeated them.

On October 17 General Boves, royalist, who had come to the relief of Morales, attacked General Piar, who had about 2000 poorly armed men, in the plains of Salado. Piar lost almost every one of his men, and Boves entered Cumaná with fire and sword, killing more than 1000 men, women, and children, and practically annihilating the town.

At the same time General Bermudez, anti-royalist, defeated Morales, with 800 men, at Maturín. Generals Rivas and Bermudez now united, and recruited an army of 2000 infantry and 2500 cavalry. The two generals, however, quarrelled and separated, and Bermudez was severely defeated by Boves in Corosillos.

On December 5 General Boves, with 7000 men, was attacked by the combined forces of the anti-royalists, amounting to about 4500 men, in the valley of Urica. General Boves was killed, but the anti-royalists were routed and lost almost the entire army.

On December 6 a royalist column defeated 800 anti-royalists in the town of Cari.

The scattered remnants of the anti-royalists, a body of but 600 men from an army of 4500 prior to the defeat of Urica, were now reunited in Maturín.

On December 10 the royalists, under Morales, attacked Maturín, killed almost all the 600 soldiers, and practically every man, woman, and child in the town, themselves losing 1000 men. With this battle the anti-royalists were overthrown to such an extent as to make further resistance useless. The island of Margarita alone remained in their power. Generals Rivas, Piar, and Bermudez fled; but General Rivas was captured and decapitated by the Spaniards, and his head sent to Caracas as a trophy.

The royalist General Morales at once took possession of Soro, Irapa, and Guiria, assassinating more than 3000 of the peaceful inhabitants of those towns, sparing neither age nor sex.

Thus was overthrown the dictatorship of Simon Bolívar, falsely called a Republic, a régime as cruel and bloody as can be found in the annals of history. Bolívar's discomfiture came not from the Spanish government, but from the Venezuelans themselves. The fierce hordes led by Yañez, Boves, Ceballos, Morales, and other royalist chieftains, were recruited from the natives of Venezuela. It was in truth a war among themselves, in which real Spanish troops took no important part. Under pretence of assassinating Spaniards and "Canarios," the anti-royalist troops were merely slaughtering the white people of Spanish origin who lived in Venezuela, and were in fact Venezuelans of the better type. On the other hand, the massacres by the royalist troops were merely the slaughter of Venezuelans who had less Spanish blood in them.

This "War of Independence" can best be characterized as an internecine strife, in which bandit chiefs strove with each other for power, the ignorant soldiery knowing little or nothing about the origin or nature of the strife. It was a war of loot and passion, not of principle or patriotism.

The Royalists once more assume Control of Venezuela.

On April 3, 1815, there arrived at Puerto Santo an important expedition sent by Ferdinand VII. of Spain, to aid in conquering Colombia and Venezuela. It consisted of 10,642 men, 3 frigates, 25 sailing vessels, and 60 transports. These were placed at the command of Chief Field Marshal Paplo Morillo, with Pascual Enrile second in command.

On April 7 the Spanish squadron of 100 vessels, under Juan Gavazo, with 14,000 men under Morillo, took possession of the island of Margarita, the inhabitants, in face of the imposing force displayed, making no resistance.

On May 11 General Morillo arrived in Caracas, after leaving heavy detachments in Cumaná, Barcelona, Margarita, Guayana, Puerto Cabello, and La Guayra.

On May 19 Morillo decreed a forced loan of 200,000 pesos in Caracas. He had previously levied 80,000 pesos on the inhabitants of Margarita. A policy was begun for confiscating all the property of the revolutionists in all parts of the country.

On July 10 to 12 Morillo set sail for Santamarta, Colombia, with 56 war vessels and transports, and 8000 soldiers, 3000 of them Venezuelans from the army of Morales. In this short time Morillo had succeeded in sowing seeds of discord in Venezuela among the royalists themselves, by dismissing many of the Venezuelan generals and colonels, and filling their posts with Spanish officers. His junta of confiscation had seized nearly all the property of the revolutionists, amounting to about 15,000,000 pesos, and sold it.

On June 22 guerrillas to the number of 1600, made up from roving bands under such chiefs as Monagas, Canelon, Pareja, Sotillo, Ranjel, Cedeño, Zaraza, Rojas, Barreto, which had been plundering the provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, and Calabozo, attacked the royalists in Angostura, to the number of 2000, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gorrin, but were defeated and dispersed.

The guerrilla chief Cedeño, with 1000 men, captured nearly all the towns of the upper Orinoco, and the other chieftains continued terrorizing all that section of the nation.

In the mean time a powerful revolution broke out against the Spaniards in the island of Margarita, led by Arismendi, who took possession of the northern portion of the island, and confined the Spanish Governor Urreistieta in the fort of Santarosa. "War to the death" again ruled, towns were completely exterminated, and either side spared neither age nor sex.

Captain José Antonio Paez and Miguel Guerrero led desperate bands to attack the royalists in all parts of Venezuela.

On May 26 the anti-royalist Jefes of Eastern Venezuela met at San Diego, elected Monagas and Zaraza First and Second Chief of the armies, and raised 1500 men.

Cedeño held control of the upper Orinoco, with 1300 men, with headquarters at Caicara.

Margarita remained in revolt under Arismendi.

José Antonio Paez, with his terrible cavalrymen from the plains, the llaneros, or cow-boys, harassed the Spanish troops in all parts of the country.

On October 31 Paez, with 500 men, in a night charge attacked the royalists under Calzada, in Chire, to the number of 1400 men. These troops had been left by Morillo with the Governor of Barinas for the purpose of invading Colombia, via Cucuta. Paez defeated the royalists, killing 200, and taking 150 prisoners and 800 horses. The prisoners enlisted to fight for Paez.

In December Paez occupied Guadualito, Mata de la Miel, and other points, after desperate engagements.

Bolívar, a Refugee in Hayti, organizes an Expedition to Venezuela

When Bolívar saw that the Spanish General Morillo was about to capture Cartagena, and re-establish royalist rule in Colombia, he fled to Hayti, where he was kindly received by President Petión. On May 8, 1815, he went to Jamaica, living for some months in Kingston, where an attempt was made to assassinate him by bribing his servant. From Kingston he went to Cayos de San Luis, Hayti, where he was joined by many refugees from Cartagena, which had been captured by the Spanish.

On March 30, 1816, Bolívar sailed from the port of Aguin for Venezuela, with 3500 rifles, and quantities of supplies, furnished by Robert Sutherland, Luis Brion, and others, though largely paid for out of the treasury of Hayti. Quarrels and dissensions arose among Bolívar's chiefs, and Mariano Montilla and General Bermudez, refusing to recognize Bolívar's authority, separated from the expedition. General Mariño was made second in command under Bolívar. The expedition consisted of 6 vessels, 250 men, and an abundance of arms, ammunition, and supplies.

On May 2 Bolívar's fleet encountered two Spanish war-vessels, the Intrepido and the Rita, and captured them both, after a hand-to-hand conflict.

On May 3 the expedition arrived at the port of Juan Griego, island of Margarita.

On May 7 the inhabitants and officials of Juan Griego held a meeting in the church, in conjunction with Bolívar's troops, and formed a junta which conferred upon Bolívar the title Jefe Supremo de la Republica. Whether or not Bolívar took this farce seriously is not recorded.

On May 17 Bolívar demanded of Brigadier Pardo, royalist, the surrender of Pampatar, which was refused. Pardo, however, agreed, if the anti-royalists would cease their assassinations of prisoners and non-combatants, that the royalists would do likewise, — a proposition to which Bolívar acceded.

Moxo, Captain General of Venezuela, had offered 10,000 pesos for the head of Bolívar.

On June 1 Bolívar disembarked in Carupano, the royalist Commander Martinez retiring to San José. Bolívar now made Monagas, Zaraza, Cedeño, and Rojas his generals of brigade, and these acknowledged him as Jefe Supremo.

On July 1 Bolívar, threatened by superior forces, embarked, with 600 men, at Carupano for Ocumare.

On June 30 the royalist Rafael Lopez fought and defeated Generals Monagas, Rojas, and Zaraza at Punche, and killed 200 of their men.

On July 6 Bolívar arrived at Ocumare, and issued a manifesto to the people of Caracas, saying he had come to liberate them, that from now on he would not assassinate prisoners or non-combatants, and that the slaves should be free, "for all Venezuelans were to be equal."

On July 14 the forces of Bolívar and Soublette were attacked by the royalist Morales, with 700 men, at La Piedra, in the coast of Ocumare, and seriously defeated, losing 200 men, 300 guns, and nearly all their supplies.

On July 14 Bolívar abandoned Ocumare with the remnants of his fleet, and proceeded to Choroni, arriving there on the 19th.

On July 16 Bolívar's land troops, of 630 men, under MacGregor, having arrived at Choroni and found it in the hands of the royalists, started across the country to unite with the anti-royalists in the eastern provinces.

On July 19 Bolívar, having united with the vessels under Brion, sailed for Guiria.

On July 18 MacGregor encountered a royalist column in the valley of Onoto, and defeated it. He entered Victoria and dispersed the garrison. On the 20th he arrived at Pao de Zarate, on the 22d at San Francisco de Cara, and on the 29th at Chaguaramas, where a brisk fight occurred.

On August 1 General MacGregor united with Julian Infante, with a squadron of cavalry from General Zaraza's division.

On August 2 the united armies were attacked by 2200 royalists, under Sergeant Major Quero, in Santa Maria de Ipire. The fight was renewed the following day, involving serious loss to both sides.

On August 10 General MacGregor united with the main part of Zaraza's division, that of General Monagas, in San Diego de Cabrutica.

On August 25 the combined armies marched to Aragua, encountering Colonel Rafael Lopez, royalist, who was defeated with the loss of 500 men killed, 300 prisoners, and all his supplies.

On August 25 the anti-royalists took possession of Barcelona, but found that Colonel Lopez in his flight had passed through Barcelona, and, in revenge for the declaration of independence made by the people of that city on the 12th, had sacked and burned the place and killed all the inhabitants.

On September 26 General Piar, having arrived at Barcelona and taken command, marched, with 2000 soldiers, to Playon del Juncal, where on the 27th he encountered the royalist General Morales, with 3000 men. The royalists were completely defeated, losing 300 killed, 400 prisoners, 500 rifles, and quantities of supplies. The anti-royalists lost 100 killed.

On August 16 Bolívar arrived at Guira. He encountered hostility and mutiny everywhere among his own people. Generals Mariño and Bermudez were jealous of Bolívar, and incited the populace against him. He found it necessary to force his way, sword in hand, through the rabble to his vessels. He at once set sail for Puerto Principe, Hayti.

On August 27 General Piar, in Barcelona, and General Arismendi, of Margarita, sent Francisco Antonio Zea to Hayti to declare their allegiance to Bolívar, and to assure him that they would continue to recognize him as "Supreme Chief of the Republic." This is the General Piar who was afterwards shot by order of Bolívar.

On October 8 General Piar, with 1500 men, started for Guayana.

On November 13 the royalists abandoned Margarita.

General Mariño now raised the siege of Cumaná. The royalists

attempted to retake Barcelona, but were defeated, with a loss of 600 men, by General Freites, on the plains of Maurica.

In December General Paez, with 700 men, dispersed 2100 royalist soldiers under Colonel Francisco Lopez, who was killed in battle, on the plains of Apure. At the same time the royalist Morillo descended on Venezuela with heavy forces. Bolívar was busy organizing a new expedition in Hayti. Paez retired to the island of Achaguas.

While these events were transpiring in eastern Venezuela, Captain General Moxo, royalist, in command at Caracas, had inaugurated a reign of terror throughout all that part of Venezuela under his control, while Morillo, royalist, had instituted similar systems of outrage in Colombia. Moxo caused the assassination of 125 of the most distinguished men of Venezuela in the latter six months of 1816, and committed numberless atrocities indescribable in character. Neither time nor space suffices to depict the details of this period of shocking barbarism.

If the Spanish rulers had had the least particle of decency or sense, they would have treated the people kindly. Such conduct would have brought into stronger relief the terrible atrocities committed by Bolívar and the other revolutionists, and would have gained them the gratitude and allegiance of the Venezuelan people. But the Spaniards were as cruel, corrupt, and infamous as the revolutionists. The difference between the parties was but the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, and the like exists to-day between the government troops and the later revolutionists.

Bolívar's Second Expedition.

The Commissioner Zea, sent by Piar and Arismendi, found Bolívar in Hayti. Bolívar became reanimated by the news of the loyalty of these chiefs, and proceeded at once to organize a second expedition, generously aided by President Petión.

1816. — On December 21 Bolívar sailed from Jacquemel, with a few boats, some refugee officers and soldiers, and considerable quantities of arms and ammunition. He arrived at Juan Griego on December 28. The day following he issued a manifesto.

On December 30 Bolívar arrived at Barcelona, and met Arismendi with 400 men. They recluted 300 more.

1817. — On January 9 Bolívar and Arismendi attacked the royalist Captain Francisco Jimenez, with 550 soldiers, at Clarines, and were completely routed, losing almost their entire force. They hurriedly returned to Barcelona, without either men or supplies.

On January 19 General Mariño attacked, with 2000 men, the royalists in Cumaná, without decisive result.

On February 1 General Mariño went to Barcelona, which was threatened by 4000 royalists under Brigadier Real, and there united

with Bolívar. The two generals became reconciled, in face of the danger confronting them, and Mariño recognized Bolívar as "Supreme Chief of the Republic."

On March 25 Bolívar left for Guayana, with 15 officers, for the purpose of organizing all the guerrillas of the plains into one army.

On April 5 Colonel Juan Aldama, royalist, took possession of Barcelona. The anti-royalists, 700 strong, under Generals Pedro Maria Freitas and Francisco Estevan Rivas, retired to the fortified convent of San Francisco.

On April 7 the royalists, under Colonels Joaquin Urreistieta, Augustin Noguera, Francisco Jimenez, and Sergeant Major Vicente Bauza, and Commander José Navas, took this fortified point by assault, massacred every one of the 700 anti-royalist soldiers as well as 300 old men, women, and children. In their fury many royalists were also killed. The lives of only 14 persons were saved, 4 of whom were women. Generals Freitas and Rivas were captured in the woods, and sent to Caracas, where the Spanish General Moxo assassinated them. Many women were outraged and murdered by the soldiers, among them Mrs. Eulalia Buroz Chamberlain, the wife of an Englishman. She shot the royalist officer who attempted to rape her and was herself murdered.

On January 17 General Piar, anti-royalist, with 2800 men, assaulted Angostura, losing 300 men.

Bolívar now arrived at Guayana, and met General Piar near Angostura. He decided to use Guayana as a base for military operations, and therefore returned to the plains of Barcelona to obtain reinforcements.

On April 17 Bolívar encountered in Palmita, near Chaparro, three divisions left by General Mariño, under Bermudez, Arismendi, and Zaraza.

On May 2 Bolívar, with these three divisions, united with General Piar. General Mariño went towards Cariaco.

While these events were transpiring in the eastern part of the country, important movements were being made in the West.

On January 28 General Paez, with 1000 llaneros, the desperate cavalry of the plains, fell upon 1700 cavalrymen, under the Spanish General Morillo, in the savannas of Mucuritas, and dispersed them. Morillo, who was on his way from Colombia with 4000 infantry and the 1700 cavalry dispersed by Paez, now realized for the first time that a revolution of great magnitude and force had broken out in all parts of Venezuela. He sent Brigadier Latorre, with a division, to Guayana, to attack Piar and Cedeño.

On April 11 Brigadier Latorre, with 1600 infantry and 200 cavalry, encountered General Piar, with 500 infantry, 400 cavalrymen, 800 lancers, and a body of Indians with bows and arrows, at a point between San Felix and San Miguel. The royalists were completely

defeated, losing 500 killed on the field, 200 wounded, and more than 300 prisoners, among them 75 officers. Immediately after the battle General Piar ordered the assassination of all the Spaniards taken prisoners. All the officers and more than 300 men had their throats cut with butchers' knives.

On May 8 General Mariño, with 2000 soldiers, organized a new Congress, in Cariaco, which passed a number of resolutions, and formed a provisional government, with the city of Asuncion for the provisional capital; thus ignoring the Congress which had conferred the title of *Jefe Supremo de la Republica* on Bolívar, in the Isla de Margarita.

On May 13 the Spanish General Morillo united with Aldama, at Chaparro, the combined forces numbering 6000 men.

On May 19 an expedition of 2800 men arrived from Spain, under command of Brigadier Juan Canterac. Morillo sent these troops to Cumaná.

On June 10 the troops under Morillo and Canterac captured Cariaco.

On June 13 the same army captured Carupano. A few days later they took possession of Guira. The anti-royalists lost 150 killed, many wounded, all their stores, 8 cannon, and several prisoners, among them 3 officers, who were shot by orders of Morillo.

When General Morillo arrived at Chaparro, the anti-royalist General Soublette ordered his Indians to assassinate 22 Catholic missionaries in Carache, which order was carried into effect with savage delight.

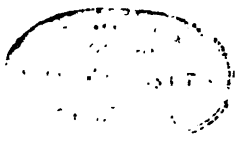
On July 4 Bolívar narrowly escaped capture. He had fitted out 11 boats on the Orinoco, and started to unite with Brion's fleet, for the purpose of attacking the Spanish squadron, near Margarita. With a small guard he was marching along the Orinoco's bank, to protect the boats on the journey down the river, when he was attacked by a heavy Spanish force. He rushed into the water, and with knife in hand made ready to cut his own throat if he saw that capture was inevitable; but his companions in the boats succeeded in defeating the attacking party.

On July 5 the Spaniards captured these 11 boats of Bolívar, in the Caño of Casacoima, but Bolívar again escaped.

That very night, hiding in the forests, near the banks of the Caño, Bolívar was haranguing his men, telling them that he was going to liberate Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, etc., when Captain Martel, one of his adherents, said, "Now we find ourselves plunged into the ultimate disaster, because Bolívar is crazy."

On July 8 five sailing-vessels, with troops, under Captain Antonio Diaz, had a bloody fight with the Spanish squadron, near the island of Pagallos, but were compelled to retire to Margarita.

About the same time the anti-royalist squadron, under Brion, ar-



rived in the Orinoco, carrying all the officers and troops of Margarita, except a detachment of only 1300 men, thus leaving the patriotic island of Venezuela very inadequately defended.

On July 19 Brigadier Latorre, royalist, abandoned Angostura for Vieja Guayana, taking with him in his vessels 300 able-bodied men, many sick, and quantities of supplies.

On August 3 Latorre abandoned Vieja Guayana, taking 600 men in 30 vessels. This gave the anti-royalists command of the Orinoco, and from that date it was used as the base of their military operations.

On July 15 General Morillo, royalist, with 3000 soldiers, disembarked from 17 vessels, at the port of Guamache, in the island of Margarita, where 13,000 inhabitants were under the protection of only 1300 soldiers. Morillo demanded unconditional surrender, under penalty of extermination, but his demand was rejected.

On July 22 the anti-royalists retired from the castle of Porlamar, Margarita, in face of an attack by Morillo.

On July 24 the Spanish forces captured Pampatar.

On July 31 Morillo attacked the anti-royalists on the hill of Matasiete, near Asuncion, but after a bloody conflict, lasting all day, was compelled to retire.

On August 6 the Spaniards occupied San Juan without resistance.

On August 8 Morillo attacked Juan Griego, defended by 2000 men. The anti-royalists met a terrible mishap, many being killed by the premature explosion of a mine which they had prepared for the Spaniards. Several hundred anti-royalists were killed in battle; the others fled to the swamps of Laguna Salada, where they were surrounded by the royalist cavalry, and every man of them slaughtered without mercy, Morillo himself killing 18 with his own hands.

The Spaniards now sacked and burned Juan Griego and San Juan; but the islanders had been rendered furious and desperate by these acts. With implacable revenge, singly and in squads, with women as well as men, by stealth and cunning, bushwhacking with groups of guerrillas, they assaulted and slew the Spaniards in a frenzy of hate.

On August 17 Morillo found it necessary to abandon Margarita, and went to Cumaná. Spanish authority was never re-established in the island. Before leaving Margarita, however, Morillo assassinated 300 anti-royalist prisoners he had taken from Barcelona.

On August 20 Morillo arrived at Cumaná, having lost 1000 soldiers as a result of his expedition to Margarita.

Early in September Morillo returned to Caracas, while General Paez, anti-royalist, scoured the province of Barinas with his desperate llaneros, defeating the royalists in numerous fights.

On October 10 Bolívar decreed the division among his Jefes and soldiers of all property belonging to the Spaniards, or to Venezuelans sympathizing with the royalist cause. Pillage and plunder was to be the rule, and only those loyal to Bolívar were to share in the loot.

On October 17 Bolívar ordered the execution of General Piar, — an act of perfidy to the man who had made his career possible.

On October 30 Bolívar formed a so-called government, and named Angostura as its capital, every member, of course, being his own appointee.

On December 12 General Zaraza, anti-royalist, on his way from Belen to unite with Bolívar, was attacked at Hogaza by General Latorre, royalist, with 1700 soldiers. Zaraza's division was destroyed, with a loss of 1200 killed, 1000 rifles, 1000 horses, 3 cannon, and all supplies. The Spaniards lost 200 in killed and wounded.

On December 31 Bolívar, with 29 boats and a convoy, embarked for Urbana, reuniting all his army.

1818. — On January 22 Bolívar joined General Paez at San Juan de Payara. He now had 2000 cavalrymen.

On February 8 Bolívar and Paez prepared to attack the Spanish division under Morillo in Calabozo.

On February 12 Morillo was surprised by Bolívar's troops, who killed 300 royalists, giving no quarter. Morillo retired to Sombrero.

On February 16 Bolívar and Paez again attacked Morillo, at Sombrero, who lost 100 men, and then retired to Valencia, where he joined his main army.

On March 6 General Paez, after several desperate assaults, compelled Commander José Maria Quero, royalist, to evacuate San Fernando. Quero was vigorously pursued by Paez, and after four bloody contests, compelled to surrender, with 174 men and 11 officers, — all that remained alive out of 650 men. General Paez reported a loss of only 100 men. Twenty cannon, 665 rifles, 11 boats, and various other articles and supplies were also captured.

On March 5 Bolívar started from San Pablo, with 1200 men, for Victoria, which he made his headquarters, recruiting 500 men on the march and overrunning the valleys.

On March 13 Morillo, royalist, left Valencia on a flying campaign.

On March 14 he dispersed the anti-royalist cavalry of Zaraza in Cabrera, and the following day did the same to the force under General Monagas in Maracay.

On March 16 Morillo encountered Bolívar, with 2000 soldiers, on the plains of La Puerto. Bolívar lost 400 men killed, 500 or 600 wounded, 500 rifles, and a large quantity of stores. Morillo was dangerously wounded.

On March 19 the remnants of Bolívar's troops reunited in Rastro, and retired to Calabozo, where they could rely upon the aid of Paez and his llaneros.

On March 26 Bolívar attacked Brigadier Latorre in Ortiz, but after heavy losses on both sides he retired to San Pablo. Bolívar now went through the country, forcing every peon into his army.

On March 31 he turned over to General Paez 2000 men, and by April 8 had raised 600 more by recruiting.

On April 17 an attempt was made to assassinate Bolívar, in a place called Rincon de los Toros.

On April 18 Lieutenant-Colonel Rafael Lopez, royalist, attacked Bolívar near Rincon de los Toros, killing 300 of his men and capturing 400 rifles and nearly all his supplies. Bolívar again narrowly escaped with his life. He was entirely deserted, and travelled on foot with the enemy all around him. A peon soldier, Leonardo Infante, gave Bolívar his horse, on which the Jefe Supremo managed to escape.

On May 2 Latorre, royalist, with 4000 men, gave battle to General Paez on the plains of Onoto, near Cojede. Paez lost 200 killed and a large number of wounded, and was compelled to retire to Apure.

On May 20 General Cedeño, anti-royalist, was attacked by Brigadier Morales at Los Patos, six miles from Calabozo, and was seriously defeated, being able to save but 200 men. In less than one month the anti-royalists in the immediate vicinity had lost over 1300 men.

On June 7 Bolívar, with the broken remnants of his dispirited troops, a handful of men, arrived at Angostura. Nearly the entire country was in the control of the royalists. Not satisfied with fighting the common enemy, the anti-royalist Jefes fought among themselves.

On May 1 Bermudez, under orders of Bolívar, who had not yet had enough of defeat, started with 800 men for Aragua, with the intention of overcoming General Mariño, Bolívar's ancient rival. General Bermudez made certain demands, as directed by Bolívar, upon General Mariño, with which the latter refused to comply. The former took a position at the port of La Madera, six miles from Cumaná.

On May 30 General Bermudez was attacked by Brigadier Tomas de Cires, Governor of the province, and nearly all his men killed. This attack was made at the instance of General Mariño, whom Bermudez had threatened. General Mariño thereupon established himself at Cumanacoa, and the two Supreme Chiefs were at daggers drawn.

At this point Bolívar, driven to desperation and realizing that he could not shoot Mariño, as he had Piar, exercised a common-sense greater than it was supposed he had. He compromised with Mariño. The latter was made General Commander of the province of Cumaná, and he agreed to recognize Bolívar as Jefe Supremo. A movement was also inaugurated to make General Paez Jefe Supremo of the Republic, but without his consent.

Guerrilla attacks were made by both sides in all parts of Venezuela, and a condition of anarchy prevailed.

On August 26 an expedition left Angostura, headed by Francisco de Paula Santander, under orders of Bolívar, to reclute and organize men at Casanare, where there were scattered troops with 1200 rifles.

On August 25 General Bermudez and Captain Brion, with 100 men and several vessels, defeated the royalists near Guira, taking 8 boats, 100 rifles, and some supplies.

On September 13 General Bermudez, with 200 men, was defeated by the royalists near Rio Caribe, and compelled to flee to Margarita.

In October General Mariño, who had recluted 1150 infantry with 350 cavalry and 41 artillery, in the province of Cumaná, attacked the royalists in Cariaco, but was severely defeated, losing 370 killed and several hundred prisoners. This was the last important fight of the year, — a year of disaster from beginning to end for the anti-royalists.

On October 1 Bolívar opened a so-called Congress, every member of which was appointed by himself, and convened it to meet in Angostura, on January 1, 1819, for the purpose of forming a Constitution.

On November 20 this Congress issued a declaration of independence, to the effect that Venezuela, by human and divine right, was free and independent.

On December 21 Bolívar left Angostura with a convoy of 20 vessels, and united with General Paez at San Juan de Payara.

The Campaign of 1819 opens up with the Arrival of English Troops

1819. — On January 23 Bolívar was notified of the arrival of a battalion of English soldiers at Margarita, to aid the flagging fortunes of the anti-royalists. His agents in England had contracted for these mercenaries, promising to pay "each man $80 per man on enlistment, and $500 each at the conclusion of the war." Of course none of the money was ever paid; but the promise secured him several thousand men.

On January 24 General Morillo, royalist, arrived at Calabozo.

On January 30 Morillo drove the anti-royalists out of San Fernando, when they retired to San Juan de Payara. Morillo had 6500 men, and the anti-royalists 2000.

On February 4 Morillo, who had taken possession of San Juan de Payara, took the passes of Marrero and Caujaral, which although fortified were abandoned without resistance. As the anti-royalist army fled before the Spaniards, it was accompanied by about 10,000 men, women, and children — the men being mostly infirm from age or disease — who lived like wild beasts in the woods for fear of the

Spanish soldiers, or, to speak more correctly, of the Venezuelan soldiers who were fighting for the royalist cause.

On February 20 General Morillo established himself in the island of Achaguas. Here he learned of the arrival of the English troops. He issued a proclamation declaring the anti-royalists bandits and asking the Englishmen to join his ranks.

On February 15 Bolívar's Congress met in Angostura. He selected his faithful subordinate, Francisco Antonio Zea, as President. Bolívar now unfolded magnificent schemes of government, with constitutions, departments, and all those appurtenances which belong to a great nation. There were 26 of these swarthy deputies, — just 23 more than the "Tailors of Tooley Street."

Bolívar made a hair-raising, brain-fagging address, placing his resignation as Jefe Supremo into the hands of this "august popular assembly," and offering to serve in any capacity, however menial. This Congress was made up exclusively of colonels, generals, etc., who were extreme partisans of Bolívar, and each of them with a picture of the cadaver of Piar firmly impressed upon his memory. Of course they refused to accept the "resignation." Zea delivered a brilliant speech, undoubtedly written for him by Bolívar, after which Bolívar was unanimously elected President, and Zea Vice-President. This mock government sent two emissaries to England to raise a loan. They had already stolen, robbed, or confiscated everything the poor people of Venezuela had, and stood in need of ready cash, but they did not get it that time.

On February 27 Bolívar and Paez made attacks on the royalists on the right of the Arauca, but suffered loss. For several weeks heavy guerrilla fights took place almost daily.

Juan Gomez defeated a royalist squadron in Totumo. Colonel Cornelio Muñoz was defeated by 400 royalists at a ranch called Sarero.

On March 27 Colonel José Pereira defeated a squadron of troops under Bolívar.

On April 2 General Paez, with 151 men, passed the Arauca in Queseras del Medio, and attacked the Spaniards, defeating them with severe loss.

On April 11 Morillo, royalist, returned to Achaguas.

On May 2 Morillo left 600 men at San Fernando and returned to Calabozo. He had lost 1000 men in four months and had accomplished nothing.

Bolívar forms a Great Project to invade Colombia

Bolívar had sent, some time before, a commission to Nueva Granada, to interview the revolutionary elements there, and Colonel Lara returned as representative of the commission, informing Bolívar that the time was ripe for a revolt in that country. On this the Supreme

Chief secretly arranged to start on this expedition, which he hoped to have ready by the 20th or 25th of May.

Urdaneta was sent by Bolívar to Margarita to organize the foreign troops there, — 1200 Englishmen and 300 Germans, — but he encountered great difficulty in dealing with the men. They had received their advance payment of $80 each from Bolívar's agent in the coin with which Latin-American Dictators have been and still are accustomed to pay their debts — that is, in wind, moonshine, hot air — and they were dissatisfied and mutinous. Urdaneta also had trouble with Arismendi, the man who had joined with Piar in recalling Bolívar from Hayti. Urdaneta wanted 500 soldiers for what appeared to Arismendi to be a wild-goose chase of Bolívar into Colombia, and Arismendi refused to furnish them. To settle the dispute Arismendi was made prisoner and sent to Guayana.

On July 15 General Urdaneta sailed for Barcelona, which he attacked on the 17th, defeating the Spanish garrison, killing 200 men, and scattering the entire population to the tall grass.

On August 5 Urdaneta, having been reinforced by 300 men under Colonel Montes, attacked the royalists at the port of Bordones, some five miles from Cumaná, but was defeated, losing 150 men.

On August 9 Urdaneta determined on a march to Maturín, — a long distance, through rain and mud. He had no supplies, and for days at a time the Venezuelan soldiers had nothing to eat except a piece of a stalk of sugar cane. Horse meat was considered a rare and juicy viand. The English and German mercenaries did not like this food, and they had not as yet received their $80. They deserted in large numbers, the Venezuelan troops attempting to restrain them by force. Some sanguinary fights ensued as a consequence.

On August 20 Urdaneta arrived at Maturín with only a few men; the others had either died on the way or deserted.

In the mean time General Bermudez, anti-royalist, had made a disastrous retreat from Barcelona to the province of Cumaná, harassed by the royalist Colonel Pereira, and suffering great losses in numerous guerrilla fights.

On August 15 Bolívar's Congress at Angostura gave birth to one of the numerous progeny known in Latin America as "constitutions." It also decreed the sale of 500 square leagues, or 4500 square miles, of public lands, and authorized the President to get a loan of $3,000,000, if he could. It also ordered to be seized and confiscated all the real estate, personal property, money, or other things of value owned by any Spaniard in Venezuela, or by any Venezuelan or other person sympathizing with the royalist cause. Why the pretended Congress should "authorize" Bolívar and his chiefs is not clearly seen, since they had been doing these things habitually without the authorization.

On May 25 Bolívar marched for Guadualito, where he left Gen-

eral Paez with 1000 cavalry, with which to scour the province of Barinas, making the Apure River his base. With the rest of his army Bolívar continued to Casanare, where he arrived on June 11, the vanguard being under General Santander.

On June 25 Bolívar and Santander arrived at Pore, with 2500 effective men, about 500 of whom were English and Germans still hoping to receive their $80 apiece.

On July 11 the divisions of Santander and Anzoategui, under Bolívar, fought eight hours, at Gameza, with 1000 royalists, under Colonel Barreiro, with heavy losses to both sides, and no important advantage to either.

Bolívar now left the valley of Sogamoso and passed to that of Serinza. In Nueva Granada, high up in the mountains, his troops suffered greatly from the cold. They were accustomed to the warm temperature of the Orinoco, and in these high regions, where there was incessant rain, 100 of his men and all his horses died from the cold. But the inhabitants were friendly, and they gave supplies freely.

On July 25 Bolívar's forces encountered the royalist troops under Barreiro at a marsh called Vargas, near the Sogamoso River, and an all-day battle resulted, in which the royalists were worsted. Barreiro's men showed no enthusiasm in the fight.

On August 5 Bolívar, after a series of rapid manœuvres, in which he completely outgeneralled Barreiro, took the important city of Tunja, making its garrison prisoners. He also captured 600 rifles, large stores, and supplies, and was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of enthusiasm.

Bolivar gains the Decisive Battle of Boyaca

On August 7 was fought the important battle of Boyaca. Barreiro, with 2500 men, was endeavoring to outflank Bolívar, and cut him off from Bogotá. Bolívar, with 2000 men, contested the movement. On this day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, as Barreiro attempted to cross the bridge over the river Boyaca, he was attacked by Bolívar's entire force, — the left under Santander, and the right and centre under Anzoategui. Barreiro and most of his officers and 1600 men were taken prisoners, although there were only 100 men killed in the fight. The Spaniards lost all their artillery, arms, ammunition, and supplies.

There was nothing now to prevent Bolívar from capturing Bogotá.

This battle illustrates the strange freaks of fortune. It turned the tide in favor of Bolívar, who for years had met nothing but misfortune. A man with less of the frenzy of insanity, or its allied disease, ambition, would have given up the struggle long ago. In Venezuela, where the merciless massacres of prisoners and non-combatants by Bolívar was

well known, the royalists fought like demons. They knew that to be captured meant to be murdered. In the face of this desperate fighting Bolívar had been driven from the arena of Venezuela three different times. At the moment he projected his campaign across the Cordilleras he had been discredited and beaten in dozens of bloody conflicts. Doubtless his military career in Venezuela would have been more fortunate had he not aroused such implacable hatred by his "war to the death." At the same time he knew nothing of strategy; he was not a military man in any real meaning of the term; he was guiltless of common-sense in the prosecution of his campaigns; and the real battles up to that date had been fought, and the real victories won, by Generals Mariño, Paez, Piar, Urdaneta, Bermudez, Arismendi, and by many colonels and local chiefs, in their eternal guerrilla fights.

In this situation Bolívar's plan to invade Nueva Granada would seem to be the dream of a madman, not the project of a prudent commander. No sooner had he left Venezuela than the generals met, and resolved to oust him from his position as President, or Jefe Supremo, and appoint General Mariño in his stead. These generals condemned Bolívar for having left the soil of Venezuela, and they all recognized that he was half crazy and all scoundrel. Holding Bolívar in light esteem, they instinctively realized that they needed some one among them who could read and write, — who could get up pronunciamentos and constitutions and make frenzied speeches. It was on this plane that Bolívar outclassed them all.

If Bolívar had been defeated in his campaign into Nueva Granada, it would seem that his career would have ended, — the Venezuelan generals were not loyal to him, and he had shot or imprisoned his own best friends. And he would have been defeated and driven out of Nueva Granada but for one thing, — the royalist soldiers did not want to fight. They had not heard of Bolívar's assassination of prisoners in Venezuela; they regarded him as a great liberator; the Spaniards in Colombia had been committing nameless atrocities, ruling all parts of the country like tyrants; their own soldiers were disloyal. Bolívar received the full benefit of this disaffection. The battle of Boyaca was merely an afternoon lawn-tennis game in comparison with dozens of the horrible conflicts on the plains of Venezuela. Yet on its result hung the destiny of Bolívar; and in its effects upon the cause of independence it may be classed as one of the five most important engagements fought in South America.

CHAPTER II

EVENTS LEADING TO THE OVERTHROW OF SPANISH POWER IN VENEZUELA

ON August 8, 1819, like a flash of lightning from a clear sky came the news of Boyaca to the startled Viceroy Samano and the Spanish authorities at Bogotá. Panic-stricken, they laid their hands on whatever they could, and fled, leaving 700,000 pesos in coin hidden in the treasury building, which was delivered to Bolívar upon his arrival.

On August 10 Bolívar arrived and took possession of Bogotá, the garrison of 450 men having fled to Popayan, and was received with acclamations of joy by the people. He took possession of the government, and at once appointed a *comision de secuestros*, — that is, a body for the purpose of confiscating the property and everything of value belonging to the royalists or persons supposed to sympathize with them.

On October 11 Bolívar, through Santander, ordered the execution of Colonel Barreiro and 38 officers taken prisoners at Boyaca, and of such soldiers as refused to join his own army. Most of them joined cheerfully. Their chances for loot under Bolívar were better than under the Spaniards.

On September 11 Bolívar issued a decree selecting General Santander as Vice-President of Colombia, he himself, of course, being President, and at the same time stated that Venezuela and Colombia were to be united in one Republic. He continued the "war to the death" in Colombia, murdering many prisoners and robbing thousands of families of their property. He had the Congress of Bogotá decorate him with a cross of honor, called Boyaca. Extravagant, fanatical demonstrations, parades, balls, festivals, banquets, were held in his honor, and at one of them a body of señoritas decorated him with a laurel crown. Triumphal arches were erected, and the sickening adulation typical of Latin-American hero worship filled Bolívar's cup of joy to the brim.

On September 20 Bolívar, with a considerable army, left Santander in charge at Bogotá, and returned to Venezuela, passing through the provinces of Tunja, Socorro, and Pamplona, where he recluted about 2000 men.

On September 23 General Soublette, Bolívar's advance guard, fought with Latorre, royalist, with 1000 soldiers, at Rosario, without important result. Fighting and moving to gain position occupied several weeks, but in the end Latorre was compelled to retire, and Soublette occupied San Cristobal, and later united with General Paez at Mantecal.

While Bolívar had been in Colombia, his enemies in Venezuela had asked for the resignation of his faithful follower, Vice-President Zea, and had taken General Arismendi from prison and made him Vice-President. The supreme military command was given to General Mariño. The patriots also experienced some severe fighting in Venezuela.

On September 30 there was a fight between boats on the river Apure, in which the royalists lost 10 small boats and 80 men out of 250 engaged, thereby being compelled to abandon San Fernando, which was at once occupied by General Paez.

On November 20 Bolívar left La Salina de Chita, moving with great rapidity. He touched at Casanare, inspected the troops of Paez, and on December 11 arrived at Angostura, where he was received with a frenzy of acclaim. He now awaited the arrival of 5000 Irish troops, contracted by General Juan d'Evereux.

In the mean time the 200 English soldiers, sent by Dr. del Real from England to MacGregor, had invaded Colombia, and were practically all killed at Rio Hacha.

On December 14 Bolívar reunited his Congress, with Zea as Vice-President. He gave a vivid account of his brilliant campaign, and issued a proclamation uniting Venezuela and Colombia, the ratification for which was made three days later by the Congress, after many pompous orations anent Liberty. Vice-President Zea declared the child born by shouting, "The Republic of Colombia is constituted: Live the Republic of Colombia!"

This paper Republic was divided into three departments, — Venezuela, Cundinamarca, and Quito. Caracas, Bogotá, and Quito were designated as capitals. Congress also decorated Bolívar with the title of *Libertador*.

Campaign of 1820 — Six Months of Armistice and End of the "War to the Death"

At the opening of the campaign of 1820 Viceroy Samano occupied Cartagena, with 2000 men, and controlled the rivers Cauca and Magdalena. The Spanish Captain General of Quito had 3000 men, and General Morillo had about 12,000 soldiers in Venezuela.

The anti-royalists had 3000 men under General Paez, about 2500 in the armies in the northern part of Venezuela, and about

2000 in other parts of Colombia. They held the Orinoco and the interior of both countries, while the Spaniards held the coasts.

On March 14 Bolívar arrived once more at Bogotá. He raised an army of 3000 slaves by taking them forcibly from their masters, who were given "promises to pay."

On March 7 a strong anti-royalist expedition under Colonel Montilla, consisting of 14 vessels and 1300 soldiers, more than half of them Irishmen, left Margarita, and five days later arrived in front of Rio Hacha, Colombia, which was abandoned by the royalists. These Irish troops and their Venezuelan companions fought among themselves, the Irishmen claiming that they did not get enough to eat.

On June 7 the new Spanish Constitution was proclaimed in Caracas, Cartagena, Cuba, and other colonies. Ferdinand VII of Spain, sitting unsteadily on his throne, found it impossible to despatch troops to the colonies. Twenty thousand of his soldiers in the Isla de Leon, designed for South America, mutinied. He did then what a monarch of sense would have done many years before, — he granted a Constitution, — but it was too late.

Ferdinand VII directed Morillo, at Caracas, and his other generals and viceroys, to obtain from the rebellious chiefs their recognition of this Constitution, agreeing that those revolutionary military Jefes and civil governors who would do this should continue under the new régime in the same grade in which they had served the revolution. A truce was to be declared at once. Morillo sent commissioners to Angostura, and to Generals Paez, Bermudez, Zaraza, Cedeño, Rojas, Montes, Monagas, Montilla, setting forth the propositions of Ferdinand VII and requesting a suspension of hostilities. Morillo's terms were rejected by the Congress of Angostura, which stated it would consider nothing short of complete independence. The several generals approached said they would refer the matter to the President.

On July 7 Bolívar received the circular from Morillo, as well as a proposition for suspension of hostilities for one month from Field Marshal Miguel de Latorre. He agreed to the suspension of hostilities, but declared that the only basis of peace would be the "recognition of the Republic as an independent, free, and sovereign State."

Early in August Bolívar made a rapid excursion along the Atlantic coast, as well as to Cucuta, Ocano, Mompos, Barranquilla, and Turbaco. About this time also there was much desperate fighting in the vicinity of Cartagena, Rio Hacha, and other points in Colombia.

On October 22 General Monagas, anti-royalist, with 1000 infantry and 200 cavalry, attacked Saint Just at Barcelona, and the royalists were forced to retire.

On September 23 an uprising took place among the royalist troops in Cumaná, and in Carupano and Cariaco the day following. These

were aided by anti-royalists, who succeeded in taking possession of this entire province.

On September 21 Bolívar arrived at San Cristóval, whence he sent a commissioner to Morillo urging that the Spaniards recognize independence and so end the war.

On October 2 Bolívar, with 5000 men, occupied Merida, and in a week's time took possession of the provinces of Merida and Trujillo.

On October 20 Colonel Reyes Vargas, royalist, who commanded in Carora, deserted the Spanish cause, and with his troops went over to Bolívar.

In the latter part of October Morillo sent three commissioners to meet Bolívar, to arrange an armistice, but they failed to meet him.

Bolívar is willing to terminate the "War to the Death"

On November 3 Bolívar sent three commissioners to meet Morillo, stating that he desired to make a treaty, truly "sacred," which should "govern the war and free it from the horrors and crimes which were committed in it." In short, he "proposed the cessation of war to the death which had been made up to that date, although it was certain that now it was not made with the same fury as in the first years."

Bolívar had proclaimed "war to the death," first at Merida, on June 8, 1813; later at Trujillo, on June 15, 1813. In the latter decree he had stated that every Spaniard who refused or failed to take up arms actively in support of the revolution should be "*irremisiblemente pasado por las armas*," — "irrevocably condemned to death."

Seven years and five months of murders, horrors, cruelties, assassinations, outrages, infamies, robberies, incendiarism, anarchy, crime, villany, diabolism, and hellishness unspeakable over the whole northern half of the great continent — and still our Boston professors call Bolívar the "Washington of South America"!

On November 25 Bolívar's commissioners signed an armistice with the commissioners sent by Morillo, at Carache, the headquarters of the "Liberator." The terms called for a six months' truce; commissioners were to be appointed to form a treaty definitely to end the war, failing which forty days' notice was to be given by each side before beginning any act of hostility; prisoners were to be exchanged and humanely treated; and neither side was to reinforce or strengthen itself in the interim. It was agreed that the burning and pillage of cities should cease, that deserters found in the ranks of the other side should not be executed, and that cadavers lying unburied (of which there were tens of thousands in all parts of the country) should be interred or cremated.

On November 27 Generals Morillo and Bolívar met in the parish of Santana, midway between Trujillo and Carache, with their

respective aide-de-camps. They embraced each other, like long-lost brothers, dined, made speeches, and held a general jubilation.

Benedetti says:

"Continuing the gallantries, Morillo proposed that in the place where they had embraced there should be erected a pyramid, on the base of which should be engraved the names of the commissioners of Colombia and Spain who had concluded the treaty putting an end to the war to the death, and that the first stone should be conducted there by those who had ratified and approved the treaty [himself and Bolívar]. The idea was caught up with enthusiasm; the Liberator and General Morillo carried an angular stone, which should be the corner-stone of the pyramid, between the two of them, to the designated place, and over it they embraced again, reiterating their protests to rigorously comply with the treaty whose celebration had been made in that point; and Morillo added then to the proposal which was agreed to, that both the governments of Colombia and Spain should designate engineers who should be charged with the erection of the work.

"But, like every other project in Colombia, the said pyramid remained merely a project; it was never carried to a reality; and the desire to execute it passed with the general armistice for six months, upon the commencement of the war again, although not to the death."

I am not able to divert from my mind the thought that the Latin Americans, even the greatest of them, are silly, frivolous, treacherous, irresponsible; even the sight of Bolívar and Morillo hugging each other over an angular stone is not able to modify this disagreeable impression.

On December 22 Bolívar set out from San Cristóval for Bogotá. He left General Urdaneta, with 5000 men, on the right bank of the river Santo Domingo between Barinas and Trujillo; General Paez, with 4000 troops, mostly cavalry, covered the right of the river Apure from its mouth to the Santo Domingo; General Bermudez, with 3000 men, stood on the right of the river Unare covering the provinces of Barcelona and Cumaná and part of the plaíns of Caracas.

In the latter part of this year Zea, Vice-President, was sent as commissioner to England to raise funds and equipment. About 5800 English and 300 German soldiers had been contracted for employment in the revolutionary armies. Of course the payments promised to these soldiers had never been made, nor had any money been paid for arms and supplies purchased on the good faith of Bolívar's "government." These debts in England amounted now to £731,762 sterling, for which Zea gave certificates purporting to draw 10 per cent interest.

Campaign of 1821 — The Armistice ends and Fighting is resumed

1821. — On January 5, Bolívar arrived in Bogotá. Here he received a Spanish commissioner from Caracas, at whose instance

commissioners were sent to Spain for the purpose of making a treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding that an armistice had been signed for six months, Bolívar occupied himself in furnishing supplies to the revolutionists of Quito and Peru, and his own generals everywhere went on recluting, and attacking detached squads of Spanish troops, just the same as if no armistice existed. They began the siege of Cartagena, and wrested almost the entire coast of Colombia from the Spaniards, under cover of this treaty, before the Spanish generals realized their treachery. At Maracaibo the anti-royalists had an understanding with General Urdaneta that they would proclaim independence and rely upon his troops to aid them.

On January 28 the officials of Maracaibo declared the independence of the province and united it to Colombia.

On January 29 Colonel Heras, with a battalion of *tiradores*, under orders of General Urdaneta, went to Maracaibo and took possession of it. Urdaneta notified Marshal Latorre, royalist, of these facts, and the latter at once demanded that the anti-royalist troops be taken away from Maracaibo, in compliance with the armistice. Bolívar, who had returned to Cucuta, replied to Latorre that as Maracaibo had made itself independent of Spain, the Colombian troops in occupying that place had not occupied Spanish territory, and therefore had not violated the armistice, which, he alleged, did not prohibit Colombia from taking under its flag people who might apply for protection. He concluded by demanding that Latorre should deliver to Colombia the armory of Cucuta and the provinces of Maracaibo and Rio Hacha, and threatened that if his demands were refused he would commence hostilities again within forty days.

Marshal Latorre replied to Bolívar, that his demands were inconceivable, and entirely unexpected in view of the negotiations for the termination of hostilities. He thereupon notified Bolívar that hostilities would commence on April 28. Both sides now forgot all about the hugging episode between Bolívar and Morillo over the angular stone, and made ready again for their customary pastime of throat-cutting.

On April 20, eight days ahead of the game, Colonel Candamo, royalist, with 300 men, was completely destroyed by Colonel Lara, with about the same number, at Lorica, in Colombia, and war broke out in all parts of Colombia, in Guayaquil and Venezuela.

On April 28 General Urdaneta, anti-royalist, took possession of Altagracia, a few miles across the lake from Maracaibo.

On May 11 Coro declared its independence, the royalist troops blowing up their powder magazine and running away. Desperate guerrilla warfare ravaged this province, and, in fact, the whole of Venezuela.

General Bermudez in the mean time, with 800 men, had completely destroyed 250 royalists near Guapo, at the hacienda Chuspita.

Colonel José Maria Monagas, royalist, came from Caracas, and attacked Bermudez, with 500 men, near Guatire, but was defeated, losing 1 officer and 66 men killed.

On May 14 General Bermudez occupied Caracas, with 700 men. It had been abandoned by the royalist Colonel Ramon Correa, who retired to the valley of Aragua. Caracas was almost deserted, its few remaining inhabitants having taken to the woods at the sight of their "liberators."

General Bermudez pursued Correa at once and attacked him at Consejo. Correa had only 700 men, and as he was outnumbered and taken by surprise, he was completely defeated, and his troops either killed or dispersed.

On May 24, in the highlands of Cocuisas, General Bermudez was attacked by 2000 royalist soldiers, under Morales. The battle lasted all day, without decided advantage to either side. During the night General Bermudez retreated.

On May 26 General Morales, royalist, took possession of Caracas without resistance, Bermudez retreating to Guarenas.

On May 30 General Bermudez was reinforced with 400 men under Arismendi, and shortly after received 300 from Colonel Avendano, and 500 from Colonel Macero from the valley of Tuy. He now assumed the offensive. He sent Colonel Macero with 500 men to attack Colonel Ramón Avoy, royalist, but Macero was defeated near Santa Lucia, and lost 300 men.

On June 15 General Bermudez attacked the royalist Pereira at Santa Lucia, and dislodged him, although Bermudez lost 200 men to Pereira's 100 in killed and wounded.

A few days later, Pereira fought Colonel Cora, anti-royalist, at Dos Caminos, and defeated him.

General Bermudez, with 1200 men, now attacked Pereira, in the heights of Calvario, to the west of Caracas, and although the royalists were inferior in numbers, they almost completely destroyed Bermudez's army, the loss in killed, wounded, and deserted being about 1050 out of a total of 1200.

On June 20 Bolívar left San Carlos, with 6000 men, to meet Latorre, who had an almost equal force.

On June 24 Bolívar attacked the troops of Latorre at Carabobo. General Paez with his llaneros executed a flank movement, but was driven back by the right wing of Latorre's army. Bolívar had here 1000 English soldiers, whose desperate fighting saved the day for the anti-royalist arms. The Spaniards who were pursuing Paez were driven back by the British soldiers by means of a desperate fire. The Englishmen ran out of ammunition, however, and were compelled to attack the Spaniards with bayonets. Seven bloody charges were made, and the Spaniards, though they outnumbered the Englishmen four to one, could not withstand the attacks and fled in disorder,

whereupon Paez and his llaneros rode over them in a pell-mell charge and scattered them in panic. The English mercenaries have never received proper credit for the work they did at this battle; in fact, they were treated like dogs by Bolívar, and despised by his soldiers. While these events transpired, Bolívar attacked the battalion of Valencey in the rear with artillery, and in a short time it retreated in confusion, large numbers of the soldiers fleeing to the woods. The actual battle did not last much over an hour, and the anti-royalists had no more than 3500 men in action, although they had 6000 men on the field. Their losses did not exceed 200 men. The Spaniards retreated to Puerto Cabello, where they arrived with something over 4000 men, their losses in killed, wounded, and deserted being between 1500 and 2000. This battle, apparently no different from any one of a hundred others as regards its magnitude or the number killed, was in fact one of the decisive engagements of South American independence. The power of Spain had been broken in Europe and elsewhere. The psychological moment in military matters had arrived, so that no great victory was needed effectually to discredit Spain in Venezuela. Pereira, who had signally defeated Bermudez at Calvario, in the confines of Caracas, fearing to measure arms with Bolívar, left in hot haste for Puerto Cabello, but, afraid also to meet Bolívar in the road, returned to La Guayra.

On June 29 Bolívar entered Caracas.

On July 3 Pereira surrendered to Bolívar his troops, to the number of 700 men. Of these 500 at once entered the army of Bolívar.

On July 11 Escalona, the anti-royalist Governor of Coro, was attacked by 800 royalists at Cumarebo, but after a whole day's battle defeated them.

On August 8 Escalona was attacked by 2000 royalists, under Colonel Tello, but succeeded in winning a second victory, although he had greatly inferior numbers. Tello fled to Puerto Cabello, and a number of important royalist guerrilla chiefs, with their men, went over to the other side.

On August 22 Latorre tried to escape from Puerto Cabello, but lost two companies in a battle with Colonel Manrique, and was compelled to return.

On September 2 the commissioners sent by Bolívar to Spain to treat for peace were expelled from the country. The Corte had heard of the revolution in Maracaibo during the armistice, and claimed it to be an act of bad faith.

On October 16 Cumaná was surrendered, with 800 men, by the royalist Colonel José Caturla to General Bermudez. The latter had only a short time before seized San Carlos, and captured 400 royalist troops.

On November 10 General Latorre, royalist, sent General

Morales, with 800 picked men, in eight boats to attack La Guayra, where he lost one boat. He then sailed for Catu, where he disembarked 600 men, and marched upon Ocumare, sacking the town. He then returned to Puerto Cabello.

At the same time General Latorre sent 500 men under Colonel Tomas Garcia to make an attack on Valencia, but, meeting resistance at Naguanagua, the troops returned.

In Coro Colonel Justo Briceño, anti-royalist, reunited 1100 infantry and 200 cavalry, and took possession of La Vela de Coro and the city of Coro, after two combats with Manuel Carrera, a royalist guerrilla chief.

After several months of guerrilla fighting in the peninsula of Paraguana, the anti-royalist Colonel Francisco Gil was driven out in September. The royalist guerrilla Colonel Carrera, in the mountains of San Luis, defeated the anti-royalist chief Vargas, and compelled him to retreat into the valley of Baragua; and when Escobar, another anti-royalist guerrilla, was sent against him with reinforcements, Carrera was again victorious, and drove his antagonist to Casicure.

At the end of September Carrera, with 500 men, attacked the anti-royalist colonel, who had only 130 soldiers, at Coro; but the latter were in houses and behind walls, well protected, and with four pieces of artillery they succeeded in defeating the royalist colonel.

On November 6, 500 anti-royalists, under Colonel Gomez, in Coro, were attacked by an equal number of men under Carrera. The battle lasted four days, when the anti-royalists were reinforced by 200 men under Colonel Perez. They then assumed the offensive, and drove Carrera back into the mountains.

On December 3 Bolívar ordered the execution, in Caracas, of Colonel Antonio Ramos, a royalist guerrilla chief, who with 60 men had been taken prisoners near Calabozo. Generals Latorre and Morales, royalists, upbraided Bolívar bitterly for this vile disregard of his solemn treaty to terminate the "war to the death" and to treat prisoners of war in a civilized manner.

Guerrilla bands were now roving in all parts of Venezuela, operating on either side, murdering and robbing to their hearts' content.

In the mean time a Congress had been held in Cucuta, which declared the union of Venezuela and Colombia; a constitution was adopted, and Bolívar elected President.

The year 1821 ended with the Spaniards practically confined to Puerto Cabello, and part of the province of Coro, in Venezuela. Guayaquil had gained its independence the preceding year; Panama declared its freedom in 1821, and Colombia was now almost free from Spanish control.

Events in Venezuela during 1822

The campaigns of great importance during this year were in Peru and Bolivia, where the chief interest is centred in the movements of San Martin and Sucré.

On January 1 Bolívar arrived at Cali, and directed himself to the task of co-operating with Sucré and San Martin in driving the Spaniards out of those countries. He met San Martin in Guayaquil on July 26. The campaign in Venezuela, which was relatively unimportant, was intrusted to his generals, under the direction of General Soublette.

On January 9 General Latorre, royalist, who had arrived from Puerto Cabello at Los Teques, near La Vela de Coro, with 1200 veterans, occupied the city of Coro, and attacked the anti-royalist Colonel Juan Gomez, who had about 1000 men. After two battles he compelled the latter to capitulate. Latorre then recluted about 1500 new soldiers among the inhabitants of Coro.

On January 16 the royalist Colonel Lorenzo Morillo, with 900 men, attacked Colonel Reyes Vargas, anti-royalist, who had 500 men, in the valley of Baragua. The latter was completely surprised and lost every man he had, in killed, wounded, or deserted. Morillo then made a raid as far as Carora, taking much booty and 4000 head of cattle.

Soublette, Bolívar's Director General, sent General Paez to pacify the western part of Venezuela. He had ample forces under his orders.

On February 23 General Paez arrived at Yaritagua, and Latorre ordered all his troops to retreat to Coro. Paez sent in his resignation from this place, saying that he, being superior in rank to Soublette, did not care to take orders from the latter. He was induced, however, to withdraw his resignation. Colonel Reyes Vargas, anti-royalist, now drove Morillo back into the interior of the province of Coro.

On February 26 General Latorre, royalist, sent 200 soldiers from Puerto Cabello, to take possession of the heights of Vijirima, but they were destroyed by anti-royalists who, under Soublette's orders, were besieging Puerto Cabello. A similar fate mét an equal body at Pantanero. The lines of the anti-royalists drew closer to the last stronghold of the Spanish, and there were many bloody fights.

Early in March, Brigadier Morales, royalist, took personal command of the Spanish troops in the province, and forced Colonel Heras, anti-royalist, with 2000 soldiers, to retire from Altagracia, — a position which protected Maracaibo.

On April 17 Colonel Pinañgo, anti-royalist, under immediate orders of General Soublette, with 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, attacked 500 royalists in Chipare, near Coro, under Colonel Tello,

and killed 120 men, compelling the others to flee. Pinañgo then captured Coro. General Paez refused to take part in the campaign.

On April 23 General Morales, royalist, from Altagracia, sent across the lake by sail-boat two expeditions against Maracaibo. One body of 220 men, under command of Captain Juan Ballesteros, disembarked at Hoyada, 3 miles from Maracaibo; the other of 600 men, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Morillo, at Cañada, about 18 miles to the south of the city. General Morales now learned of Pinañgo's movement against Coro. He therefore left his two columns on the west side of Maracaibo Lake, and with his main force returned to meet Pinañgo, who retired to Carora, and on May 9 reunited with General Soublette. The anti-royalist forces were greatly weakened by desertions, and had 700 men sick.

On April 24 the column of 220 men, under Captain Ballesteros, was attacked by General Lino Clemente, anti-royalist commander of the State of Zulia. The fight occurred at the ranch of San Juan de Avila, and Ballesteros was compelled to surrender his force, after losing 47 killed.

On May 4 the column under Morillo was captured in Perija by General Lino Clemente, there being 44 officers and 518 men taken prisoners.

On June 7 General Soublette, with 700 men, encountered the royalist General Morales, with 1200 men, in Dabajuro. General Soublette was defeated, losing 100 men killed and many prisoners, several of whom were treacherously assassinated by Morales, among them being Captains Telechea and Trainer, and sub-Lieutenant Velazco.

On July 17 General Soublette, after having recluted 1000 infantry and 100 cavalry, united with an equal force in Juritiba, under a German colonel, Julio Augusto Reimboldt.

On July 23 General Morales, finding himself greatly outnumbered by the opposing troops, embarked for Puerto Cabello from La Vela, with 700 soldiers, in the Spanish squadron, and sent the remainder of his army, 400 men, for the same destination, via Valencia. During the final part of his campaign in the province of Coro, General Morales had committed unspeakable outrages, assassinating more than 200 non-combatants and prisoners of war.

On July 30 General Paez abandoned the siege of Puerto Cabello. He had 2000 men, but most of them were sick, and his bombardments of the fortress had accomplished nothing. Paez was ambitious to be Jefe Supremo, and was jealous of Soublette. He issued extraordinary orders, and was guilty of arbitrary and tyrannical practices.

On August 11 General Morales, royalist, with 1800 men, appeared before Valencia, and after a fight with 500 men under Colonel Woodbury was compelled to retire, with a loss of 50 killed, the anti-royalists losing 74.

On August 18 Morales returned to Puerto Cabello.

Desperate guerrilla warfare continued in the province of Caracas and other places.

On August 24 General Morales, with 14 vessels and 1200 men, arrived in Curoçao, en route for Maracaibo. He had left Puerto Cabello, on this expedition, entirely without the knowledge of either Soublette or Paez. He remained twenty-four hours in Curoçao, receiving supplies from Spaniards there.

On August 30 General Morales disembarked at Cojoro, in the port called Teta, in the Goajira peninsula, and marched at once for Maracaibo.

On September 4 General Morales, having crossed the river Sucuy near its junction with the Guasare, was attacked at midnight by Colonel Carlos Castelli, with 500 men, but after two hours of fighting the latter was compelled to retreat with a loss of 33 men.

On September 6 General Morales had arrived at Salinarica, one day's march from Maracaibo, when he was attacked by General Lino Clemente, the anti-royalist commander of Zulia, with about 800 men. General Clemente was overwhelmingly defeated, having 500 men killed and wounded. He fled to Cañada with hardly 300 men, leaving Maracaibo to the mercy of the Spaniards.

On September 7 General Morales took possession of Maracaibo.

On September 8 Morales demanded the capitulation of Fort San Carlos, which commands the entrance to Maracaibo Lake. It was commanded by Sergeant Major Natividad Villamil, with 300 infantry, 37 artillerymen, 4 war-vessels, and ample provisions and supplies. As Morales had 1000 men with him, Villamil surrendered without a fight. Morales now became supreme on both shores of Maracaibo Lake and in the State of Zulia.

Shortly after this, Pedro Valiente and Manuel Martinez, royalist guerrilla chiefs, operating in the provinces of Caracas, Guardatinajas, and Tiznados, destroyed a force under Manuel Perez, and committed serious depredations.

General Soublette now decreed a forced loan of $300,000.

On September 15 General Morales issued a decree stating that all foreigners in the service of the anti-royalists who should be taken prisoners would be condemned to death, — this order was directed against the English and German mercenaries.

On October 15 General Montilla, anti-royalist, arrived at Rio Hacha, Colombia, with 1500 men, supported by a fleet of boats under Colonel José Padilla, with the intention of marching upon Maracaibo, via Sinamaica.

On November 3 Colonel José Sarda, with 1000 infantry and 150 scouts and a body of artillerymen, under the general orders of Montilla, took possession of Sinamaica, defeating the royalist garrison of two companies.

On November 13 Colonel Sarda was attacked at Sinamaica by

General Morales, royalist, who by rapid marches from Maracaibo, with 1800 infantry and 120 cavalry, had crossed the Rio Limon near where it is formed by the junction of the Sucuy and Guasare, and thence came upon Sarda from the rear, cutting him off from his base. Sarda was completely defeated, having 400 killed, losing 600 prisoners and all his equipage. Less than 300 men got back to Rio Hacha. Of one battalion of 228 soldiers, only 8 escaped; another of 482 men lost 393. The Spaniards lost 238 soldiers in killed and wounded.

On November 26 General Morales, royalist, disembarked 1000 men in Ancon, intending to invade the province of Coro. He also sent other forces to occupy Seibita and the coasts of Trujillo.

On December 3 Morales arrived at Coro, and took possession of the town, the anti-royalists, 300 in number, under Colonel Torrellas, retiring to the mountains of San Luis.

On December 5 Morales attacked Torrellas with superior forces, and after a whole day's fight compelled him to retreat, with the loss of his artillery. Owing to the darkness of the night, with a desperate storm raging, the royalists were unable to give effectual pursuit.

On December 24 Morales, having left royalist governors in control of Coro, returned to Maracaibo, and sailed with 1400 men to attack the anti-royalist General Clemente, who was in Gibraltar with 240 infantry. The latter retired to Motataco, where he united with Colonel Cruz Carrillo, with 60 infantry and 60 cavalry, and continued the retreat to Carache.

On December 28 General Morales occupied Trujillo. He left Calzada with the main army at Mendoza and continued to Merida with 500 men, leaving a garrison of only 26 men in Trujillo.

With these events ended the military campaign of 1822 in Venezuela. The warlike operations of real importance were being carried on in Quito, Peru, Chile, and what is now Bolivia. The decisive victory of Pichincha had been won in that territory by Sucré.

The Financial Status of the Anti-Royalist Government of Nueva Granada at the End of 1822

The light and airy way in which Venezuela and Colombia plunge themselves into debt, with no intention of ever paying up, is displayed at the very outset of their existence. It has already been noted how their agents enlisted English and German soldiers, promising payments which were never made.

In 1821 Zea, Bolívar's Vice-President, had been sent as a commissioner to London to procure funds and arrange for extension of time on the debts already owing there. He had issued debentures drawing 10 per cent interest, and in this manner compromised with the creditors. But the interest had never been paid on them, nor had

payments been made for large quantities of supplies. To meet these obligations, Zea negotiated, in February, 1822, with Messrs. Herring, Graham & Pawles, debentures to the amount of £140,000 sterling, at 65½ per cent of their face value, which produced £91,712 sterling, it being proposed to pay debts, interest, and buy needed supplies with this money. Zea now contracted a loan in Paris of £2,000,000 sterling, issuing debentures at 80 per cent of their face value. These debentures purported to draw 6 per cent interest. This loan also was effected through Herring, Graham & Pawles, on March 13, they receiving 2 per cent commission for procuring the loan, 2½ per cent for paying the interest on former debentures, and 1 per cent for attending to the amortization. These debentures were to fall due in 1849.

In the mean time the Congress in Cucuta learned that Zea was obtaining these loans, and it promptly revoked his power of attorney, and sent José Rafael Revenga to Europe to take charge of this department. Zea was living like a millionaire, and spending money as though it grew on trees. Some things, however, he did buy for the Republic. The vessel Zafiro with 28 cannon arrived at La Guayra in November, and, a short time later, the Mosquito, a brigantine with 20 cannon. After having bought these boats, as a result of his deals in debentures, the Republic declared that the debentures were illegal, and that Zea had acted without authority. When the vessels arrived, the authorities of the anti-royalists received them, and valued them to suit themselves, and said they would pay for them in cash — in the future. Revenga, the new commissioner, was locked up in jail in England, Mackintosh and Lopez Mendez claiming that he had defrauded them out of £90,000 sterling.

It seems strange that business men of any sense would advance money or goods under such circumstances to such a people. This is one case to which the doctrine of *caveat emptor* might very properly be made to apply.

Campaign of 1823 and Final Overthrow of the Royalists

On the 2d of January "Congress" met in Bogotá, representing the federation of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Heavy insurrections existed in all parts of the countries named, and guerrilla fights were too numerous to mention. Groups of 50 or 100 men, or even 200, sallied forth from mountain towns or inaccessible places. In Mantecal, in Bajo Apure, guerrillas flew a black flag, declaring "death to the whites"; but the principal Venezuelan generals censured this movement, and General Paez finally induced these chiefs to modify their savage decrees. A similar war against the "whites" was instituted in the towns of Guayana and Santa Cruz, in the province of Cumaná, where 200 fanatical half-breeds defied the authority of

General Bermudez, anti-royalist commander, and instituted a war of extermination against persons of white skins. General Bermudez subdued them, and shot about 15 of them, after taking them prisoners.

A rebellion also broke out against anti-royalist authority in San Juan de la Cienaga, Santa Marta, and at many other points.

On January 4 General Clemente captured the garrison of Trujillo. He united with 600 infantry and 100 cavalry, commanded by Torrellas, and they followed Morales to Carache. Calzado, fearing to encounter Clemente, embarked his forces at Gibraltar for Maracaibo, leaving Morales to look out for himself.

On January 8 Morales took possession of Merida, which had only a small garrison of anti-royalists, under Governor Paredes. He, however, soon returned to Maracaibo, after many skirmishes, his total loss in the campaign being 200 men.

On February 10 General Morales, the energetic royalist commander at Maracaibo, sent 600 men, under Colonel Narciso Lopez, via Perija, to aid the counter-revolution in San Juan de la Cienaga.

On the same day he sent 400 men, under Colonel Antonio Lopez de Mendoza, via the Goajira peninsula, with the same object.

On March 10 General Montilla, anti-royalist, who had been in Santa Marta, united with General Sarda at Rio Hacha. The Spaniards had taken Fonseca. Colonel Carmona, with 700 men, was detached by the anti-royalist general for the purpose of attacking Mendoza, and the latter commenced a retreat to Maracaibo, although suffering relatively small losses.

Colonel Narciso Lopez raided the valley of Upar; occupied Molino, where he inaugurated a magnificent government, on paper, which lasted twelve days; fought several skirmishes, at Voladorcito, Agua del Monte, and other points, and arrived at Maracaibo at the end of March with a loss of 200 men in the campaign.

General Montillo, anti-royalist, took possession once more of Molino, Tablazo, and other points which had been abandoned by Mendoza. He assassinated 15 royalists who had given aid to the latter, and sent 20 of them prisoners to Rio Hacha.

On April 17 Colonel Manrique, anti-royalist, completely defeated at Gibraltar a royalist detachment of several hundred sent against him by Morales.

A few days afterwards Manrique sent a detachment under Colonel Reyes Gonzalez to attack the royalists at Coro. He suffered a defeat, which was not serious; but, reinforcements arriving, he with 600 men attacked Coro, and occupied it. This entire province had been utterly destroyed; the remnants of the population were starving, desolation was everywhere, skeletons covered the land, and the soldiers for once found nothing which they could take by force to sustain themselves. Even burro meat was scarce; and men, women, and children,

reduced to skin and bones, lived on the only available substance, — a poisonous fruit called *cuji*, which caused horrible sickness and death.

Colonel Manrique found the same conditions in Betijoque. In fact, all Venezuela was a scene of misery which beggars description.

On May 1 Colonel Antonio Gomez, with 600 men, sent from Maracaibo by General Morales, attacked Colonel Reyes Gonzalez at Coro, who with 600 men repulsed the Spaniards, and the latter retired to Los Teques.

On May 2 Colonel Gonzalez assumed the offensive, attacking the Spaniards and defeating them after a fierce battle. The royalists lost 200 killed, 75 prisoners, and many deserters.

A few days after this, General Morales sent another expedition of 600 men, under Colonel Manuel Lorenzo, against Coro, and Colonel Reyes Gonzalez retired.

On May 1 the anti-royalist brigantine and two sloops blockading Puerto Cabello were attacked by a frigate, a sloop, and two smaller sailing-vessels, well armed and manned by Spaniards, under the command of Angel Laborde. The anti-royalist brigantine, after two hours' fighting, escaped, but the two sloops were boarded and captured by the Spaniards in a hand-to-hand encounter. Puerto Cabello now obtained its needed supplies.

On May 3 Colonel Padilla, the anti-royalist commander of the vessels which were blockading the port of Maracaibo, called a council of war, and decided upon as desperate and brave a feat as was ever performed by men, — that is, to force his way past Fort San Carlos into Maracaibo Lake, and there attack the Spanish squadron, the strength of which was largely conjectural.

On May 7 at nightfall, Padilla anchored in front of Fort San Carlos, but out of reach of the guns. He had 2 brigantines, 5 three-mast schooners, 2 smaller vessels, all of which were well manned and armed, and 2 brigantines and 2 three-mast schooners unarmed. The Spaniards had at Punta de Palma, half-way between Fort San Carlos and Maracaibo, 2 brigantines, 7 three-mast schooners, and 2 smaller boats.

On May 8 the brave Padilla, the Dewey of that day, spent the entire day and night getting his fleet past Fort San Carlos. They were compelled to go within one-half mile of the fort, which fired more than 300 cannon shots at them. One boat was burned by the fire, and sunk, but most of the crew were saved. The very poor marksmanship of the Spanish gunners enabled the fleet to pass the shoal and dangerous waters, the vessels being aground several times under the fire of the fort.

A few miles south of Fort San Carlos in the Lake is an extensive shallow place, called Tablazo, with a crooked narrow channel. It took four days to pass this place, many of the boats going aground in the soft mud, making it necessary to take off their artillery and other cargo in order to get them afloat again.

On May 20 Padilla's fleet was attacked in front of Punta de Palma by the royalists, with 11 boats of large size and 14 smaller, but after a bloody combat the Spaniards retired.

A few days afterwards Padilla attacked the Spanish fleet in front of Mojan, and then near Maracaibo, without decisive results, although the Spaniards were worsted.

On May 30 Padilla, after scouring Maracaibo Lake and communicating with the anti-royalists of Coro and Rio Hacha, weighed anchor at Ceibita and Moporo, where he communicated with Colonel Manrique. Here there were skirmishes with the royalists, whose guerrilla chief, Rosario Tales, was creating havoc at Gibraltar.

On June 6 Colonel Padilla sailed, having been reinforced with the division of Colonel Manrique. At Corona they disembarked 100 men and fought a detachment of Spaniards.

On June 14 Padilla sailed for Altagracia, on the opposite side of the lake from Maracaibo.

On June 16 Colonel Padilla made an attack on Maracaibo, where there were only 250 royalist troops under Colonel Jaime Moreno, Morales having taken all the others to Fort San Carlos. Padilla's boats fired 500 cannon shots at the batteries, without doing serious damage. Thereupon, at five P. M., Colonel Manrique at the head of 250 infantry and 50 dragoons, commenced an all-night attack, which was carried on from street to street and house to house. At about eight P. M. both sides were reinforced. At ten P. M. the anti-royalists captured the fort and artillery, and the serious fighting was over. The royalists lost 80 killed and 150 wounded; the anti-royalists, 52 killed and 130 wounded. The Spanish Governor, Moreno, was taken prisoner, and the royalists lost all their artillery and ammunition.

General Morales was now reinforced by Colonel Lorenzo, who had made a flying march from Coro, and crossed the lake in such boats as he could find.

On June 19 General Morales, with 2500 soldiers, returned to Maracaibo, and took possession of the city, Colonels Padilla and Manrique sailing for the island of Los Burros.

On June 25 Colonel Padilla's force was reinforced with 900 men under Colonel Torrellas, who had come from Coro. Padilla also armed 5 vessels.

On June 29 Padilla appeared before the Spanish fleet of 17 armed boats in front of Mojan, but the latter evaded battle, and retired to the mouth of the river Garubaya. The troops on both sides were almost starving, and Padilla had 700 men sick. His smaller boats attacked the Spanish vessels, but were compelled to retire.

On July 16 a Spanish fleet, under Captain Anjel Laborde, arrived in front of Fort San Carlos, with 1 sloop of war, 1 brigantine, 3 schooners, and 2 merchant vessels, with 90 men, which was placed

at the orders of General Morales. The latter now demanded that Padilla surrender, and was answered with a haughty refusal. Both sides now prepared for the great naval battle.

On July 23 the manœuvring for position commenced between the contending forces. The Spanish squadron was composed of 14 large vessels and 15 smaller ones; the anti-royalist of 3 brigantines, 7 three-mast schooners, 10 smaller vessels, and 12 light boats. The Spanish vessels drew up in line of battle off Punta de Palma, and those under Padilla in front of Altagracia.

On July 24 the wind was unfavorable until two P. M., when Padilla's vessels got under way, with orders to board the Spanish boats and take them with the machete. At four P. M. the attack was made with an indescribable fierceness. The water in a few moments was red with blood — arms, legs, and heads were cut off and thrown overboard, and wounded men threw themselves into the water, hoping to swim ashore. The royalists lost 11 boats, captured, and 2 sunk. They escaped to Maracaibo with only 3 schooners and 2 small vessels. Padilla had lost, in killed, 8 officers and 36 men; wounded, 14 officers and 105 men. The Spaniards lost 473 men in killed and wounded, and 68 officers and 369 men prisoners.

On August 3 General Morales surrendered Maracaibo, Fort San Carlos, and his remaining vessels to General Padilla, stipulating that his troops should be sent to Cuba at the expense of the Republic.

On August 20 Morales evacuated Maracaibo, but only 931 men went to Cuba, of which 450 were officers, the remainder of a total force of 2156 men being Venezuelans. These elected to remain and serve in the armies of the anti-royalists.

Puerto Cabello now remained the only important point held by the Spaniards in Venezuela.

On October 28 General Paez, after severe firing, received the surrender of the battery, La Vijia, one of those defending Puerto Cabello. He now changed the course of the river which supplied the town with water, causing extreme suffering to the inhabitants and garrison.

On November 7 General Paez directed a night attack upon Puerto Cabello, which led to its surrender the following day. He selected 500 men from the battalion Anzoategui and 100 picked lancers, placing them under Major Manuel Cala, with Lieutenant-Colonel José Andres Elorza second in command. A negro slave went as guide. He knew every foot of the shallow laguna Mangle, in the rear of Puerto Cabello, the banks of which were inadequately defended by the Spaniards. At ten o'clock at night, covered by the intense darkness of the tropics, these 500 men, observing the strictest silence, with machetes in hand, being entirely naked except for breech-clouts, started wading across the laguna, — a large expanse of water, with muddy bottom, filled with decayed vegetation and snakes. After four and one-half hours the vanguard reached dry land, between the batteries

Constitucion and Princesa. A desperate fight now commenced in all parts of the city. General Paez with his artillery opened fire upon the Spanish batteries, while the 500 men in their breech-clouts fought like demons — and looked like them. The royalists were whipped at all points, and before daylight 156 of them had been killed, 56 wounded, and 250 taken prisoners, among the latter being Brigadier Calzada, commander of the place. The anti-royalists claimed to have lost only 45 men.

On November 10 the fort of San Felipe, which commanded Puerto Cabello, was surrendered to General Paez, and five days later the Spaniards embarked for Cuba, in accordance with their terms of capitulation, leaving Venezuela free, with the exception of guerrillas.

There yet remained a strong rebellion in Pasto, and other parts of Colombia, which required many battles to subdue. Some of the most desperate fighting of the whole war was also taking place in the southern part of Colombia and what is now Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru.

Events of 1824 in Venezuela

What is now Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador had, at the end of 1823, practically gained its independence. The new Republic had been recognized by the United States the previous year (May 22, 1822), and diplomatic representatives had been sent to Bogotá by our country and Great Britain. The threatened interference of the "Holy Alliance," if it was ever seriously contemplated, which is extremely doubtful, had been given its quietus by the declarations of Mr. Channing, the English Prime Minister, and by the message of President Monroe to Congress in December, 1823.

What may we now expect to be the next thing on the program of our "Sister Republic"? Evidently, to get more money, if possible, somewhere, and then start more revolutions.

The financial part did not seem difficult — in fact, the English bankers were "easy."

Although the Republic had repudiated its former obligations, a new commissioner, José Manuel Hurtado, was sent to London to get a new loan of 30,000,000 pesos. He had unlimited powers — just such as a genuine republic would be likely to grant. Señor Hurtado found that the refusal to recognize the validity of the Zea loans had injured the "credit" of the Republic, and as he could not permit a little thing like that to interfere with the new scheme, he decided to recognize Zea's debentures and pay interest on them by issuing new ones. This method of robbing Peter to pay Paul seems to have satisfied the English bankers, for on April 22, 1824, B. A. Goldschmidt & Co., of London, signed a contract with Hurtado to give the money at 85 per cent of the face of the debentures, which purported to draw 6 per cent interest. After paying back interest, allowing commissions,

etc., the Republic had 23,750,000 pesos out of this loan, or £4,750,000 sterling. The foreign indebtedness now exceeded 40,000,000 pesos.

1824. — On April 5 the Congress met in Bogotá, adopted a magnificent Constitution, decreed a levy of 50,000 men for the army, and passed a number of as pretty laws as ever graced a statute book.

Theoretically Venezuela was now at peace. Actually there was a reign of terror in all parts of the country. Guerrillas, led by such desperate characters as Doroteo Hernandez, Juan Celestino Centeño, and others, robbed and murdered to their hearts' content. Others infested the provinces of Caracas, Apure, and elsewhere, robbing farmers of cattle which were killed for their hides. The rivers were filled with boats engaged in this business, and General Paez, who was now Chief Commander of the Armies of Venezuela, had great difficulty in preserving even a semblance of government. He enlisted many of these desperadoes for Bolívar's army, and sent them to Peru.

In August and September there were serious disturbances in the provinces of Guayana and Barcelona, but they were overcome, and the leaders shot.

On July 31 Colonel José Joaquin Maneiro, in the island of Margarita, recluted, that is, seized by force, 31 men and placed them in the army, to send them to Peru, upon a requisition from Bolívar for 100 men, it being understood that the remainder would be recluted in a few days. The people of Margarita arose in a rebellion against this, and set the reclutas at liberty. General Bermudez, Commander of the Department of the Orinoco, sent a small force against them; but the Margaritaños raised 600 armed men, and the force of Bermudez desisted.

On December 9, 200 negro slaves attacked the garrison of Petare with machetes, but after two days' fighting were repulsed.

These relatively unimportant events closed the year 1824 in Venezuela, — a land utterly desolated. Yet Bolívar's agents had managed to reclute, by force, 4000 men during this year and sent them to Peru!

The year was one of great importance, however, in the military operations of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

Affairs in the New Republic in 1825

On January 1 Congress met in Bogotá, and decreed medals, etc., to Bolívar and Sucré for their victories of Junin and Ayacucho.

On January 8 Congress read a letter from Bolívar, offering his resignation, which was refused.

At this time treaties were made with the United States, Central America, Peru, Chili, and Mexico.

On April 18 the Republic celebrated a treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain.

Manuel José Hurtado was accredited as the first minister to England, and José Maria Salazar to the United States.

Serious revolutions broke out in April, lasting several months, in the province of Pasto, within the present limits of Colombia. Guerrilla warfare continued in many parts of Venezuela, but there were no battles of importance.

An alleged census taken in 1825 (although how it was taken is not stated) gives the population as follows:

	Venezuela	Cundinamarca, now Colombia	Ecuador	Total
Freemen	609,545	1,182,500	485,021	2,277,066
Slaves	50,068	45,839	6,975	102,902
Indians	26,579	144,771	32,481	203,831
Total	686,212	1,373,110	524,477	2,583,799

At the end of the year 1825 the finances of the new Republic were in desperate condition. Most of the money which had been raised in London and Paris had been squandered, and of course no interest had ever been paid on the debentures. The expenses exceeded the income by millions of dollars. Resort was had to forced loans and confiscations, but these did not replenish the treasury. The debentures went down to 41 in London and the banking-house of B. A. Goldschmidt & Co., which had floated the loan of 30,000,000 pesos, became bankrupt. With the rebellion of Paez, which came later, the credit of the country was completely ruined. The truth is, the gentlemen who composed this so-called Republic were excellent warriors and fathers of families, but as producers they were and are of no account.

In December General Paez sent a commissioner to Peru to propose to Bolívar that they make a constitutional monarchy of the country; and a large number of Jefes with monarchial tendencies in Caracas sent another commissioner to Bogotá on the same mission. The fact is, none of them knew what they wanted — and their successors are equally as undecided to-day.

Events in the New Republic in 1826 — Rebellion of Paez

The Congress met at Bogotá on January 2, and on March 15 elected Bolívar President, and Santander Vice-President.

On January 6 General Paez, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of Venezuela, arrested practically all the able-bodied men of Caracas, and forced them into the army. These men, many of whom were prominent, raised such a hue and cry that General Juan Escalon, the Intendente General, opposed the recluta, and made complaint before the Senate, which impeached Paez.

This gave rise to a bitter controversy between the military element and those who desired to make the civil power supreme. The Senate at Caracas heard all the evidence, and decreed the suspension of General Paez from his post, and appointed General Escalon in his stead. This was the first and last time that the Senate of Venezuela ever dared to exercise its independent prerogatives in conflict with the Military Executive.

On April 27 Fernando Penalver, Governor of Carabobo, a partisan of Paez, called together the troops under him, and gave them to understand that the impeachment of Paez would cause the army great losses and disadvantages. Soldiers were secretly sent to cause disturbances in all parts of the country; armed bands appeared in a mysterious manner, — apparently robbers, but actually soldiers, sent out to play their part, — innocent citizens were shot without cause or mercy by the same soldiers, acting under orders of the friends of Paez, and then the cry was raised that the civil power was unable to maintain law and order or protect life and property, and that a military dictatorship was therefore necessary.

On April 30 the Consejo of the municipality of Valencia acclaimed General Paez as Military Chief of the Department, with Colonel Francisco Carabano as second in command, and Penalver as Governor. General Mariño now arrived at Valencia ready to aid the revolution. This city also declared that General Paez should be recognized as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as heretofore.

On May 4 the village of Maracay followed the example of Valencia.

On May 5 the municipality of Caracas did the same thing — the city which had caused the downfall of Paez by objecting to his outrageous reclutas! Talk of consistency and stability!

On May 11 Valencia, and on May 16 Caracas, passed acts designating General Paez as *Jefe Civil y Militar de Venezuela*, with authority to "conserve the public order" — and see that their beautiful Constitution was not in any manner violated — until Bolívar should arrive to straighten out matters.

On June 17 a severe earthquake occurred in Venezuela and Colombia, causing great damage, there being recurrent shocks for more than a month. The superstitious people thought this augured a change in the government.

On June 26 a Congress was held in Valencia, which condemned the administration of Santander and declared for Paez as head of the nation.

At this time Bolívar was obtaining the adoption of the Bolivian Constitution by the departments of Quito, Guayaquil, Lima, Panama, and by most of the departments of Colombia and Venezuela. This Constitution created a President for life, with power to name his successor, the office to be completely independent and above any and all other departments of the government.

As against this program, the Paez movement took another direction, favoring the separation of Venezuela from the remainder of Nueva Granada and declaring in favor of federation.

On August 22 the battalion "Apure," in Caracas, 500 soldiers, revolted, under Felipe Macero, and marched to Barcelona, placing itself under General Bermudez, who was opposed to Paez.

On October 3, in Margarita, 2000 declared for "federation," asking that the island be united to Venezuela.

On October 19 the garrison of Angostura revolted during the night, shouting, "*Viva el General Paez! Viva la federacion!*"

On November 5 General Bermudez arrived at Cumaná with 250 men, finding it already occupied by 600 soldiers.

On November 19 a battle was fought by the troops under Bermudez with the forces of Paez, in Cumaná, in which Bermudez was defeated and driven to Barcelona.

On November 7 General Paez called a meeting in Caracas, which passed a resolution declaring that Venezuela ought to constitute itself an independent State, severing all relations with the other parts of Nueva Granada. He immediately approved this act, and issued a decree calling a *Congreso Constituyente* to meet in Valencia on January 15, 1827.

Puerto Cabello now opposed this movement, although it had been the first city to declare in favor of this very thing. Her garrison arose in rebellion against Paez on November 21.

On November 14 Bolívar arrived in Bogotá, from Peru, having returned because of the Paez revolution in Venezuela. He was received very coldly, and entered Bogotá almost alone.

On November 24 Bolívar left Bogotá for Venezuela.

On November 25 General Paez declared that all the provinces of Venezuela were subject to his commands.

On November 26 General Paez sent troops against Puerto Cabello, under Colonel José de la Guerra, but after a skirmish both sides declared a truce.

On November 26 Colonel Diego Vallenilla called a meeting at Cumaná which declared allegiance to General Paez.

On December 3 and 4 Angostura declared in favor of Paez, and refused further to obey the orders of General Bermudez.

On December 5 General Bermudez was compelled to retire from Barcelona.

On December 18 General Paez sent 900 men to take charge of

Barinas, but they were compelled to retire by the forces under General Miguel Guerrero, who declared in favor of the "Liberator."

Bolívar, who now realized the state of affairs, left a letter with Santander in Bogotá, investing him with extraordinary faculties, dating that letter at Rosario de Cucuta, December 12. Santander caused the letter to be published on January 2, 1827, which would allow time for a messenger to arrive in Bogotá, and it served its purpose to keep Santander in power that year, because no Congress met to hold an election. As a matter of fact, Bolívar never went to Rosario de Cucuta at all.

On December 16 Bolívar arrived in Maracaibo. He found Venezuela in a state of great turmoil, — indeed, anarchy. Here he issued the customary batch of decretas and alocuciones, and proceeded to Puerto Cabello to meet Paez, who had published a proclamation that Bolívar was coming to Venezuela as a private citizen. Bolívar, the "Liberator" and Jefe Supremo, at once addressed a letter to Paez, advising him that he came to Venezuela as its Jefe, but that he would be very kind to Paez and everybody else.

On November 30 the Congress of Peru had declared that Bolívar's Constitution had been adopted, and that he had been elected President for life. Bolivia elected Sucré President for life, but that gentleman did not want the office, and agreed to hold it until 1828 only. Bolivia and Peru, on December 9, formed a union, calling themselves *Federacion Boliviana*, and Bolívar was elected President for life.

Bolívar makes a Decree and mollifies Paez — Events of 1827

On the last day of 1826 Bolívar arrived at Puerto Cabello. On January 1, 1827, he issued a decree declaring all sorts of guarantees, and proclaiming Paez as civil and military authority of Venezuela, under the title of Jefe Superior, while Mariño was to be Commander of Maturin, and he, Bolívar, was to be recognized and obeyed as President.

Paez immediately agreed to this, as it gave him all he had ever asked for. Bolívar had no power with which to oppose Paez, if he desired, and revolutions and counter-revolutions had shown him the futility of further fighting.

On January 10 Bolívar arrived in Caracas and was received with great ovations. The remainder of January and most of February were spent in fiestas, — dances, banquets, parades, etc.

In the mean time a small revolution had started up in Maturin, but it was put down, and the leaders shot.

Great uprisings occurred against the authority of Bolívar at this time in Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia, his Constitutions being repealed and his governments upset.

On May 2 the Congress met provisionally at Tunja, thence removed to Bogotá, reassembling on May 12, and deprived the "Liberator" of his extraordinary dictatorial faculties. It declared public order re-established, granted a general amnesty, and passed resolutions to call a convocation in 1828, the object being to disunite the several members of Nueva Granada.

On July 5 Bolívar left Venezuela for Bogotá, via Cartagena, in the English frigate Druida, placed at his disposal by Sir Alexander Cockburn.

On September 10 Bolívar arrived in Bogotá, and at once occupied himself in subduing a rebellion in Popayan and Guayaquil.

No sooner had the fiestas ended, and Bolívar left Venezuela, than General Paez found himself with a dozen revolutions on his hands in different parts of the country.

There were seditious movements in San Sebastian, Los Teques, Orituco, Charallave, and other places within easy reach of Caracas; and guerrillas under Doroteo Herrera and Juan Centeño overran those places, claiming to be defending the interests of Spain. A group under Cisneros, practically desperadoes, sacked, robbed, and committed great atrocities in Guarenas, Petare, Santa Lucia, and the valley of the Tuy. These guerrilla troops comprised more than 3000 men.

General Paez sent troops against them, and after many fierce conflicts succeeded in capturing or dispersing the larger bodies and in executing their leaders.

In August there was an uprising of the half-civilized Indians of Cunaviche, of the province of Apure, department of the Orinoco. They were finally overcome, and 300 of them taken prisoners and sent to Caracas.

In October uprisings occurred in the provinces of Barinas and Coro, but these were overcome by the troops of General Paez. Their leaders were executed.

In the provinces of Guayana and Cumaná similar uprisings occurred. In the latter the revolutionists were intrenched for several months at Cumanacoa, but were finally completely destroyed by General Bermudez.

Revolutions occurred also in the province of Maturin, but General Mariño was unable to quell them until the following year.

In the closing months of 1827 General Juan Bautista Arizmendi organized a military force, under directions of General Paez, which was sufficient to clear the valley of the Tuy of the guerrillas.

Affairs in Venezuela in 1828

On February 19 Bolívar declared that he was reinvested with extraordinary powers by virtue of Article 128 of the Constitution.

In plain words this meant that he exercised the unlimited military power of a Dictator over the departments of Maturin, Orinoco, Venezuela, and Zulia.

On March 13 Bolívar issued another decreta, declaring himself the supreme power in all parts of Colombia and Venezuela, except in the province of Ocaña, in which the Congress was in session.

On March 16 Bolívar left Bogotá for Cucuta, via Tunja.

On April 9 a convention was installed at Ocaña to make a new Constitution. The majority were opposed to Bolívar's scheme of a life dictatorship, known as the Bolivian Constitution. They wanted to form a real government, in theory at least.

On June 10 the Ocaña convention dissolved without having accomplished anything. The country now verged on anarchy, and the opposition to Bolívar grew in intensity.

On June 13 a Junta of "fathers of families" was called by the military commander of Cundinamarca, who issued a proclamation conferring upon Bolívar absolute, unlimited dictatorial powers, for such time as he might deem proper to exercise them. This was published in Bogotá on the 24th. Similar "acts" were proclaimed by the Jefes friendly to Bolívar in all parts of the country.

On August 27 Bolívar issued a new decreta, calling himself *Libertador Presidente*, constituting himself the supreme power, stating that he would call a "Constitutional Convention" on January 2, 1830. In this decree he said: "Under the dictatorship nobody can speak of liberty. We should feel sorry mutually for the people who suffer and the man who alone commands."

The new dictatorship was welcomed with extraordinary fiestas and expressions of joy in all parts of the country. "What fools these mortals be!"

On September 25 an attempt was made to assassinate Bolívar at night in his palace in Bogotá, as the result of a conspiracy. His mistress, Manuela Saenz, saved his life by procuring his escape through a rear apartment. He hid under a bridge until the conspiracy was put down.

Bolívar in his Star Rôle as Assassin

On September 30 Bolívar began killing the persons suspected of having been in the conspiracy to assassinate him. On that day were put to death Horment, Zulaivar, Commander Silva, Lieutenants Galindo and Lopez; on the 29th, General José Padilla and Colonel Ramon Guerra; on October 14, Pedro C. Azuero, Professor of Philosophy in San Bartolome College, and Lieutenant of Artillery Juan Hinestroza; and many others on succeeding dates.

General José Padilla, thus foully murdered by Bolívar, was one of the ablest and most noted generals in the revolution of independ-

ence. He was in prison, by Bolívar's orders, at the time of this conspiracy, and it was physically impossible for him to have been one of the instigators of it. General Padilla will be remembered as the hero of the great naval combat in Maracaibo Lake, which destroyed the power of Spain, — as brilliant and brave a feat of arms as was ever performed by a man. Padilla had fallen into disfavor with Bolívar for exactly the same reason as did General Piar, — he refused to worship at the shrine of the Great Conscienceless Murderer. When the convention of Ocaña met in 1828, a majority wanted to establish a republican government. This angered Bolívar. General Padilla sent to this convention a statement of the sufferings of the army, and the legislative measures which were needed for its relief. Padilla declared that he would defend the convention with his person and influence, and Bolívar promptly threw him into jail. His pitiable reward for services to his country was to be shot like a dog.

On November 7 General Santander, who had been Vice-President of Colombia for years, was sentenced to death by Bolívar's orders; but the Dictator feared to face the uprising which this would have caused, and he commuted the sentence.

A war broke out in the latter part of 1828 between Colombia and Peru in which many sanguinary battles were fought.

Affairs in Venezuela in 1829

The year 1829 in Venezuela was one of "peace" — after a fashion. There were no organized revolutions. General Paez was in supreme power, and there was no Congress to bother him.

True, there were a few hundred skirmishes and guerrilla engagements, but nothing serious. The royalist guerrillas had companies in the mountains of Guires, Tamanaco, and Batatal, between Orituco and Rio Chico. These were under command of José Maria Arizababo, with the somewhat imposing title of "Commanding General of the American Troops of His Catholic Majesty." The troops surrendered to General Paez on August 18, and were sent to Porto Rico.

Somewhat later the veteran guerrilla chief Cisneros also surrendered.

At the end of this year a definite movement was inaugurated in Venezuela for separation from Colombia. On November 17, at Puerto Cabello, a resolution was drafted by Soublette, the secretary of Paez, in the form of a petition to Congress — which was to meet January 8, 1830 — for a dissolution of the federation.

On November 25 a convention of "fathers of families" was held in Caracas, upon invitation of General Arismendi — of course in accordance with the ideas of Paez — in which it was declared that Venezuela ought to be free from the Union. On November 26 a

resolution to this effect, signed by 486 persons, was presented to General Paez, who, on December 8, issued a decreta, saying that Venezuela had separated, and notifying Colombia of that fact. General Paez prepared to defend the new order of things, but requested Bolívar not to interfere.

By this time Bolívar had begun to see the handwriting on the wall. Revolutions and counter-revolutions had devastated Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Intrigues, treachery, assassination, filled the very air. For twenty years there had been an almost continuous reign of anarchy and murder. Bolívar realized that it was impossible for him to whip Paez; so he bowed to the inevitable, and told his Bogotá generals that they would not again invade Venezuela.

CHAPTER III

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL RULERS AND REVOLUTIONS OF VENEZUELA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

ON January 13, 1830, General Paez issued a decree that Venezuela was sovereign and independent, and made certain changes in the organization of the government.

On January 16 the State of Zulia ratified Paez's decree of separation. Merida, Trujillo, and other departments, or States, at once followed the example.

General Paez now called a *Congreso Constituyente* to meet in Valencia, on April 30, to form a Constitution. In the mean time the Congress which was scheduled to meet in Bogotá on January 2 lacked a quorum, but towards the end of the month the "Liberator" appointed new members, and inflicted on them one of his flamboyant messages. He then offered to resign, saying that all other citizens enjoyed the inestimable privilege of appearing innocent to the eyes of suspicion, while he alone was stigmatized as aspiring to be a tyrant. Congress did not deny his deductions, but refused to accept his "resignation," no individual congressman caring to take the personal risk which that would involve, well knowing that he who should have that temerity would be shot before breakfast some fine morning.

The Congress opposed the separation of Venezuela, proposed more Constitutions, and sent General Sucré to see if he could not reason with Paez.

In March General Sucré and his companion, Bishop Esteves, arrived at Cucuta, where they were notified that they would not be allowed to enter Venezuelan territory.

On April 18 General Mariño and other commissioners appointed by Paez met General Sucré. They patted each other on the back, saw that they could not reach an agreement, and returned to Bogotá and Caracas respectively.

The province of Casanare had joined Venezuela, and there was a general disposition for all the portions of Nueva Granada to fall apart. They had been held together in the past only by force.

Various Juntas and Congresses were now called by Bolívar to see if he could stem the rising tide, but in vain. In May he called together another Congress in Bogotá, and again handed in his resignation. Everywhere were rebellions against his authority. In Bogotá the

troops, composed mostly of young men, tore to pieces Bolívar's picture, which was hanging in the High Court of Justice, and his life was in serious danger.

On May 9 Bolívar's resignation was accepted by the Congress, which voted him a pension of 30,000 pesos. He left for Cartagena, his power forever broken. On the same day the Congress in Bogotá promulgated a new Constitution, and proceeded to elect a President. Mosquera was elected by the most resolute display of force.

On May 11 the Bogotá Congress decreed that if Venezuela did not recognize its authority, force should not be used, — at least not until a succeeding Congress should ordain it.

On May 6 the Congress of Venezuela met at Valencia.

General Mariño had been sent to the frontier, with a strong army, to resist any attack from Colombia, which was at that time expected.

On May 19 the Venezuelan Congress in Caracas proposed that if Colombia did not at once recognize its independence that would be regarded as a sufficient cause of war. On May 22 this was changed to the statement that unless recognition were at once made by Colombia no business or other relations should be maintained between the two countries. On May 28 Venezuela also demanded of Nueva Granada the immediate expulsion of Simon Bolívar, and stated that if this general went to Curoçao, he and all who accompanied him should be branded as outlaws. This resolution was sent to Bolívar by President Mosquera, of Colombia, immediately upon its receipt from the Venezuelan Congress; but the immortal "Liberator" and "Pacificator" never replied to this latest manifestation of the alleged ingratitude of self-styled republics.

In June, July, and August Paez's Congress ground out decretas such as the General and his army wanted. But Venezuela had now had peace a long, long time. It had been several weeks since a revolution occurred. The machetes were getting rusty. The calves were growing into yearlings, and the patriots were becoming more patriotic — in expectation of again eating veal. So the merry butchery began once more.

In June General Julian Infante, Colonel Vicente Parejo, Commander Lorenzo Bustillos, and other Jefes in Riochico, Chaguaramas, Orituco del Alto Llano, and other places raised the thrilling cry of liberty, so seldom heard in recent times, and proclaimed Bolívar as Jefe Supremo. This revolution died out in a short time.

On June 7 the new Constitution adopted in Bogotá was presented to the Congress of Venezuela, which rejected it.

On August 16 the Congress of Venezuela added insult to injury by declaring once more that it would enter into friendly relations with Colombia as soon as both States were constitutionally organized, and General Simon Bolívar safely out of the country forever.

On September 22 a new Constitution was promulgated by the Congress of Venezuela — the reader should remember that this is no joke, but a serious fact of history — and General Paez was elected President.

A revolution was now planned against Paez in Venezuela, headed by Monagas, the ostensible cause being the actions of Paez in causing separation. A vicious revolution was raging in Colombia for the alleged purpose of preserving the federation.

Bolívar, after his exile from Bogotá, went to Cartagena, where he publicly advised his friends to revolt, and told them that he would accept the Presidency if the majority desired it. These uprisings were by Bolívar's friends.

On December 17 Bolívar died. Thus ended the career of one of the most erratic, treacherous, and mean of humankind, — a man of indomitable energy, courage, ambition, and determination, — a man whose counterpart has never existed on the globe.

The Year 1831 is ushered in with the Customary Batch of Revolutions

Bolívar's death made but little difference to his partisans. They wanted loot, and incidentally they loved the smell of blood.

On January 15 "Long live the Liberator" — he was already dead — rang out in the province of Barcelona, in the village of Aragua. General José Tadeo Monagas, one of Paez's most trusted advisers, had gone wrong, and many Jefes, each with his squad of half-breed peons, took up the sacred and patriotic cause.

By the end of January the provinces of Cumaná, Margarita, Barcelona, and many cantons of the province of Caracas had all declared in favor of the Liberator — whatever that might mean.

Early in February the province of Guayana declared in favor of the revolution. Guerrillas sprang up everywhere like toad-stools in a night. Paez placed General Mariño at the head of his troops, who made an incursion into Chaguaramas; but the attacks of guerrillas, desertions of soldiers, sickness, and lack of supplies compelled him to return.

On March 18 the Congress of Venezuela united and declared Paez to be Constitutional President, and Dr. Urbaneja, Vice-President.

On March 29 General Bermudez and his troops in Guira declared in favor of Paez. Rio Caribe, Cariaco, Carupano, and Cumanacoa now recognized Paez as President.

On April 10 General Bermudez took possession of Cumaná, and General Rojas, the Governor, who was hostile to Paez, was killed.

In April several battles took place between the troops under General Monagas, the revolutionary leader, and those of the government.

On April 18 Congress authorized General Paez to treat with

Monagas with a view to ending the struggle. General Mariño was commissioned to represent Paez. Mariño and Monagas met on the banks of the river Unare. Monagas proposed that the four provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, Margarita, and Guayana should be united into one nation to be called the *Estado de Oriente*, of which Mariño was to be Jefe Supremo, and he, Monagas, was to be second in command. Mariño jumped at the idea. He would rather be Jefe Supremo of a mill-pond than play second fiddle in a big orchestra. Paez and his Congress pricked this bubble in short order by disapproving Mariño's act.

In May a revolution broke out in Caracas which threatened the extermination of all persons owning property, but it was quelled and the leaders executed.

A swarm of generals took possession of the local governments in Venezuela, and the better citizens paid tribute to them for protection. In places there were guerrilla fights, in other places anarchy, but in most parts of the country the producing citizens paid heavily to local generals, and in this manner preserved some semblance of order. Other events of this character from 1831 to 1835 are scarcely worth recording.

Division of the Colombian Debt

On December 23, 1834, the representatives of Nueva Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador signed an agreement relative to the portions of the general public debt which each should assume. The basis agreed upon corresponded to the supposed population of the three sections of Bolívar's nightmare, — the dream of a great Latin-American Confederation. On this basis Colombia assumed 50 per cent, Venezuela 28½ per cent, and Ecuador 21½ per cent of the whole. It is not recorded that there were any serious discussions on the matter. A pretence, however, of some sort was necessary in order to give our three "Sister Republics" the requisite credit for obtaining additional loans.

The debts thus divided among themselves, as appeared from the records, on May 16, 1839, were as follows:

	Original Debt	Interest Accrued	Total
Colombia	$29,695,508.99	$22,003,634.35	$51,699,143.34
Venezuela	16,926,440.12	12,542,071.58	29,468,511.70
Ecuador	12,769,068.87	9,461,562.77	22,230,631.64
Total	$59,391,017.98	$44,007,268.70	$103,398,286.68

Venezuela entertains itself with a Presidential Election

In 1835 the people of Venezuela decided to have an election for President. The guerrilla fights had become monotonous. Every general in Venezuela wanted to be President, or Jefe Supremo; but it finally reduced itself to a choice between Dr. José Vargas, a civilian, General Mariño, and General Soublette. The alleged Congress picked out Dr. Vargas, the fine Italian hand of General Paez being clearly evident in the proceedings. Vargas was a rank outsider, — a decent sort of fellow who had never cut a throat in his life, not even in the practice of his profession.

In July General Mariño arose in revolution, and seized Dr. Vargas by force. One of his abettors, Carujo, in taking the President to jail, remarked, "You see, doctor, the world belongs to the valiant." "No, sir," answered the doctor, "the world belongs to the men of honor."

General Mariño expelled Dr. Vargas from the country and took possession of the government.

General Paez at once came to the front. He raised an army and in numerous battles whipped Mariño to a standstill.

General Monagas, who evidently had revolution in his blood, declared in favor of Mariño.

In August General Paez drove Mariño out of Caracas, and recalled Dr. Vargas, who for a brief time again assumed the presidency. The revolution inaugurated by Mariño continued, however, until the following year, with great severity.

General Paez had the power of organizing the llaneros, and his battles were ferocious in the extreme.

1836. — In April, Dr. Vargas decided he had had enough of politics in Venezuela. He resigned, and Vice-President Navarte took the office, sustained by General Paez, who was in fact the supreme executive of Venezuela. General Paez gave the death-blow to Mariño's revolution, which is known in history as that of *la Reforma*.

1837. — On January 20 General Carreno, who was President of the Federal Council, became Acting President for a few months. Later General Carlos Soublette became President. A revolution now broke out, led by Colonel Farfan, but after a few months' fighting it was subdued by General Paez.

1838. — General Paez decided that he would have himself elected President, and the elections registered his will. It was clearly seen that he was at that time the only man in Venezuela who could dominate the unruly elements. General Paez assumed the office in 1839, and exercised its functions until 1843, when he had General Soublette elected in his stead. During this period there were vast numbers of local uprisings, but no formal revolutions national in extent. It would

require a work as extensive as the Encyclopedia Britannica to give details of all the guerrilla fights of Venezuela.

1843. — General Soublette became President, his election being in fact due to General Paez. Soublette remained in office until 1847.

1846. — A revolution broke out against the oligarchy of Paez, led by the partisans of Antonio L. Guzman, a distinguished but unscrupulous editor, whose newspaper, *El Venezolano*, had acquired considerable influence as the organ of radical republican ideas. Guzman aspired to the presidency, — an obvious folly for a man whose ammunition was mostly editorials. The Generales, obeying Paez, selected General José Tadeo Monagas for President, and the Guzmanistas flew to arms. General Paez and his cavalry once more saved the day, shooting, cutting, sending arms, heads, legs, here, there, everywhere, and demonstrating on many bloody fields the blessings of a free ballot and a fair count. During this period General Paez assumed dictatorial powers.

1847. — General Monagas took his seat as Chief Executive. He accepted the dictation of Paez in the appointment of his cabinet, particularly of the Minister of Interior, Dr. Anjel Quintero, who was the special representative of the former Dictator. When, however, Paez demanded the execution of Antonio L. Guzman, President Monagas refused to give his sanction. Thus a break at once occurred, and the ministry resigned.

On January 23 the Congress met in Caracas, and at once changed its seat to Puerto Cabello, where it proceeded to entertain accusations against President Monagas, whose only crime had been his disobedience of Paez in refusing to assassinate Guzman.

On January 24 Congress was invaded by a body of armed men, soldiers under orders from President Monagas. Most of the Congressmen were Generales, Jefes, Caudillos, or Colonels. They had their guns handy, and a free fight ensued, in which the invaders were repulsed, after several Congressmen, as well as the attacking soldiers, had been killed.

On January 27 Generals Paez and Soublette arose in revolution, declaring that they proposed to defend the honor, integrity, and independence of Congress. This hifalutin patriotism failed to enthuse the army, which had grown tired of Paez. Congress showed its base ingratitude by declaring the revolution to be an unjustifiable mutiny. President Monagas played the game with Paez according to the rules, and after the loss of a thousand or so of men — who would have died anyway in a few years, even if there had been no revolution — Monagas came out victorious. Some sensitive people have criticised Monagas for breaking up this Congress. It is difficult to see the philosophy of the criticism.

1849. — General Paez again raised the standard of revolt. General Monagas defeated the insurrection at every point, and made Paez

prisoner. General Paez, who had been so voracious in his demands for the blood of Guzman, now became the meek supplicant. He was kept in prison for some months, and then shipped to New York, where he attracted great attention.

1851. — The President, General José Tadeo Monagas, elected his brother General José Gregorio Monagas as President for the ensuing period. Congress graciously ratified the election.

1853. — The regular revolution came to the front, also a severe earthquake. Dictator Monagas subdued the former, and the latter ceased in due course. During this period commerce was almost destroyed by unjustifiable restrictions, taxes increased, and the country reduced to a shameful condition.

1854. — A decree was issued abolishing slavery.

1855. — General José Tadeo Monagas declared himself elected President. Nobody had soldiers enough to deny it.

1856. — Local revolutions broke out in all parts of Venezuela, and continued until the following year.

1857. — General Monagas dictated a new Constitution, extending the period of his office for six years. The revolution continued, and there was severe fighting early in the year, but it was finally subdued.

1858. — A revolution broke out in Valencia, headed by General Julian Castro. The generals and almost everybody else were tired of the Monagas dynasty, and it soon became apparent that the Executive could not rely upon his soldiers. He was forced to fly from Venezuela, and General Castro became Dictator. The new General being of their party, Paez and Soublette at once returned to Venezuela.

1859. — General Julian Castro was proclaimed President, and a new Constitution was promulgated. A serious revolution now broke out in all parts of the country, and became general. The Jefes were Falcon, Guzman Blanco, Zamora, General José Tadeo Monagas, General José Gregorio Monagas.

The Caracas oligarchy seized Castro and deposed him. Pedro Gaul was now designated as President.

1860. — The revolution still raged in all parts of the country. Gaul's troops were generally successful, but Congress met and declared Manuel Felipe Tovar President.

1861. — General Paez by this time had made great headway with his revolution. He captured Caracas, threw Tovar out of the presidential job, and put General Gaul at the head of affairs, with the understanding, of course, that he, Paez, should be in actual control. For some act which General Gaul did displeasing to Paez, he was arrested, and thrown into jail. Paez then assumed the dictatorship.

1862. — Civil war continued in all parts of Venezuela, devastating the country. Hundreds of battles were fought, thousands of lives lost, and anarchy and desolation reigned.

1863. — General Paez was compelled to sign the "Treaty of Coche," which placed the triumphant revolutionary General Juan José Falcon at the head of affairs.

Antonio Guzman Blanco was Vice-President, and Venezuela was so poverty-stricken and devastated that even a man of his great talents found it difficult to exercise the peculiar art of the Dictator.

1864. — Falcon divided Venezuela into twenty States, and formed a "Federal Republic." He was plain Dictator, and called himself Gran Mariscal. There were revolutions everywhere, all the time, and the Grand Marshal had all he could do to keep them down.

1865. — Falcon declared himself to be "Constitutional President."

1866. — More revolutions. Falcon entrusted the government to General Trias, and took command in the field.

1867. — Falcon tried the gentle art of diplomacy with the revolutionists. He gave them, the leaders of course, $1,000,000 he had borrowed from English capitalists, on condition that they would be good. They promised, and kept their promise — for about six weeks.

1868. — A new revolution broke out, headed by General José Tadeo Monagas. Falcon was compelled to fly to Curoçao, where he died. General Monagas became President through the good offices of the faithful machete.

1869. — General Ruperto Monagas became President upon the death of his father, José Tadeo Monagas, thus making a sort of family affair out of the job.

Antonio Guzman Blanco now raised the patriotic cry. He called himself *Ilustre Americano, rejenerador y pacificador de Venezuela.* This was the last straw which broke the camel's back. The suffering country yielded after a few dozen battles, and Blanco became Dictator.

1869–1877. — This period, called the *septenio*, produced many revolutions, but Guzman Blanco dominated them all. The most notable were the revolutions led by General Venancio Pulgar and by Matias Salazar, the latter of whom was shot by orders of Blanco.

1877. — Guzman Blanco put General Pedro Alcantara in power and went to Europe.

1878. — Alcantara proved treacherous to Blanco. Mobs destroyed the statues which the latter had erected of himself in all parts of Venezuela, and the Guzmanistas broke out in revolution.

1879. — The revolution triumphed; Alcantara died. Guzman Blanco returned from Europe, and again assumed a dictatorship. He promulgated a new Constitution, reduced the number of States from twenty to eight, and erected many new statues of himself at the public expense. From 1879 to 1883 the period is known as the *quinquenio.*

1883. — General Guzman Blanco was anxious to go again to Europe. He therefore appointed Joaquin Crespo as President. Congress conferred upon him the title of *Heroe del Deber*, — "Hero

of Duty." New revolutions broke out, headed by General Pulgar, but these were readily suppressed.

1886. — Manuel A. Diez became Acting President, awaiting the return from Europe of Guzman Blanco, who had been chosen for a new term. When this General returned to Venezuela, he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm.

1887. — Guzman Blanco turned the government over to Hermogenes Lopez, and again went to Europe. New revolutions broke out.

1888. — Dr. J. P. Rojas Paul became President of Venezuela. He was a cultured gentleman, and did his best to govern Venezuela decently, but the odds were against him. Dr. Paul owed his position exclusively to Guzman Blanco.

In November Joaquin Crespo inaugurated a revolution against Dr. Paul, but failed, and Crespo was taken prisoner.

1890. — Andueza Palacio became President.

1891. — A new Constitution was promulgated, extending the presidential period to four years.

1892. — Another revolution broke out, headed by Crespo. Its base was the States of Los Andes and Zamora. This revolution was overcome, but Palacio was compelled to abandon the country. G. Tell Villegas became Chief Executive. This gentleman was soon overthrown, and Villegas Pulido became President. He was likewise overthrown in a short time, and anarchy reigned in Venezuela. Every general of prominence in Venezuela desired to be President; an era of bloodshed ensued. Out of this confusion Crespo emerged with the largest army. He took possession of the principal cities, and finally captured Caracas, after committing an infinite number of outrages.

Crespo now declared himself Jefe Supremo. A more ignorant, brutal, corrupt, and thoroughly depraved man would be hard to find. He inaugurated a new reign of graft, tyranny, wickedness, malice, and deviltry.

1898. — At the end of Crespo's term he put Andrade in office, while he remained to direct affairs. When José Manuel Hernandez' revolution broke out against Andrade in 1898, Crespo took the field at the head of the government troops, but was killed in battle, at Carmelera, April 16, 1899. In this revolution 1800 lives were lost.

1899. — On February 20 Ramon Guerra, who had been President of the State of Guarica, issued a proclamation of revolt at Calabozo. He was defeated in Guarico by General Lorenzo Guevara, on March 22, with a total loss in killed and wounded of about 500.

On May 23 General Cipriano Castro, with 60 men, rebelled against Andrade, and invaded the State of Tachira. He fought battles at Trujillo, Merida, El Paraparo, Nirgua, and Tocuyito, the latter giving him possession of Valencia. In this action he had 1500

men against 6000 under General Diego Bautista Ferrar. Owing to the treachery of his generals, Andrade abandoned Caracas on October 20, and Castro took possession on the 22d, declaring himself to be Jefe Supremo. In this revolution there were 42 actions with a loss of 3500 lives.

On October 26 General José Manuel Hernandez at Los Tejerias issued a proclamation of revolt against Castro. He was defeated on the night of October 30, at San Casimiro, by General Natividad Mendoza. At Cojedes he obtained reinforcements, making an army of 5000. Severe battles were fought at Tocuyito, Cojedes, Mata de Agua, in November and December.

1900. — On March 21 and 22 Hernandez was defeated by José Manuel Paredes at Manocal. On May 27 he was captured at Tierra Negra, and sent a prisoner to Fort San Carlos. In this revolution about 5000 lives were lost.

Concurrently with Hernandez' uprising, General Antonio Paredes was having a little war on his own account at Puerto Cabello, where he was military governor. On refusing to surrender to Cipriano Castro the latter sent the "National Navy," under Carlos E. Echeverria, as well as an army under Generals Julio Sarria Hurtado and Ramon Guerra, to attack him. After the loss of 220 lives, including many women and children, Paredes was defeated and taken prisoner to Fort San Carlos.

On October 24 General Pedro Julian Acosta began a revolution in Yrapa, and fought several battles in the States of Cumaná and Margarita, but after a loss of 360 lives on both sides, was captured.

On December 14 General Celestino Peraza arose in revolt at La Mercedes, but was easily defeated.

1901. — In July General Carlos Rangel Garbiras, with 4000 men, invaded the State of Tachira. On July 28 a battle was fought at San Cristobal, the revolutionists losing 800, and Castro's troops 350 men.

Another force of revolutionists were repulsed at San Faustino by General Ruben Cardenas. General Rafael Montilla headed uprisings in the State of Lara.

1902. — The movements of revolutionists continued in all parts of Venezuela, and war was threatened with Colombia. A Colombian line battalion of 400 invaded Venezuela by way of San Antonio, and a Venezuelan force invaded Colombia by way of Rio Hacha. Horacio Ducharme and his brother Alejandro were in revolt in the Eastern States with small forces. General Juan Pietri got up a little firecracker revolution; but his men were defeated at Guigue, and he was sent to Fort San Carlos.

A revolution of serious importance, however, broke out towards the end of 1901, — that of General Manuel Antonio Matos, who fitted out a steamship called the Libertador, formerly Ban Righ, and succeeded in raising formidable bodies of soldiers. This revolution

continued for eighteen months. There were 20 battles, 40 minor engagements, and 150 skirmishes, resulting in a total loss of more than 12,000 lives. The revolutionists were signally defeated by General Juan Vicente Gomez at El Guapo, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of April, 1903, and the power of Matos was broken.

1903. — Venezuela was blockaded by England, Germany, and Italy.

1907. — Since the blockade there have been numerous uprisings, but no formal revolutions. The government continues to be dominated by Castro, — a brutal, degenerate tyrant.

CHAPTER IV

SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS AND PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA

IN 1809 Amar was Viceroy at Bogotá. He was very popular, and for some time was able to resist the revolutionary spirit of the times.

1810. — On May 22 a revolutionary junta was formed at Cartagena. In June a revolution broke out on the Orinoco plains near Bogotá. On July 4 Pamplona formed a revolutionary junta. Socorro did the same soon afterwards. Bogotá followed suit in a short time; Nariño set up as Dictator.

1811. — In March the patriots defeated the Spaniards at Popayan. There were invasions from Ecuador, and counter-invasions. The revolutionists fought each other. Nariño and the congressional troops fought at Socorro. The Dictator was defeated, but in turn defeated his fellow-patriots, otherwise known as federalists, at Bogotá.

1813. — Bolívar captured Ocaña, and defeated the Spaniards in the lower Magdalena River.

1814. — The Spanish General Samano advanced from Ecuador to attack Colombia, but was defeated at Calivio, January 15. Nariño was defeated and captured, later.

1815. — In April Marshal Morillo, the Spanish General, invested Cartagena with nearly 10,000 troops. The revolutionists had about 4000. The siege lasted nearly five months, during which time about 6000 soldiers died on both sides. Finally the revolutionary army escaped. General Camilo Torres was made Dictator by the Bogotá Congress.

1816. — On February 22 General Torres, with 2500 troops, was seriously defeated at Ocaña by the Spaniards. The revolutionists committed many atrocities, murdering Spanish non-combatants without mercy. Torres resigned and fled. Congress appointed General Madrid Dictator, but he had no army and was compelled to fly.

Marshal Morillo, the Spanish General, assumed complete military control, and instituted a reign of terror. He assassinated, or ordered to be publicly shot, every prominent man who sympathized with the anti-royalist movement. In Bogotá alone 125 leading men, of high

standing, were shot, and their property confiscated, leaving their families beggars.

1817. — The bloody Morillo took the field in person, at the head of 4000 Spanish troops, leaving the infamous Samano in control at Bogotá. The latter continued the work of execution, not hesitating to shoot women as well as men.

1819. — After three years of bloody despotism under Morillo and Samano, the patriots were relieved by Bolívar, who arrived, after a marvellous campaign, at Boyaca, within a hundred miles of Bogotá, on August 7, and drove the Spaniards in confusion back upon the city.

By the end of September Bolívar had driven the Spaniards out of practically all that section of Colombia, and proclaimed himself Dictator. He left General Santander as Vice-President and Acting Dictator.

1821. — Bolívar called the Congress at Cucuta, which adopted a Constitution and elected the Liberator as President.

Independence of the Department of Panama declared in November.

1822. — Bolívar invaded Ecuador, leaving Santander as Governor of Colombia. Sucré went via Guayaquil. Bolívar had a bloody fight at Bambona on April 7, in which he lost three times as many men as the Spanish, but nevertheless remained master of the field. Sucré won the battle of Pichincha, and saved the situation for his chief.

1826. — Bolívar, who had been living like an emperor in Peru for two years, was compelled to return to Bogotá by the rising discontent. There were uprisings and intrigues against him in all parts of the country from this time on.

1828. — A convention was held at Ocaña which intended to deprive Bolívar of power, but he had an army of 3000 men, and they did not dare to carry out their intention. He then called a Congress which proclaimed him Dictator

1829. — Bolívar again resigned the presidency, but the Congress refused to accept the resignation. Insurrections broke out against him in Ecuador, and his troops mutinied. General Cordoba started a revolution against Bolívar in Antioquia in the autumn, but was overcome.

1830. — On January 30 Bolívar finally resigned, and shortly after Congress appointed Mosquera as President.

President Mosquera was overthrown by General Urdaneta, who proclaimed himself Dictator.

1831. — In May General Urdaneta went the way of the typical Dictator, and Obando Lopez, the man who was believed to have assassinated General Sucré, became Supreme Chief.

1832. — Venezuela and Ecuador having withdrawn from the Confederation, the Colombian Congress adopted a Constitution, and proclaimed General Santander the first legal President. General

Santander was a man of many excellent qualities, and his administration was perhaps the ablest which Colombia has ever had.

1836. — Dr. Marquez was declared elected President. This was accomplished in face of the desire of General Santander that General Ovando should succeed him. Civil war broke out in many provinces, and continued through 1839 and 1840.

1840. — Panama declared its independence, and maintained it for two years.

1841. — General Herran suppressed all revolutions and became President. A new Constitution was formed.

1845. — General Tomas Mosquera became President. Revolutions broke out throughout the country towards the end of his rule.

1849. — General Lopez was declared President by Congress, although there had been no constitutional election. A new Constitution was promulgated.

1851. — A "conservative" revolution broke out in Pasto, and spread rapidly. The revolutionists were defeated at Rio Negro, September 10.

1853. — General Obando was declared President; he was actually named by Lopez.

1854. — General Melo led an uprising of the cavalry and garrison in Bogotá, and proclaimed himself Dictator. Mosquera and Herran led the troops against Melo, and overthrew him after much bloodshed.

Señor Mallarino became President as a compromise between all parties. Most of the provinces were now practically independent, and there appeared to be but little authority in the central government. The name of the country was changed to the Granadine Confederation.

1857. — During the greater part of this year there were three Dictators exercising powers concurrently in different parts of the country. Mariana Ospina was the "duly elected President," representing the clericals; Murillo representing liberals, and Mosquera the moderates, were opposing Presidents. Revolutions swept all parts of the country.

1859. — The friends of Murillo adopted a new Constitution. Dictator Ospina was defeated by Dictator Mosquera, who invaded the upper Magdalena, and defeated Ospina at Segovia.

1861. — Mosquera's army succeeded, and he became Supreme Dictator. A new Constitution was adopted, and the name of the country changed to the "United States of Colombia."

1863. — Dictator Mosquera made war on Ecuador, and gained a victory at Causpud, on December 30. The ostensible object of this war was to punish Dictator Moreno, of Ecuador, for having previously aided Dictator Ospina, of Colombia, both of them being classed as clericals.

1864. — Murillo was elected President for the ensuing two years, that being the term recently established. A revolution broke out in the "Sovereign State of Antioquia," and overthrew the local government. Murillo observed strict neutrality, and promptly recognized the new government of the State. Similar successful revolutions were recognized by the general government as the *de facto* governments in the States of Bolívar, Panama, Magdalena, and elsewhere.

1866. — Mosquera succeeded Murillo. He attempted to re-establish the authority of the central government, and for that purpose intervened in the local revolutions.

1867. — Mosquera declared himself Dictator. The garrison in Bogotá revolted, and he was overthrown.

Acosta was declared President by the Bogotá troops. He refused to interfere in the local revolutions.

1868. — General Gutierrez became President. He interfered in the local State revolutions. In Cundinamarca the Governor assumed a Dictatorship locally of the State, but Gutierrez deposed him.

1870. — General Salgar became President. The country under his rule went from bad to worse.

1872. — Murillo was declared President, and apart from the economic crisis which was chronic in Colombia, even in those days, his administration was without special incident.

1874. — Santiago Perez was declared President by Congress. Grave disorders broke out in 1875 in all parts of the country. Panama revolted, and many other States defied the authority of the President and arrested his officers and troops.

1876. — Aquiles Parra was selected for Chief Executive by Congress in the latter part of 1875, and took office early in 1876. Revolutions broke out in Cauca, and when the President sought to intervene, other "sovereign States," such as Antioquia and Tolima, "declared war." A bloody insurrection followed. Parra raised about 25,000 men, and many heavy battles were fought. The States of Santander, Boyaca, and Cundinamarca joined the insurrection, but General Parra finally succeeded in restoring order.

1878. — Trujillo was declared President. Revolutions again devastated the country. The government of Cauca and Magdalena were overthrown by the national troops.

1880. — Rafael Nuñez, a man of liberal antecedents, although a member of the conservative party, was installed as President. The following year a strong revolution was organised against him by liberal influences in Cauca and Antioquia, but was put down after heavy loss of life.

1882. — Señor Laldua succeeded Nuñez as Chief Executive, but he died in 1883.

1883. — Vice-President General Otalora succeeded as Chief Executive.

1884. — Señor Rafael Nuñez was declared President. His reactionary policies gave dissatisfaction to the liberals, who had supported him.

1885. — A widespread and powerful revolution broke out in the provinces of Panama, Boyaca, Cundinamarca, and Magdalena, under the leadership of Generals Reyes and Velez. It was subdued, and peace was proclaimed in September.

1886. — On August 6 Dictator Nuñez proclaimed a new Constitution, extending the President's term to six years and making a centralized government. He declared himself elected President for the term ending August 7, 1892.

1888. — Dictator Nuñez appointed Carlos Holguin to administer the government at Bogotá. Nuñez himself remained in Cartagena on account of his health; but Nuñez was consulted about everything, and his orders were law. Armed uprisings were frequent in all parts of the country, but were suppressed without great difficulty.

1892. — Dictator Nuñez declared himself President for the ensuing six years, and appointed Señor Miguel Caro to administer affairs in Bogotá, while he continued as before to reside in Cartagena.

1894. — In September President Nuñez died. Señor Miguel Caro assumed the unexpired term. Uprisings were continuous and severe, but Señor Caro suppressed them all.

1898. — M. A. Sanclemente was chosen President by the conservatives. A powerful revolution broke out in all parts of the country, aided by Venezuela in its latter stages. This was a bitter and bloody insurrection, entailing widespread disaster.

1900. — Señor J. M. Marroquin, the Vice-President, deposed and imprisoned the President by *un golpe de cuartel*, — an uprising of troops, fomented and directed by General Rafael Reyes.

1903. — Revolution of Panama, and its recognition as an independent Republic by the United States and other foreign countries. The separation took place because of the refusal or failure of Colombia to approve a treaty for the construction of the Panama Canal.

1904. — General Rafael Reyes was installed as President, and soon afterwards declared himself Dictator. It would seem that his administration is following the old and corrupt precedents, in granting intolerable monopolies, and in the practice of the military control in every activity of life, and the destruction of all personal liberty and guaranties.

FIFTY YEARS OF REVOLUTIONS IN THE SINGLE DEPARTMENT OF PANAMA, AS REPORTED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER, 1903.

"When these events happened, fifty-seven years had elapsed since the United States had entered into its treaty with New Granada.

During that time the governments of New Granada and of its successor, Colombia, have been in a constant state of flux. The following is a partial list of the disturbances on the Isthmus of Panama during the period in question as reported to us by our consuls. It is not possible to give a complete list, and some of the reports that speak of 'revolutions' must mean unsuccessful revolutions.

May 22, 1850. — Outbreak; two Americans killed. War-vessel demanded to quell outbreak.

October, 1850. — Revolutionary plot to bring about independence of the Isthmus.

July 22, 1851. — Revolution in four southern provinces.

November 14, 1851. — Outbreak at Chagres. Man-of-war requested for Chagres.

June 27, 1853. — Insurrection at Bogotá, and consequent disturbance on Isthmus. War-vessel demanded.

May 23, 1854. — Political disturbances; war-vessel requested.

June 28, 1854. — Attempted revolution.

October 24, 1854. — Independence of Isthmus demanded by provincial legislature.

April, 1856. — Riot, and massacre of Americans.

May 4, 1856. — Riot.

May 18, 1856. — Riot.

June 3, 1856. — Riot.

October 2, 1856. — Conflict between two native parties. United States forces landed.

December 18, 1858. — Attempted secession of Panama.

April, 1859. — Riots.

September, 1860. — Outbreak.

October 4, 1860. — Landing of United States forces in consequence.

May 23, 1861. — Intervention of the United States forces required by *intendente*.

October 2, 1861. — Insurrection and civil war.

April 4, 1862. — Measures to prevent rebels crossing Isthmus.

June 13, 1862. — Mosquera's troops refused admittance to Panama.

March, 1865. — Revolution, and United States troops landed.

August, 1865. — Riots; unsuccessful attempt to invade Panama.

March, 1866. — Unsuccessful revolution.

April, 1867. — Attempt to overthrow government.

August, 1867. — Attempt at revolution.

July 5, 1868. — Revolution; provisional government inaugurated.

August 29, 1868. — Revolution; provisional government overthrown.

April, 1871. — Revolution; followed apparently by counter-revolution.

April, 1873. — Revolution and civil war which lasted to October, 1875.

August, 1876. — Civil war which lasted until April, 1877.
July, 1878. — Rebellion.
December, 1878. — Revolt.
April, 1879. — Revolution.
June, 1879. — Revolution.
March, 1883. — Riot.
May, 1883. — Riot.
June, 1884. — Revolutionary attempt.
December, 1884. — Revolutionary attempt.
January, 1885. — Revolutionary disturbances.
March, 1885. — Revolution.
April, 1887. — Disturbance on Panama Railroad.
November, 1887. — Disturbance on line of canal.
January, 1889. — Riot.
January, 1895. — Revolution which lasted until April.
March, 1895. — Incendiary attempt.
October, 1899. — Revolution.
February, 1900, to July, 1900. — Revolution.
January, 1901. — Revolution.
July, 1901. — Revolutionary disturbances.
September, 1901. — City of Colon taken by rebels.
March, 1902. — Revolutionary disturbances.
July, 1902. — Revolution.

The above is only a partial list of the revolutions, rebellions, insurrections, riots, and other outbreaks that have occurred during the period in question; yet they number 53 for the 57 years. It will be noted that one of them lasted for nearly three years before it was quelled; another for nearly a year. In short, the experience of over half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the Isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States has enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of sovereignty. Had it not been for the exercise by the United States of the police power in her interest, her connection with the Isthmus would have been sundered long ago. In 1856, in 1860, in 1873, in 1885, in 1901, and again in 1902, sailors and marines from United States warships were forced to land in order to patrol the Isthmus, to protect life and property, and to see that the transit across the Isthmus was kept open. In 1861, in 1862, in 1885, and in 1900 the Colombian government asked that the United States government would land troops to protect its interests and maintain order on the Isthmus."

CHAPTER V

SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS AND PRESIDENTS OF BOLIVIA

IN 1809 an uprising took place, and the government buildings in La Paz and Charcas were seized. The Viceroys of Lima and Buenos Ayres sent forces to quell the uprising, which was put down, and Goyeneche, the Lima General, ordered wholesale executions.

1810. — Revolutionists defeated the Spaniards at Suipacha, and took possession of most of the cities of the great plateau which is now in Bolivia.

1813. — A fresh invasion of Bolivian territory was made from Argentine, but the Spaniards were routed at Villapugie and Ayehuma. A war of devastation and extermination was kept up on both sides. Camargo and Padilla, in the southern provinces, and Arenales at Santa Cruz, were the leaders of the revolutionists.

1814. — A great insurrection occurred, led by an Indian cacique named Munecas, in the region north of Lake Titicaca and Cuzco, with 20,000 Indians, mostly unarmed. The Spaniards defeated them at the battle of Humachiri.

1815. — The Argentine patriots advanced to aid their brethren in Bolivia, but were defeated by the Spaniards, on November 15, at Viluma. This gave the control of the great Bolivian plateau to the Spanish generals for seven years. The Spanish General Pezuela captured and garroted Camargo, and beheaded Padilla as he lay wounded in battle.

1816. — Spaniards in complete control everywhere. Pezuela had 8000 disciplined troops.

1817. — The Spanish General La Serna attempted to invade Argentine, but was greatly harassed by the *gauchos*, or cow-boys. Later, San Martin's victory at Chacabuco, Chili, compelled him to return.

1820. — San Martin compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the coast towns.

1822. — The patriots attempted to reach La Paz, but were attacked by the Spanish General Valdez and destroyed.

1823. — Santa Cruz, a Bolivian half-breed of Inca descent, deserted from the Spanish cause, joined the patriots, and with 5000

troops, went as far as La Paz. He was outgeneralled by Valdez, and his forces practically destroyed.

1824. — Bolívar invaded Bolivian territory, defeated the royalists at Junin, and drove them to Cuzco. At the same time Sucré annihilated the Spanish power in that part of the continent at the great victory of Ayacucho on December 9.

1825. — On August 11 Bolívar, who had now swept the Spaniards before him, and been received by the people of Upper Peru with the most extravagant demonstrations, issued a proclamation creating the Republic of "Bolivia," named in honor of himself.

1826. — Bolívar presented a ready-made Constitution for the Bolivian Republic. It provided for a President to be elected for life, with the power to name his successor. General Sucré was made President.

1827. — Dissatisfaction and revolutions everywhere. Generals Santa Cruz and Gamarra overthrew Bolívar's Constitution in Peru, and advanced upon Bolivia to expel Sucré.

1828. — On July 28 General Sucré made a treaty with General Santa Cruz, by which Sucré surrendered his presidency and left the country. He was assassinated soon afterward by his own soldiers. General Santa Cruz became President. He organized a strong army.

1835. — Santa Cruz invaded Peru and conquered the country, forming the Peru-Bolivian Confederation.

1837. — Chili made war on the new confederation, sending an expedition to Arequipa, which was defeated by Santa Cruz.

1839. — On January 20 the Chilians, aided by Peruvians, defeated the army of Santa Cruz, of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, at Yungay, thereby destroying the confederation.

General Velasco headed a revolution overthrowing Santa Cruz, and became Dictator. Continuous revolutions and disorders devastated the country.

1840. — General Balliviau overthrew General Velasco and became Supreme Chief. Internal and external wars continued.

1841. — The Dictator of Peru invaded Bolivia with a large army, and occupied the province of La Paz, but was defeated at Ynjavi and driven from the country.

1843. — Balliviau abolished the Constitution and made one to suit himself. He ruled in an arbitrary, tyrannical, and brutal manner.

1847. — Balliviau undertook to invade Peru, but his army revolted, and mutiny followed mutiny until he had to flee.

1848. — General Velasco became Supreme Chief, for a short time only, to be overthrown by General Belzu.

General Belzu became Supreme Chief. He was an ignorant, brutal, tyrannical Dictator, and during his rule there were everywhere innumerable riots, revolutionary movements, and general

anarchy. Dr. Linares kept up a fight against the Dictator until he was finally induced to resign, leaving his son-in-law in power.

1855. — General Cordoba, the son-in-law of Belzu, was designated President. Nine different revolutionary movements broke out against him in three years. These were led by Dr. Linares, who was finally successful, and overthrew forever the power of Belzu and Cordoba.

1858. — Dr. Linares became Dictator. He started in well by endeavoring to place honest men in office, and practising economy and good administration; but the cormorants and generals did not desire this. Bolivia had become so corrupt that genuine reform from within was impossible. His most trusted minister, Fernandez, plotted against him, and in spite of all Linares could do plots and counterplots, intrigues, riots, and assassinations were prevalent throughout the country. He was finally overthrown, after three years of rule.

1861. — General Acha became President, and a period of complete anarchy ensued. No man's life was safe in the country, which became in fact a savage and barbarous commonwealth. The revolutions finally took shape with General Belzu at the head, and Acha was driven from power.

1864. — General Belzu became Dictator, but he enjoyed his power for only a brief period. He was killed at La Paz in resisting an insurgent attack led by Colonel Melgarejo.

1865. — Melgarejo became Dictator. He was a drunken criminal savage, who made no pretence to govern by legal or constitutional methods. He inaugurated a system of espionage and assassination almost equal to that of Rosas, in Argentine. This odious and ignorant tyrant, by practising cruelties of every description and inspiring universal terror, by murdering all opponents, and confiscating the property of any one he did not like, managed to sustain himself in power until 1870.

1871. — General Morales and his army overthrew the tyrant, Melgarejo, and he became Supreme Chief. His administration, however, was not much better than that of his predecessor. Insurrections continued everywhere.

1876. — General Hilarion Daza overthrew Morales and assumed supreme power. His ambition led him to become entangled in the hostilities between Peru and Chili, but he seems to have been of little service to his ally, and when Peru was decisively defeated, Daza was deposed in December, 1879.

1880. — General Narcisco Campero became President. He promulgated a new Constitution on October 28. General Campero's rule was so very excellent in comparison with those which had preceded him, that he deserves praise of a high character for the reforms actually instituted. He opened negotiations in 1882 with Chili, and signed a treaty of peace in 1884.

1884. — In August Señor Pecheco became President and ruled

for four years, giving a very good administration, in which the country developed considerably.

1888. — Señor Arce was the choice of Pecheco for President, and was elected without opposition. He endeavored to form an alliance with Argentine for the purpose of recovering the territory east of Chili as a result of the Peruvian-Bolivian-Chilian War. In 1890 General Camacho led an unsuccessful revolution. In 1891 a treaty was signed with Argentine, but it never amounted to anything. Toward the end of Arce's administration a heavy Indian uprising occurred, due to arbitrary acts of the government. This was suppressed only after considerable loss of life.

1892. — In August, through the exercise of official influence, Señor Baptista became President. In 1893 General Camacho led another revolution, which the government had difficulty in overcoming for lack of arms and ammunition. These were finally furnished by Chili, and a treaty was now entered into between Chili and Bolivia by which it was agreed that Chili should concede to Bolivia a port on the Pacific and grant many other concessions and advantages. This treaty disgusted Peru and Argentine without doing Bolivia any good, because Chili never kept her part of the agreement. Her object was to alienate Bolivia from Argentine and Peru.

1896. — Severo Fernandez Alonzo became President in August. Revolutions were fomented against him, however, and in 1898 these took definite shape under the guidance of José Manuel Pando. The Indians joined the revolutionists, and a guerrilla warfare was kept up for several months. In 1899 Alonzo discovered treachery among his own officers, and being defeated in several skirmishes, and a number of the provinces joining the revolution en masse, Alonzo fled to Chili.

1899. — José Manuel Pando became Provisional President, in virtue of the defeat of Alonzo. He called a Congress of his adherents, and declared himself in 1900 to be the Constitutional President.

1904. — Señor Ysmael Montes was elected, on August 14, for four years.

CHAPTER VI

SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS AND PRESIDENTS OF ECUADOR

IN 1809 Ruiz de Castilla, President of Quito, exercised jurisdiction over the territory now called Ecuador.

On August 9 a revolutionary movement was inaugurated which took possession of the government buildings, imprisoned the Spanish officials, formed a junta, and selected Juan Montufar as chief. In October Castilla again assumed the reins, having defeated the revolutionists.

1810. — In August the Creoles attempted to get possession of the barracks, but failed, and a frightful massacre followed.

1811. — Castilla resigned under pressure. A new junta was formed, with Carlos Montufar as chief. Spaniards were assassinated in all parts of the country. Molina was appointed by Spain to succeed Castilla. Revolutions occurred in all parts of the country. The government was purely military.

1812. — Montufar was overthrown by another Creole chief. The revolutionists fought among themselves, and the Spaniards vanquished both factions. Montes, the Spanish General, became President. He defeated the revolutionists everywhere, and maintained order for eight or nine years.

1822. — On May 24 the battle of Pichincha gave the control of Ecuador to General Sucré, the great lieutenant of Bolívar. Ecuador now became a part of Bolívar's Confederation.

1824. — December 9 Sucré annihilated the main army of the Spaniards at Ayacucho, giving Bolívar supreme power, and he became Military Dictator.

1826. — Revolutions in Lima, and Guayaquil and Cuenca were seized by the disaffected troops, but they fell fighting among themselves. Bolívar in the mean time was occupied with revolutions in Venezuela.

1828. — War between Colombia and Peru. Guayaquil blockaded by ships of Peru.

1829. — In January Guayaquil surrendered to Peruvian warships; a Peruvian army of 7000 invaded Ecuador.

1830. — On May 12 General Flores proclaimed the Quito Presidency independent of Bolívar's Confederation. He gave the country

the name of Ecuador. Flores was merely one of the many military chiefs who were each ambitious to rule, and who carried on interminable wars and counter-revolutions among themselves. His rule was bloody and tyrannical in the extreme.

1835. — A revolution occurred against Flores, led by Vicente Rocafuerte, who was captured. Great uprisings continued. Flores and Rocafuerte entered into a compact by which the former became General of the army, and the latter President. This man was a wise and liberal ruler, and deserves credit for sincerity and honesty of intention under discouraging circumstances.

1839. — General Flores with the army ousted Rocafuerte, and became President. He was ignorant, brutal, tyrannical, corrupt, and sought only military glory. He had a new Constitution made, fixing the presidential term at eight years.

1843. — General Flores again declared himself President. Rocafuerte was compelled to flee. Revolutions broke out, and an attempt was made to assassinate Flores.

1845. — A liberal revolution defeated Flores, and he accepted $20,000 in money and left the country. Ramon Roca, a mulatto, was installed as President. A new Constitution was adopted.

1849. — A revolution broke out in which General Urbina finally obtained the power.

1850. — General Urbina proclaimed Diego Noboa as Provisional President. The two called a convention which selected Noboa for the full term.

1851. — General Urbina exiled Noboa and proclaimed himself Dictator. His excuse for the act was that Noboa had recalled the Jesuits.

1856. — General Urbina named Robles as President.

1859. — War with Peru. General Urbina and Robles proceeded to the frontier with their troops to fight the Peruvians, and the "Conservadores" rose up behind them, defeated the troops of the administration and took possession of Quito.

On May 1 the Conservadores designated Garcia Moreno as Provisional President. He attacked Urbina and Robles, and was defeated and escaped to Peru. The remaining conservative forces defeated Urbina and Robles, and drove them into exile.

1860. — On September 2 Moreno captured Guayaquil, and became Dictator of Ecuador. He promulgated a new Constitution, and established a government strongly friendly to the clericals.

1864. — Urbina invaded Ecuador from Peru, but his efforts were overcome.

1865. — An understudy of Moreno was declared President, but he did not give satisfaction.

1866. — Another subordinate of Moreno was installed but refused to obey orders and Moreno discharged him.

1867. — General Moreno declared himself Provisional Dictator. Revolutions occurred for two years longer.

1875. — General Moreno declared himself elected President for the ensuing term. On August 6 Moreno was assassinated in one of the principal streets of Quito. Dr. Borrero, the Vice-President, succeeded to the office of President. Civil war was taking place in all parts of the country, and two or three different Presidents were declared.

1876. — General Veintemilla headed a revolution, and became Dictator. He called a Convention and promulgated a Constitution.

1878. — Veintemilla was declared Constitutional President. Disorders broke out in all parts of the country.

1883. — The army proclaimed Veintemilla Dictator, but a strong revolution overthrew him.

1884. — José Caamano, head of the revolution, seized the dictatorship. His late ally, Alfaro, started a revolution against him, but was defeated.

1888. — Dr. Antonio Flores became President. He was an enlightened and patriotic man, who did the best he could. At the end of his term he refused further office.

1892. — Dr. Luis Cordero became President. His rule was corrupt, and soon led to revolution. Cordero was accused also of taking part in the sale of the Chilian ironclad Esmeralda to Japan, in violation of international law, the latter power being then at war with China. The enemies of Cordero made much of this transaction, since it was known that he had received a large commission for acting as go-between.

1894. — A formidable revolution headed by Eloy Alfaro broke out against Cordero, who was completely overthrown in the battle of Gatajo.

1895. — Eloy Alfaro was proclaimed Supreme Chief of Ecuador, and a military government was established.

1897. — General Eloy Alfaro was proclaimed Constitutional President. He was overthrown by a revolution.

1901. — General Leonidas Plaza was declared President.

1905. — Señor Lizardo Garcia, President.

CHAPTER VII

SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS AND PRESIDENTS OF PERU

IN 1806 Abascal was Spanish Viceroy. On the first signs of the revolution for independence, the Viceroy shot the leaders, Ubaldo and Aguila. He banished and imprisoned many others, and Peru remained the stronghold of Spanish power long after Colombia, Venezuela, and the other countries had rebelled.

1814. — An Indian insurrection under a Cacique, Pumacagna, swept the Cuzco region and entered Peru. The Indians, who numbered at least 20,000, were easily defeated, owing to lack of arms, with great slaughter at Umachiri, near Lake Titicaca.

1816. — Viceroy Abascal resigned and was succeeded by General Pezuela. It appeared that the revolutionists were subjugated everywhere in the North, and Pezuela was preparing to invade Argentine, when San Martin gained the victory of Chacabuco. Later the Viceroy's troops were almost annihilated by San Martin at Maypo.

1820. — San Martin had created a fleet with Lord Cochrane, a Scotch Admiral, as commander, which swept the coast of Peru, while San Martin's army, numbering 4500 men, invaded Peru in face of five times as many Spaniards. Lord Cochrane destroyed the Blanco Encalada, one of the largest Spanish frigates.

San Martin sent General Arenales with 1200 men to ravage the plains adjacent to Lima, where he defeated General O'Reilly near Cerro de Pasco.

1821. — Numerous desertions from the Spanish army gave the royalists great alarm. Pezuela was superseded by La Serna. On July 6 the new Viceroy evacuated Lima and retired to Jauja.

On July 28 General San Martin entered Lima and declared himself "Protector" of Peru. The royalists held much of the country, and San Martin was regarded even by the patriots with suspicion. His position was thus a difficult one.

1822. — On July 25 General San Martin arrived at Guayaquil, on the ship Macedonia, to meet Simon Bolívar, who had preceded him with 1500 soldiers.

Immediately after this meeting San Martin resigned his protectorship of Peru, and later left South America forever. General Alvarado

became the Military Chief of Peru. He was badly defeated by the Spanish General Valdez, and his army of 4000 men practically destroyed.

1823. — A counter-revolution broke out in Peru, and General José de la Riva Aguero was declared President, with General Santa Cruz, a Bolivian, as General of the Army.

In May this General, with 5000 men, sailed from Callao for Southern Peru. They entered La Paz, but two Spanish forces in conjunction destroyed his army. He lost between 3000 and 4000 men, killed, wounded, and missing.

1823. — General Sucré arrived at Lima, facing the Spanish General Canterac, who had a large force at Jauja. Sucré deposed Aguero and assumed supreme power. He retired behind the fortifications of Callao before Canterac's superior force, and sent for Bolívar.

1824. — Simon Bolívar had arrived at Callao in September, 1823. In February, 1824, the Peruvian Congress conferred on him the absolute dictatorship. Bolívar raised 10,000 men, most of them desperate citizens, and prepared to attack the Spanish forces of twice that number. But the patriot troops in Callao Castle mutinied, and vast numbers of liberals deserted to the Spanish cause. Bolívar was forced to retire to Trujillo.

In the mean time the Spanish generals began fighting among themselves. Olaneta and La Serna quarrelled, and the former revolted. General Valdez was sent to quell the disturbance. General Bolívar took advantage of this revolt to attack Canterac at Junin. After a brilliant and rapid march, he completely overthrew him.

On September 9 General Sucré gained the great and decisive victory of Ayacucho, which finally destroyed the power of Spain in Peru.

1826. — In September General Bolívar hastened to Colombia to quell disturbances, and left General Lara in control at Lima. The soldiers mutinied, arrested and deposed Lara. Various local chiefs fought among themselves for recognition as President.

1827. — General La Mar was declared President. Immediately after Sucré's deposition in Bolivia, La Mar attempted to wrest Guayaquil from Colombia. After several battles La Mar's army of 4000 men was defeated. He returned to Peru only to encounter a revolution which ended his career.

1829. — General Gamarra declared himself Dictator. He had been Chief of Staff, under Sucré, at Ayacucho, but was an ignorant, tyrannical man, who shot or expelled citizens without trial and ruled as a despot.

1834. — Anarchy virtually reigned in Peru. Every military despot in the country who could command a group of macheteros strove to

be President. The following list is one year's crop of Dictators, Supreme Jefes, Presidents, etc.:

Orbegoso.	San Roman.
La Fuente.	Vidal.
Vista Florida.	Gamarra.
Nieto.	Salaverry.

1836. — General Santa Cruz proclaimed himself Protector of Peru and Bolivia. General Orbegoso was proclaimed sub-President of Lima and North Peru; and General Herrera, of South Peru. Many revolutionary leaders, among them Salaverry, were shot.

1839. — General Gamarra and other Peruvian exiles, who had escaped to Chili and organized opposition there, invaded Peru with the aid of the Chilian government. There was treachery, as usual, among the generals under Santa Cruz, and the latter was overwhelmingly defeated, on January 20, at Yungay. General Gamarra became President of Peru. Santa Cruz escaped to Europe. Continual and unceasing uprisings occurred in all parts of Peru.

1841. — Gamarra undertook to invade Peru, but was defeated and killed towards the end of the year, at Yngavi.

1842. — All the leading Peruvian generals desired to be President. General Vidal was proclaimed Dictator by La Fuente and Vivanco.

General Torico proclaimed himself Dictator, and seized Lima, only to be defeated by Vidal.

General Vivanco rebelled against Vidal, and proclaimed himself Jefe Supremo. The so-called Congress had declared General Menendez President, but he had been deposed by the generals, and escaped with his life.

1844. — General Ramon Castilla overthrew the army of Vivanco in July, and placed Menendez in the presidential chair until he could call a convention to elect himself, Castilla, Constitutional President.

1845. — General Ramon Casilla was declared President by the Convention which had been called by Menendez. He gave the strongest and best administration which Peru had experienced up to that date. He was an honest man, of great capacity, who attempted to place the national finances on a sound basis; he promoted commerce and maintained peace.

1851. — General Echenique was declared President at the expiration of Castilla's term. Echenique administered affairs corruptly, giving great dissatisfaction.

1854. — General Ramon Castilla arose in revolution, and overthrew the government forces at La Palma. Echenique fled. General Castilla thereupon became the Supreme Executive of Peru, and retained power until 1862, when he voluntarily retired. In 1855 there

was an unsuccessful insurrection at Arequipa, headed by Vivanco. In 1856 the Constitution was changed, and again modified in 1860.

1862. — General Castilla retired, and selected his old friend and military subordinate, General San Roman, as President. San Roman died soon afterwards, on April 3, 1863.

1863. — General Canseco, the Second Vice-President, became Acting Executive until the return from Europe of General Pezet, the First Vice-President. In August General Pezet arrived, and at once assumed the functions of the presidency.

1864. — Spain made war on Peru. The relations between the two countries had been strained since 1863, when a Spanish squadron had appeared off the coast of South America, ostensibly for scientific purposes. The Peruvians thought its purpose was to enforce the payment of certain bonds issued during the Spanish colonial period.

In 1864 a settlement of Spaniards near Talambo, province of Chiclayo, was attacked by Peruvians. One person was killed, and several were wounded. Spain thereupon sent Señor Eusebio Salazar y Mazarredo as a special commissioner to investigate affairs in Peru. The latter government refused to receive him unless he stated the nature of his mission. He thereupon presented a memorandum setting forth that no treaty of peace existed between Spain and Peru, that the former country considered the truce between the two countries at an end, and that Spain claimed the right to regain possession of her lost colony. The Spanish squadron took possession of the Chincha Islands on April 14.

1865. — On January 27 President Pezet signed a treaty with Spain by which the latter agreed to evacuate the Chincha Islands, and the former to pay the cost of the expedition and assume the colonial debt. On February 28 a powerful revolt was inaugurated against President Pezet, on account of the treaty he had signed with Spain, it being alleged that it was derogatory to the "national honor." General Prado, prefect of Arequipa, headed the revolution, calling his forces the *Ejercito Restaurador de la Honra Nacional.* On November 6 General Prado captured Lima, and President Pezet took refuge on board a British war-ship in the harbor of Callao.

On November 8 General Prado assumed supreme control of the government. On December 5 Peru entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Chili. Later it did likewise with Ecuador and Bolivia.

1866. — On January 14 Peru declared war against Spain.

On February 6 the Spanish squadron, under Captain Castro Mendez Nuñez, attacked the Chilian and Peruvian squadrons, but after two hours' fight was compelled to withdraw.

On May 2 the Spanish squadron bombarded Callao. This was a severe action, the fort replying with great vigor. Of the fleet the Villa de Madrid was severely injured, and the Berenguela was

sunk. About 2000 Peruvians were killed and wounded in this bombardment. The Minister of War was killed by the bursting of a shell from the ship Numancia. All the vessels were injured, and the Spaniards lost 40 men killed and 200 wounded. The Spanish vessels retired at 5 P. M. to the island of San Lorengo, five miles from Callao, where they remained until May 12, when they set sail for Spain in order to avoid a conflict with two new Peruvian war-vessels, the Huascar and the Independencia. The war was ended.

On July 28 Dictator Prado issued a decree ordering congressional elections. He proclaimed himself Provisional President.

General Castilla, now over seventy years old, led a revolt against Prado, but was unsuccessful. He died soon afterwards.

1867. — In September the new Constitution was proclaimed, and General Prado declared himself to be Constitutional President. General Canseco led a revolution in Arequipa. General Prado led an assault against the place, but failed to take it. Canseco was thus Dictator in that section of the country.

In November Colonel José Balta headed a revolution near Chiclaya. In December General Prado intrusted the executive power to General Luis La Fuerta, and went himself to lead his army. He was unsuccessful in his military undertakings.

1868. — On January 7 General Prado resigned and took refuge in Chili. General Canseco was now recognized as President.

On August 2 Colonel José Balta was declared Supreme Executive. For four years President Balta exercised his powers in developing the national resources of Peru. The debt of Peru in 1868 was about $20,000,000; in 1870 it was increased to $75,000,000 and in 1872 to about $245,000,000. Over 1000 miles of railway were constructed, much of it unjustified by the development of the country. A monopoly of the guano, one of the principal sources of national revenue, was granted in 1869 to Dreyfus & Co., of Paris, for 700,000 soles, in monthly payments, for 2,000,000 tons per year as a minimum. Mr. Henry Meiggs, of California, was largely influential in bringing about the projection of the great system of public works which was inaugurated during this period in Peru.

1872. — A military conspiracy was formed to establish a dictatorship. On July 22 Colonel Silvestre Gutierrez with a company of soldiers arrested President Balta. Colonel Marcelino Gutierrez with a battery of artillery occupied the principal square of Lima, and Colonel Tomas Gutierrez was proclaimed Supreme Chief of Peru.

Colonel Silvestre Gutierrez a few days after this fired on some persons who cried, "*Viva Pardo!*" and was himself shot and killed. Thereupon Colonel Marcelino Gutierrez assassinated President Balta, who was his prisoner. Dictator Tomas Gutierrez was killed by a mob, and Marcelino Gutierrez was struck by a stray bullet, while making ready to turn the guns of the fort on the town.

On July 28 Señor Mariano Zavallos, the Vice-President, assumed the executive office. On August 1 Congress proclaimed Señor Manuel Pardo President, who assumed office the next day. The new President endeavored to promote industry and to construct public works, but many armed uprisings harassed all parts of the country.

1874. — On November 1 Señor Nicolas de Pierola disembarked at Pacocha with insurgents from the steamer Talisman. A heavy action took place at Los Angeles, in which the revolutionists were defeated. The government followed up this success by completely destroying the insurrection in several succeeding battles and skirmishes.

Grave economic difficulties confronted President Pardo. The vast foreign debt of Peru made the raising of more money impossible, and the payment of current interest extremely difficult.

President Pardo attempted to establish a monopoly in nitrate of soda, in which joint action with Bolivia was necessary. A secret treaty was made between Bolivia and Peru in 1873, which was unfriendly to Chili. The two nations proposed to restrict production in the Atacama district of Chili, by imposing heavy export duties at the port of Antofagasta, in direct violation of the treaty by which Chili had ceded that port to Bolivia. This finally led to the war between Chili, on the one side, and Bolivia-Peru on the other, in 1879–1883.

1876. — General Pardo turned the government over to General Mariano Ignacio Prado, who had defended Callao against the Spanish squadron on May 2, 1866, and was regarded as a popular hero.

Señor Nicolas Pierola promoted a revolution which broke out at Moquegua. Severe fighting ensued, but the insurrectionists were defeated, at Yacango.

1878. — Señor Nicolas Pierola inaugurated another revolution of great force at Callao. He seized the Peruvian war-ship Huascar, but the government declared the vessel a pirate, and two British men-of-war, the Shah and Amethyst, attempted to capture it. A severe engagement took place near Pacocha, and Señor Pierola, finding his vessel outclassed by the British force, voluntarily surrendered to the Peruvian admiral rather than suffer capture by the English. It is proper to say here that the United States has never paid any attention to these numerous declarations of "piracy" made by Latin-American governments against revolting war-vessels, and it is not clear what business the British had to interfere in the affair. It is certain that the Huascar was not a pirate, in the legal sense of the term.

Ex-President Señor Manuel Pardo was assassinated under peculiarly atrocious circumstances. As President of the Senate he advocated certain military measures by which no non-commissioned officer could rise to the rank of a commissioned officer. On leaving the Senate after the discussion of the bill, he was shot by Sergeant

Montoyo, who was on duty at Congress Hall. The assassin was arrested and subsequently executed.

On August 14 a definitive treaty of peace was signed between Peru and Spain.

1879. — On April 5 Chili declared war against Peru and Bolivia. A general *résumé* of this war will be found in another chapter. It lasted five years, and resulted in the complete humiliation of both Peru and Bolivia.

On December 18 President Prado turned the government over to Vice-President La Puerta and sailed for Europe. This action is universally regarded as unpatriotic in view of the successful assaults being made at that time by Chili.

Señor Nicolas de Pierola, who had been in exile in Chili, now offered his services to Peru in her great war with her southern neighbor. The offer was accepted. Señor Pierola was received with great acclaim, and given an important command. He at once organized a revolution against Acting President La Puerta, notwithstanding the relentless advance being made by Chili into Peruvian territory.

General Manuel Gonzalez de La Cotera, Minister of War, endeavored to sustain Acting President La Puerta. The troops mutinied under Colonel Arguedas. General de La Cotera endeavored to subdue them, but was driven back by heavy firing, not only from the mutineers but from citizens on the house-tops. Señor Pierola now appeared on the scene with another heavy body of mutineers, and bloodshed ensued in all parts of Lima. The police joined the revolutionists, and anarchy reigned. From 60 to 100 persons were killed, and 200 or 300 wounded. On December 23 Señor Pierola was proclaimed "Supreme Chief of the Republic."

1881. — In January the Chilians occupied Lima, and Pierola retired to the interior. Later he was given safe-conduct by the Chilian authorities, and left for Europe. Upon the retirement of General Pierola, Dr. Garcia Calderon, a prominent lawyer of Lima, became Chief Executive, and was recognized by the United States and other powers. He attempted to conclude an honorable peace with Chili, and offered that the United States be selected to arbitrate; but Chili rejected the proposal, and took possession of Lima. The Chilians made Provisional President Calderon prisoner and sent him to Santiago.

1881–1883. — The government of Lima was administered by the Chilians. Iglesias in the North, Caceres in the Centre, and Carrillo in the South, kept up a semblance of resistance to the Chilians, and exercised military control over certain territories.

1883. — Early in the year General Iglesias, satisfied that resistance was useless, sought to make peace with Chili on her own terms. General Caceres sent his army to attack General Iglesias, but a Chilian expedition intercepted him and destroyed his forces.

The Chilians installed General Iglesias as President of Peru, and made a treaty of peace with his government, on October 20, known as the Treaty of Ancon, — a great humiliation to Peru.

1884. — General Caceres organized a powerful opposition to the administration of Iglesias. In July and August Caceres approached Lima, which was attacked on August 24. Caceres was repulsed, and retired to Arequipa.

1885. — Continual guerrilla warfare was kept up throughout Peru. In November and December Caceres again invested Lima, and on December 1 made a severe attack, capturing certain portions of the city. The following day the two generals met, and signed a *compromiso*, whereby a council of leading citizens was formed to administer the government, with power to elect a President, etc. Iglesias at once left the country, and Caceres remained with his army.

1886. — On June 3 General Caceres was proclaimed President of Peru. Peru was bankrupt, her people in hopeless poverty, her young men dead on fields of continuous battle; desolation, despair, misery, hopelessness, reigned everywhere. There was scarcely enough energy left in the people to fight, and nothing left worth fighting for. Four years of comparative peace followed.

1890. — President Bermudez made the Grace contract, by which the so-called "Peruvian Corporation" took over the railway system of Peru, and extensive rights in the guano deposits, mines, and public lands, and in exchange for this guaranteed to pay some £80,000 sterling per annum for interest and in liquidation of the immense foreign debt of Peru, amounting to about $245,000,000. The English creditors gave their assent to this plan.

Colonel Remijio Morales Bermudez, the official candidate for President, was declared elected without serious opposition. The First Vice-President was Pedro A. del Solar, and Colonel Borgono Second. General Caceres remained the power behind the throne, with the intention to have himself proclaimed President at the end of Bermudez' term.

1894. — President Bermudez died on April 1. Señor Pedro del Solar, Vice-President, attempted to assume the presidential prerogatives. General Caceres induced Colonel Borgono, the Second Vice-President, to seize the office, so that he himself might be declared President on July 1, when the election was to be held. A revolution broke out in the South, nominally headed by Solar, but really directed by Pierola, who was in Chili.

On August 10 General Caceres was proclaimed President. Revolutions broke out, especially in the southern part of the country, and continual fighting occurred in a desultory fashion.

1895. — In March Pierola concentrated 5000 men near Lima. Caceres had only 4000 men, many of them mutinous.

Pierola attacked him on March 17. For three days the most desperate fighting took place in all parts of Lima. The slaughter was kept up day and night. Men sallied forth from alleys, around street corners, or fired from doorways and house-tops. The killed and wounded were left in heaps in the plazas and public places. An indescribable carnage — a slaughter and massacre unsurpassed in the annals of butcheries, even of South American butcheries — was enacted in all parts of the city, and continued without interruption for the whole of the time. Over 3000 men were killed, and more wounded. When the fighting ended, the streets of Lima were a sickening horror to view. The bodies of horses were piled in heaps, and many of them were cremated as they lay, in order to prevent pestilence.

On March 19 Mr. Alfred St. John, the English consul in Peru, induced Caceres to abandon the struggle. He took refuge in a foreign legation, and left the country.

On March 21 Señor Pierola organized a provisional government, and appointed Señor Candamo as President. Adherents of Caceres raised a revolt in Arequipa, but were subdued without trouble.

On September 8 Señor Nicolas de Pierola was declared Constitutional President.

1896. — An insurrection broke out in Iguitos, but it was suppressed after several months of fighting.

1899. — A revolution broke out under the leadership of Señor Durand, but it was subdued without difficulty.

On September 8 Señor Romana was declared President. The Durand revolution caused some trouble for a time, but it finally died out.

1903. — Señor Manuel Candamo was selected for the presidency.

1904. — On May 7 President Candamo died, and Vice-President Calderon was called to the executive chair. On September 24 Señor José Pardo was installed as President.

At the present moment (1907) there is peace in Peru, and many enthusiastic people claim that the day of revolutions is past. Let us hope so. It is always wise, however, to be conservative in making predictions of this character.

In 1896 the "Bureau of the American Republics" published a hand-book, in which appeared a summary of the history of Peru up to the time of the administration of President Bermudez. The writer of that summary felt called upon to make some remarks. Speaking of President Bermudez, he says:

"He did splendid duty for his country during the Chilian war, and finally attached himself to General Caceres in the movement against Iglesias. His administration has been, like that of his predecessor, one of patriotic devotion to his people. Peru, under him, was in possession of a firm and stable gov-

ernment, under the influence of prudent, far-sighted statesmen, who devoted themselves to the material development of their country and the elevation of the people."

It seems sad, on the heels of such a glowing tribute, to read of the anarchy in Lima on March 17, 18, and 19, 1895, probably during the very time this book was in the press. He must be rarely gifted who would prophesy of peace in the Latin-American countries.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME OF THE RULERS AND REVOLUTIONS OF BRAZIL

IN January, 1808, King Joao VI, of Portugal, having been driven from his throne by Napoleon, arrived in Bahia, Brazil, and thence proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, and assumed the reins of government of this country, which had up to that time been a colony of Portugal. He at once ordered an attack to be made on French Guiana, which was captured.

1811. — Joao VI sent an army into Uruguay, the intention being to seize more territory. The revolution in Argentina afforded him the opportunity, but British pressure compelled him to retire.

1815. — The warring factions of Argentina trespassed on Brazilian territory. This gave Joao VI the needed pretext for seizing additional land. Brazil took military occupation of Uruguay.

1817. — The Pernambuco revolution broke out in Brazil. Riots broke out in all parts of the interior of the province. The Governor fled, and a Committee of Public Safety was formed which declared independence and adopted a Constitution. The royal troops, however, soon quelled the uprising, and the leaders were shot.

1820. — Revolutions broke out against the royal authority, in Pará, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, and other provinces, and Constitutions were proclaimed.

1821. — Uruguay was formally annexed to Brazil, under the title of Cisplatine Province.

In February of this year the garrison of Bahia revolted, and installed a junta as the government. The Spanish Constitution was promulgated. Great riots occurred. On February 26 the crowds went to the palace of the King, who thought they were coming to kill him. He snivelled like the coward he was, cried like a child, and fainted away.

Prince Pedro addressed the multitude, telling them he and his father would accept whatever constitution they might adopt.

On April 21 a tumult occurred, growing out of an attempt to elect members to the Cortes. Prince Pedro seized the reins of power from the hands of his vacillating, pusillanimous father, and cleared the public square with his troops. Shortly afterwards the King left for Portugal, and Prince Pedro became the central figure.

In the fall of 1821 the Cortes met in Lisbon, and at once passed acts extremely unpopular for the control of Brazil, without even awaiting the arrival of the Brazilian members. They decreed that Prince Pedro leave Brazil; that appeal courts be abolished; that the local juntas be done away and governors independent of local control take their places. The news of this reached Brazil in December and caused extraordinary popular outbursts of disapproval.

1822. — On January 9 Prince Pedro announced that he would remain in Brazil. The people in all parts of the country rallied to his support and defied the Cortes.

The Portuguese soldiers in Rio de Janeiro revolted; but they were cowed by the hostility and determination of the entire populace. Prince Pedro made José Bonifacio Prime Minister, and called a council of the provinces; but many of these were in the hands of revolutionary juntas, and refused to respond, while Bahia and Pernambuco were held by Portuguese garrisons hostile to the Prince.

On May 13 Prince Pedro proclaimed himself "Perpetual Defender and Protector of Brazil." He notified the Cortes that Brazil must have its own legislature, and called an asamblea constituyente.

Conflicts between the garrison and citizens of Bahia and other provinces were continual. In October Prince Pedro was crowned "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil," and he adopted as his motto "Independence or Death."

Many fights took place between the local militia and the Portuguese garrisons of Montevideo, Maranhao, Bahia, Pará, and elsewhere. Lord Cochrane, the English admiral, who had helped San Martin to drive the Spaniards out of Peru, aided the new Emperor, by defeating the Portuguese fleet at Bahia, at Maranhao and Pará, and establishing successful blockades.

1823. — In May the *Constituyente* Assembly met with only fifty delegates present, or half of the number contemplated. Many provinces refused to be represented. The Emperor succeeded in arousing bitter opposition by his opening speech. The fact is he was an ignorant, headstrong young fellow, only about twenty-four years old, wilful, treacherous, and arrogant, and without the slightest experience in statesmanship. His honors sat heavily upon him. He declared they needed a Constitution which would be "an insurmountable barrier against any invasion of the imperial prerogatives."

Finally he disgraced and then arrested his strongest partisans, the Andradas. With a military force he then dispersed the Assembly, and banished the most prominent members without charge or trial, putting them on board a ship and sending them out of the country. He promulgated a Constitution, as all succeeding military dictators have done in Latin America.

1824. — The province of Pernambuco, headed by Governor Carvalho Paes, revolted against the bald despotism of Pedro, and formed

the "Confederation of the Equator." Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceara joined the new confederacy.

Pedro sent troops against it, while Admiral Cochrane bombarded Pernambuco. The revolutionists fell to fighting among themselves, as has happened so often under the dictatorships, and the enemies of Paes gave aid to Pedro, who by Cochrane's aid captured Pernambuco on September 17. Pedro now hanged and shot large numbers of the insurrectionists, and succeeded in establishing a reign of terror.

1825. — Portugal recognized the independence of Brazil, the latter agreeing to pay a portion of the Portuguese debt. Pedro's father was given the honorary title of "Emperor of Brazil."

In March a rebellion broke out against Pedro in Uruguay, and after six months' desperate fighting his army was cut to pieces at Sarandy. Buenos Ayres thereupon declared that Uruguay had reunited with Argentina. Pedro declared war.

1826. — On May 3 Pedro called a Congress. At this time King John of Portugal died, and Pedro, the oldest son, had to choose between the throne of Portugal and Brazil. He chose the latter, and tried to place his daughter, Maria, a child of seven years, on the throne of Portugal. He endeavored to placate his brother Miguel by making him regent, but the result was a civil war in Portugal. Pedro had a very disastrous campaign against Argentina.

1827. — On February 20 the Argentine General Carlos Alvear decisively defeated Pedro's army at Ituzaingo in a great battle, with about 8000 men on each side. Congress met again this year, in a more independent spirit, and Pedro's influence was decidedly on the decline.

1828. — Congress met in May, and some remarkable men, such as Vasconcellos and Padre Feijo, sat in it. These endeavored to make the Congress a real legislative body.

1829. — Pedro, finding Congress intractable, dissolved it, which caused intense dissatisfaction.

1831. — In March grave disturbances broke out in Rio, the troops siding with the populace. They laid siege to the Emperor's palace, and compelled him to abdicate in favor of his infant son. He took refuge on board a British man-of-war.

Pedro was a dissolute, treacherous, vainglorious, empty-headed degenerate. The annals of Latin America scarcely contain anything to surpass his general "cussedness." His character scarcely had a redeeming trait. It is sad to think that a people ever existed who would submit to the rule of such a man for an hour. Dawson says:[1]

"One mistress after another succeeded to his favors, and he acknowledged and ennobled his illegitimate children. Most of his concubines did not hold him long, but the last, who was said to be of English descent, acquired a complete ascendency over him. He publicly installed her as his mistress; created

[1] South American Republics, vol. i. p. 434.

her a marchioness; forced the Empress to accept her as a lady-in-waiting and submit to ride in the same carriage with her. The court attended in a body the baptism of her child, and some of his love letters to her are indescribable. They could only have been written by a degenerate. In the fall of 1826 the poor Empress was *enceinte* with her seventh child in nine years, and while in this condition Pedro brutally abused her. She never recovered and died in the most fearful agony."

In April the Congress met and formed a regency to control the government. The troops of Pernambuco and Para revolted and deposed their commanders. In July the Regency gave supreme authority to Padre Feijo, an able man and a priest, who organized the national guard, and suppressed the grave disorders in Rio de Janeiro.

Civil wars now broke out in all parts of the country. Revolutions and counter-revolutions, riots and uprisings, massacres, outrages without number, occurred, while every local Jefe issued his pronunciamento. In Pernambuco the soldiers sacked the city, and the populace arose in fury and killed 300 of them. In Pará 200 people were killed in one night. Anarchy reigned in Moranhao, Minas Geraes, Ceara, and other provinces.

1835. — After four years of practical anarchy the Congress amended the Constitution, and elected Padre Feijo as Regent. He endeavored to give a good administration, but he was confronted by a great revolution in Rio Grande do Sul and in Pará.

1836. — Feijo managed, through the abilities of his General Andrea, to subdue the revolution in Pará. But the uprising in Rio Grande do Sul became more formidable.

1837. — In September Padre Feijo resigned the Regency, owing to the utter failure of the government in Rio Grande. As soon as Feijo was out, Aranjo Lima, a wealthy senator, became Regent; but the real power behind the throne was Bernardo de Vasconcellos, an unprincipled, treacherous man, who had long been intriguing to procure the downfall of Feijo.

1839. — A formidable revolution broke out in Maranhao, while the armies from Rio Grande do Sul invaded Santa Catharina. People generally were dissatisfied with the Regency, and a strong movement arose to install the boy Emperor, who would not be of age until 1843.

1840. — Congress held a turbulent session, in which Vasconcellos came into power and prorogued it. This caused a furore, and the deputies asked the boy Emperor to become the monarch. Pedro accepted, and on July 23 Congress proclaimed him of age and gave him the crown, as Pedro II.

1842. — A revolution in Sorocabana, in the State of Sao Paulo, soon spread to the province of Minas Geraes. About twenty battles were fought, the government troops, under the Baron of Caxias, gaining substantially every victory. At Santa Luzia the revolutionists

were completely overwhelmed. Caxias then went to Rio Grande do Sul, gained important battles over the rebels, and finally completely subdued them.

1845. — Rio Grande do Sul returned to its allegiance to Brazil; full amnesty was granted by the Emperor, and the State given a liberal and very independent government.

1848. — Riots occurred in all parts of the country in connection with the municipal elections. In Pernambuco a revolution started with about 2000 men, and severe fighting continued for some months; but it was finally subdued.

1850. — There was a great epidemic of yellow fever along all the coasts of Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro 200 persons fell sick daily, and the mortality was appalling.

1851. — Brazil entered into an alliance with Paraguay and General Urquiza, Governor of the province of Entre Rios, against Rosas, the Dictator of Buenos Ayres, who was ambitious to annex Uruguay. On December 17 the allies, numbering 4000 Brazilians, 18,000 Argentines from Entre Rios, and some Uruguayans, all under General Urquiza, crossed the Paraná and started for Buenos Ayres.

1852. — On February 3 the allies met Dictator Rosas near Buenos Ayres, and completely defeated him.

1853. — The conservative ministry of Brazil resigned, owing to differences with the Emperor. Brazil, during this period, was exceedingly prosperous.

1856. — A commercial crisis came, and for several years Brazil suffered from grave economic disorders.

1858. — The Marquis of Paraná, who was chief of the cabinet, died, and the conservatives obtained control of the ministry. Several ministries now succeeded one another, and the Emperor finally had to select a cabinet outside of the Chamber of Deputies.

1864. — Prosperity returned to the country. A period of railroad building was ushered in, and Brazil might fairly be said to be the leading South American State.

Brazil commenced a war against Uruguay, giving its aid to General Flores, a revolutionary chief, who was then in rebellion against the Dictator of Montevideo, General Aguirre. Brazil sent a man-of-war up the Uruguay River, which besieged towns, and in connection with General Flores captured the most important places in Western Uruguay.

The tyrant Dictator Lopez, of Paraguay, in the fall of this year, seized without notice a Brazilian steamer on the Paraguay River, imprisoned the crew, and nearly succeeded in assassinating the Brazilian minister and his family. He then attacked Matto Grosso, Brazilian territory, and conquered its principal settlements.

1865. — In March Dictator Lopez declared war on Argentina. In May Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay made an alliance against

Paraguay, in which the allies pledged themselves to fight until Lopez should be completely destroyed. In June Brazil won a naval victory at Riachuelo over the Paraguayans. Brazil at once proceeded to raise a large army and create a really powerful navy, which by the end of the war numbered 85 ships, 13 of which were ironclads. In September the army of Lopez in Rio Grande do Sul was overthrown and captured.

1866. — The allies invaded Paraguay, where a succession of desperate battles followed.

1867. — General Caxias was given command of the Brazilian army. In July he began an advance and drove the Paraguayans before him.

1868. — In July Caxias captured the fort Humaita. In November General Caxias practically destroyed the army of Lopez.

1869. — General Caxias took possession of Asunción, and Lopez retreated to the remote provinces.

1870. — In March Lopez was overthrown, and killed by a soldier, as he tried to escape.

The war had cost Brazil 50,000 lives and $300,000,000; but it had demonstrated the fighting qualities of the Brazilian soldier, secured free navigation on the Paraguay, and rendered future attacks on Matto Grosso improbable.

1871. — The Emperor after great effort secured the passing of a law, on September 28, called "*A Libertacao do Ventre*," — "the freedom of the belly," — which declared that all children born thereafter should be free upon attaining the age of twenty-one years, even though the mother were a slave. At that time there were over a million and a half slaves in Brazil. By 1887 this number had been reduced to three quarters of a million.

1873. — The great world-wide panic seriously affected Brazil.

1877. — The Emperor visited the United States and Europe. There were many dissensions in the cabinet and throughout the country. The Emperor in obedience to a widespread demand put through a law of election, making some minor reforms.

1880. — The liberal ministry fell. Great riots occurred in Rio de Janeiro over a street-car tax. José Antonio Saraiva was made chief of the cabinet.

1881. — An election was held under a new law, forced through by Saraiva, in which the liberals secured 68 members, and the conservatives 54, of the Congress, the total vote being 96,000.

The Emperor at this time adopted extensive plans for railroad building, the government to guarantee the interest on the capital invested.

1883. — The abolition of slavery had become a burning issue. The Dantas ministry undertook to secure the passage of a bill prohibiting the sale of slaves, and freeing them as soon as they reached

sixty years of age. It caused great excitement, 48 liberals and 4 conservatives voting for it, and 17 liberals and 42 conservatives against it. The Emperor dissolved Congress amid great excitement.

1884. — The elections aroused much bitterness, returning 65 liberals and 55 conservatives to Congress. Prudente Moraes and Campos Salles entered Congress from Sao Paulo as avowed anti-monarchists, or republicans.

1885. — The Dantas ministry, unable to force abolition through, resigned. Saraiva succeeded to power, and arranged a compromise, for gradual emancipation, and payment by the government for the value of the slaves freed. The law was passed on September 28.

1886. — The conservatives obtained a large majority in Congress, and Baron Cotegipe became Prime Minister. The anti-slavery agitation grew more intense.

1887. — Dom Pedro II went to Europe, and left Princess Isabel as Regent. A disturbance took place in the province of Sao Paulo, where there were many Italian immigrants, who encouraged slaves to desert from their masters. Troops were sent from Rio de Janeiro to suppress the disturbance and return the fugitive slaves; but they mutinied, and refused to obey orders.

1888. — The Princess Regent, an uncompromising abolitionist, directed her ministers, on May 7, in spite of their protest, at once to present a project of law decreeing the abolishment of slavery unconditionally. This was passed, and decreed by royal authority on the 15th. She was warned that this would probably mean the downfall of the monarchy, but she answered that her throne might be lost, but the slaves should be free. Universal rejoicing among the masses took place, but the great slave-owners were bitter and plotted the overthrow of the monarchy. Curious that republicans should be opposed to the monarchy because it had abolished slavery!

1889. — The Emperor's health was feeble; the Princess Isabel was in power and unpopular, her husband, Comte d'Eu, being bitterly disliked; the army was arrogant, and provoked many conflicts with the civil authorities, and menaced the government; the anti-slavery agitation had caused much bitter feeling; Benjamin Constant, professor in the Military School at Rio, had thoroughly impregnated the younger officers with theories of republicanism; and all signs pointed to conditions ripe for a revolt. Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca had opposed the Minister of War, and had been transferred to Matto Grosso. Upon his return in November he entered into a conspiracy with Professor Constant, Admiral Wandenkolk, Floriano Peixoto, and others, to overthrow the government.

The blow was struck on November 15. They had control of the army, and experienced little difficulty in making the cabinet prisoners, surrounding the Emperor's palace, and taking possession of the city. The Emperor, old and feeble, was at Petropolis. The

next day the chiefs of the revolution organized a provisional government. On the night of the 16th the Emperor and his family were placed on board a ship and sent to Lisbon. Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, a tyrant of the worst type, became Military Dictator of Brazil, without serious opposition of any kind.

On December 18 a drunken row among soldiers was made the pretext for the establishing of military law by the provisional government, and severe restrictions were placed on the freedom of the press and of speech. Extraordinary powers were given by executive decree to military tribunals, and nearly every guarantee which Dom Pedro II had vouchsafed the Brazilians was swept away by the dictatorship.

1890. — On January 7 the Dictator published a decree separating Church and State. On November 15 Fonseca summoned a Congress from the States which he had created, by decrees, out of the former provinces.

1891. — On February 24 a new Constitution was promulgated, Deodoro da Fonseca was elected President, and Floriano Peixoto, Vice-President. A most odious military dictatorship inaugurated a reign of lawless outrages by brutal soldiery, — a disregard for every individual and constitutional right. The country was flooded with paper money, and an era of public debauchery set in. In theory the Constitution was much like our own. In practice, however, it was like that of the other Latin-American dictatorships.

On March 9 a manifesto was issued from the State of Sao Paulo calling attention to the grave irregularities of the President. On March 18 a similar document was signed by most of the prominent men in the Republic, including thirty senators. The accusations stated that President Fonseca had abused his authority in many ways, and had maintained a system of coercion over the magistrates and of violence and corruption.

The Dictator at once proceeded to make numerous arrests, charging a plot to restore the monarchy, where none in fact existed.

Congress met in June, and conspiracies against the Dictator were formed, the real centre of them being the Vice-President, Floriano Peixoto, an ambitious and resourceful man. On November 3 the Dictator issued a decree dissolving Congress, and stating that new representatives would be chosen at a date hereafter to be fixed by him. A new Constitution would then be adopted, containing provisions which would be hereafter explained.

On the same date the Dictator proclaimed martial law and suspended the Constitution, stating that he would appoint a commission to try summarily the enemies of the Republic, and that citizens who might be deported for the sake of the public safety should be sent away without trial or delay.

On November 9 the garrisons at Rio Grande, Bage, Pelotas,

and other points in the State of Rio Grande do Sul revolted. On the 10th the regiment at Santa Anna de Livramento and the troops at Jaguarao, Cacapava, Alegrete, and Uruguayana rebelled, and under Generals Osorio, Tavares, and Astrogildo, took all the important places in the State. A provisional government was formed, and 50,000 troops and 5 vessels were made ready to resist Fonseca.

In Sao Paulo the Governor, an adherent of Fonseca, with the troops compelled the legislature to approve Fonseca's acts. The State of Pará made ready for resistance to the Dictator. On November 21 Admirals Wandenkolk and Guimaraes were arrested by the government. On November 23 the navy under Admiral de Mello revolted, and threatened to bombard Rio de Janeiro, causing a panic.

On November 23 Dictator Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca resigned the executive power into the hands of Vice-President Floriano Peixoto. Serious rioting followed. The offices of the newspapers, *Diario de Commercio* and *Novidalles*, were wrecked by the mob.

News of the death of Dom Pedro II was received on December 5, and caused universal sorrow.

1892. — On January 21 Congress passed a vote of confidence in President Peixoto and adjourned. The new ruler proved to be a Dictator rather than a President. He ruled, by military force, with a rod of iron. In January a mutiny broke out in the fortress of Santa Cruz, at the entrance of the harbor of Rio Janeiro. It required two battalions of infantry to subdue it. In February the President-Dictator deposed the governors of Ceara, Amazonas, and Matto Grosso. He persecuted his supposed enemies, and corrupt practices prevailed, causing widespread dissatisfaction. In several States revolutionary outbreaks were threatened.

1893. — Vice-President Peixoto became more tyrannical in his methods of government. Article 42 of the Constitution provided that in case of the death or resignation of the President within two years after assuming office a new election should be held; but Peixoto declared that this did not apply to him, as it was designed to apply only to presidential terms succeeding the first; that he held office under special circumstances, and that the general provision did not apply. This caused a bitter dispute and led to an insurrection. In April Admiral Custodio de Mello, Minister of Marine, resigned. Dr. Serzedello Correa, Minister of Finance, did likewise. Revolution broke out in Rio Grande do Sul, led by General Gumercindo Saraiva. In July Admiral Wandenkolk seized the Brazilian steamer Jupiter; and almost immediately the entire navy revolted under Admiral de Mello. Later Admiral Saldanha da Gama joined the revolt, and several of the forts about Rio Janeiro became disaffected. The revolution continued into the following year.

1894. — In February Vice-President Peixoto announced that a "presidential election" would be held on March 1st. The revolution

was still in progress. At this election Dr. Prudente de Moraes Barros was declared President. There was no opposition. He was, in fact, the personal nominee of Peixoto, yet he was generally satisfactory to the revolutionists. He took office on November 15, and at once proceeded to inaugurate a policy radically opposed to that of his cruel and dictatorial predecessor.

1895. — On January 3 President Moraes granted a general amnesty to all who had taken part in the revolution.

On March 15 the officers and cadets of the Military School, about 800 men in all, rebelled against the government. They were promptly placed under arrest by the President.

In April a revolution broke out in Rio Grande do Sul against Governor Castilhos. The uprising was led by General Aparicio Saraiva, and was joined later by Admiral da Gama, who had been in exile in Argentina. The uprising was put down only after horrible atrocities had been committed on both sides.

In July England sent a war-ship to take possession of the island of Trinidade, a deserted island about 650 miles from the Brazilian coast, but claimed by the latter country. This caused great excitement for a time in Brazil, but England withdrew her claims later.

On August 23 an agreement was reached between President Moraes and the revolutionists in Rio Grande do Sul by which the authority of the national administration was restored.

1896. — Italy demanded payment for injury to its subjects sustained during the revolution of 1893–1894. This caused considerable excitement, but the matter was finally referred to arbitration.

In November President Moraes obtained the consent of Congress to retire to the country on account of his health, leaving Dr. Victorino Pereira, the Vice-President, as Acting Executive.

1897. — President Moraes returned in March quite unexpectedly to Rio de Janeiro. He had received information of a contemplated *coup d'état*, planned by the Vice-President, who was arrested, and with his co-conspirators lodged in jail.

This year was signalized by a series of bloody campaigns against the Jaguncos, a body of civilized Indians, whose headquarters were at Canudos, some 300 miles from Bahia. These Jaguncos were under the leadership of Antonio Conselheiro, a fanatic and a man of strong religious tendencies. The Governor of Bahia sent a magistrate to Canudos, who became involved in an affair with a woman, and then obtained an appointment to another district. Some of the native inhabitants of Canudos were sent to cut wood near the district of the recreant official, and he, thinking they were coming to attack him, ordered his troops to kill them. The Jaguncos then arose to avenge the slaughter of their companions. The Governor of Bahia was requested by the recreant official to defend him, which he did, without investigation, or making any effort to treat with the Jaguncos. Out

of this grew a disturbance which required finally 15,000 soldiers to quell. It cost the lives of about 6000 men, while the atrocities committed were horrible beyond description.

Great riots broke out in Rio de Janeiro over this affair, it being alleged that the monarchists were at the bottom of it. The offices of the newspapers, *Apostolo*, *Liberdade*, *Gazeta da Tarde*, in Rio de Janeiro, and *O Commercio* in Sao Paulo, were wrecked; and Colonel Gentil de Castro, editor of the *Jornal do Brazil*, was assassinated on account of his alleged monarchial tendencies. Attempts were made to assassinate other prominent men.

On November 5 a Brazilian soldier, of the Tenth Infantry, named Marcelino Bispo de Mello, attempted to assassinate the President, Prudente J. de Moraes Barros.

United States Minister E. H. Conger, reported, under date of November 10, 1897, Petropolis, Brazil, as follows:

"About one o'clock of the afternoon of November 5 the President was returning from on board the steamer Espirito Santo, where he had been accompanied by his cabinet and military and civil staff to welcome a contingent of officers and troops just returning victorious from the 'Canudos war,' and had just landed at the war arsenal, where there had gathered an immense crowd, composed of friends and families of the returning soldiers, and the public generally. As the crowd parted to make room for the presidential party, a young soldier sprang quickly in front of the President and snapped a pistol at him. The pistol failing to discharge, he instantly drew a large knife or poniard, and was about to plunge it into the President, when Marshal Bittencourt, the Minister of War, pushed the President aside, grappled with the soldier, and himself received five wounds, from which he died in ten minutes."

Colonel Luiz Moraes, nephew of the President, was also seriously hurt. Investigation showed that the attempt to assassinate the President was the result of a plot, in which many prominent men were concerned; among them being Major Diocletiano Martyr, who arranged the details. Severe measures were begun against the criminals.

1898. — On March 1 Dr. Campos Salles, the official candidate, was declared elected President of the Republic. Dr. Salles' election was openly fixed by President Moraes, there being but slight pretence of such foolishness as "voting." However, the new President was a man of affairs, and inclined to continue the wise policy of Dr. Moraes rather than the reactionary military tyranny of Peixoto and da Fonseca.

Before assuming office the President-elect visited Europe to arrange with the creditors of Brazil to tide the country over the period of financial and economic depression which then afflicted it. He was well received by the Rothschilds and succeeded in making favorable arrangements.

On November 15 Dr. Moraes turned the presidency over to Dr. Salles, and retired from public life. His had been an honorable and successful administration.

1899. — The boundary dispute between Brazil and French Guayana was submitted to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland.

In August President Roca, of Argentina, visited Brazil, and was received with great honor. The Bubonic plague appeared in Santos, and later in Rio de Janeiro.

1900. — Grave financial difficulties existed in Brazil, and the Great Bank of the Republic failed, causing ruin to vast numbers of commercial enterprises and smaller banks. The country was flooded with paper money; taxes were enormous and often illegally levied; immigration had practically ceased, and industrial development seemed at a standstill.

1901. — A dispute with Bolivia arose over the Acre territory, which threatened at one time to cause war, but was adjusted by treaty in 1903.

1902. — Dr. Rodriguez Alves was installed as President on November 15. He was selected by his predecessor.

1906. — Dr. Alfonso Penna was elected President, and Dr. Nilo Pecanha Vice-President, for a term of four years, commencing November 15, 1906. Extensive revolutions occurred in many parts of Brazil.

CHAPTER IX

SOME OF THE RULERS AND REVOLUTIONS OF ARGENTINA

ON June 25, 1806, the English Admiral Popham, with 1500 men, under General Beresford, landed near Buenos Ayres, and took possession of the city.

On August 12 the English were forced to surrender by overwhelming numbers. It was unquestionably England's intention at that time to take possession of that part of South America. The failure of the expedition merely served to arouse the Argentines to a sense of their own power and to imbue them with a desire to gain independence.

The Argentines now deposed the Spanish viceroy and installed the royal Audencia in his place.

Towards the end of 1806 English reinforcements arrived, consisting of 4000 men, who took Montevideo by assault.

1807. — Supreme military command was given in Argentina to Liniers, a French officer.

In June the English General Whitelocke approached Buenos Ayres, and drove the Argentines before him.

On July 5 the English attacked Buenos Ayres, in a fight which lasted two days, from one street or alley to another. General Whitelocke lost over 1000 men. He made a treaty with Liniers by which he withdrew from Buenos Ayres and evacuated Montevideo.

This defeat of the English had been accomplished mainly by the Creoles and peons. As they realized their military power, they began to chafe under the Spanish yoke.

1809. — On July 30 a new Spanish Viceroy, Cisneros, was sent to Buenos Ayres to take the place of Liniers. He proclaimed free commerce, which met with hearty approval, but he inaugurated a rule of great severity. A revolution was progressing in the northern part of the province, and the new Viceroy sent 1000 soldiers to Charcas to suppress it. They committed many barbarities, executing people wholesale and instituting a reign of terror.

1810. — The Viceroy issued a proclamation on May 18, in which he informed the people of the desperate straits in which the Spanish government found itself because of the Napoleonic wars.

On May 22 a committee waited on the Viceroy to demand his resignation. A conspiracy had been formed, the leaders being a military commander, Saavedra; Manuel Belgrano, an able organizer; two young lawyers named Paso and Castelli, and Vieytes, a citizen at whose house the meetings were held.

On May 25 a great armed meeting was held in the plaza. Viceroy Cisneros yielded, and a junta was formed to administer the government, which was at once reorganized by the Spanish Cabildo. Every one knew the army was heart and soul with the movement, so that opposition was useless.

An era of horrible butchery was now ushered in. The Buenos Ayres Junta sent armies into the neighboring districts and cities to coerce obedience to its decrees.

At Cordoba the Buenos Ayres army met the ex-Viceroy Liniers, who had a few troops determined to make a resistance. He was overcome, and with most of his men taken prisoners. All of the captured officers and men were assassinated, — such has been the gentleness and benign character of Liberty as practised in South America.

One branch of the army of Buenos Ayres penetrated to Bolivia, laying waste the country. On November 7 the patriots gained the important battle of Suipacha.

Manuel Belgrano, with another Buenos Ayres detachment, penetrated Paraguay. Arriving near Asunción, he was defeated by the Spanish Governor and compelled to surrender.

1811. — General Artigas, with a band of cow-boys from Entre Rios, acting with the Buenos Ayres authorities, overran Uruguay, doing great damage, and finally defeated the Spaniards at the battle of Piedras.

On June 20 the Buenos Ayrean army was attacked near the southern end of Lake Titicaca, at a place called Huaqui, by the royalists and Indians, under command of the Viceroy of Peru. They were practically annihilated, the few survivors escaping to the plains of Argentina, where the news of the disaster rapidly spread.

The Buenos Ayreans now evacuated Uruguay.

1812. — The Buenos Ayres Junta met with disaster everywhere. Each succeeding defeat made it more bloodthirsty at home. Large numbers of Spaniards were imprisoned and shot upon the slightest suspicion. At one time 38 of the wealthiest Spanish merchants of Buenos Ayres were murdered by orders of the junta.

Serious internal dissensions occurred in the junta, — schemes, intrigues, quarrels, treachery. At this point General Manuel Belgrano seized the reins of government. With an army composed of the fierce, cruel guachos, he drove the Spaniards from point to point, finally gained a decisive victory at Tucuman, and then overthrew the discredited Buenos Ayres triumvirate.

1813. — Belgrano now invaded the Bolivian plateau.

On October 1 he was severely defeated by the forces of the Peruvian Viceroy at Vilapugio.

In November Belgrano's army was practically destroyed at Ayohuma, and with the broken remnants he retreated to the plains of Argentina. There he turned over his command to San Martin, who had arrived from Europe the previous year.

This great general and patriot — the most illustrious name in the annals of South America and the only Latin American whose fame is secure alongside Porfirio Diaz and Dom Pedro II — proceeded at once to organize a magnificent army. He procured the appointment as Governor of Cuyo, at the foot of the Andes mountains, and spent three years in organizing a fighting machine which, when completed, was the most formidable in South America.

In the latter part of 1813 Artigas, the leader of the fierce guachos in Entre Rios and Uruguay, attacked the missions on the upper Uruguay, but the Brazilian troops defeated him. A general war now broke out in this section with the Brazilians, resulting in the capture by them of Montevideo in 1816.

1814–1815. — Revolts, revolutions, and counter-revolutions existed in all parts of Argentina. Alvear became "boss" of the Buenos Ayres oligarchy. He placed Posadas at the head of the government.

On June 14 William Brown, a celebrated Irish captain, gathered together a force of ships and men and defeated the Spanish fleet, destroying the sea power of Spain on the Atlantic. Montevideo at once fell.

Local conspiracies and bloody conflicts were the order of the day everywhere. Posadas was thrown out; Alvear took his place, only to meet a similar fate; and one Dictator followed another with confusing rapidity.

General Rondeau started from Buenos Ayres with a strong force determined again to invade Bolivia. He met with nothing but disaster, and was finally completely crushed at Sipe-Sipe.

1816. — One of those peculiar institutions known as a "Congress" met at Buenos Ayres, and on July 9 made a declaration of independence. Guerrilla warfare, rapine, and anarchy continued throughout the country, each province of which was at the mercy of some local chief.

1817. — In January General San Martin broke camp at Mendoza, and got ready to move. He had about 4000 men, whom he had drilled and equipped with marvellous skill and foresight. They were, many of them, men of desperate daring, who knew that their only hope of returning to Argentina lay in the complete overthrow of the power of Spain.

San Martin divided his army into two divisions, the smaller going via the Uspallata Pass, the principal route between Chili and Argentina, and the larger, commanded by the General himself,

going via the Patos route, — a more difficult road. Both divisions were timed to arrive at the same time in the great plain of Aconcagua, which is north of Santiago, and separated from it by only a single spur of the mountains.

The division via Uspallata encountered a Spanish guard, and defeated it in a gallant charge. The Spanish Governor, Marco, was now bewildered and irresolute. A force sent to attack San Martin's main division was defeated and driven back.

Governor Marco had 5000 men, many of them veterans, under able generals, but San Martin outgeneralled him.

On February 12 O'Higgins, the Chilian General, with 1800 men, who was co-operating with San Martin, attacked the left flank of the Spaniards, but was temporarily repulsed. San Martin at once sent a force to attack the Spanish centre with bayonets and sabres. O'Higgins renewed his attack on the flank, and although the royalists fought with desperate bravery, they were cut to pieces, losing half their men. This battle, known in history as Chacabuco, relatively unimportant as regards the numbers engaged, aroused a frenzy of enthusiasm among the revolutionists throughout Chili, Peru, and Argentina. The royalists became discouraged, for it was evident that the patriot armies now had a general of talents and resources.

1818. — The junta at Buenos Ayres ordered San Martin and Belgrano to return with their armies to Argentina, to subdue the various counter-revolutions. Puyredon was now ruler at Buenos Ayres, but his authority was defied by local Caudillos in every district. Devastating wars were prosecuted in Santa Fé, Corrientes, Uruguay, Entre Rios, Cordoba, and practically all the outlying provinces. San Martin positively refused to obey the command to return. He proposed to destroy the power of Spain in South America, but he did not intend to mix up in these shameless, unending local squabbles.

Belgrano obeyed and returned; but at Cordoba his army revolted, dispersed, and sections joined the troops of the contending local chiefs.

Argentina now split up into a large number of provinces, and Buenos Ayres, after the defeat of its armies at Cepeda, was ignored by nearly all of them.

1819–1824. — Continual armed strife occurred among the Caudillos of all the local provinces. Puyredon was ousted in Buenos Ayres, and Rivadavia came to the front.

1825. — The provinces were represented in a Congress at Buenos Ayres. Rivadavia was selected for Executive, but most of the local Jefes refused to recognize him.

War broke out with Brazil. Uruguay had started a revolution against Brazil, which claimed it as a part of its territory, and won a victory at Sarandi. The Congress of Buenos Ayres, having no trouble

to speak of at home, except a war with Spain and a dozen or fifteen local counter-revolutions on its hands, promptly declared that Uruguay was reunited to Argentina. The Emperor of Brazil replied by declaring war and blockading Buenos Ayres. The pugnacious Irish Admiral, William Brown, again rendered Buenos Ayres great service, by organizing a privateering crew of Yankee and English captains, harassing the Brazilian squadron and destroying their commerce.

1826. — The war between Argentina and Brazil continued with great fury, as also did the revolutions. An Argentine army of 8000 men now made ready to invade Rio Grande do Sul.

1827. — On February 20 Alvear, who had been in exile, returned. He was given the command of the army of invasion, which seriously defeated the Brazilians at Ituzaingo. The Argentine army returned to Uruguay, not having the strength to follow up their advantage.

Ridavavia's minister now concluded a treaty of peace with Brazil, recognizing Uruguay as a part of the Brazilian empire, — a treaty so unpopular that it led to Ridavavia's downfall, although he repudiated the act of his envoy.

Dorrego became Dictator of Buenos Ayres, while each outlying province had its own military "boss," among them Lopez in Santa Fé, Bustos in Cordoba, Ibarra in Santiago, Quiroga in Cuyo, and other Jefes and Caudillos without number.

1828. — A preliminary treaty was signed early in 1828 between Brazil and Argentina by which it was agreed that Uruguay should be erected into an independent State.

The first division of Argentine soldiers returning to Buenos Ayres revolted against Dorrego, who fled into the interior. General Lavalle declared himself Governor. He sent troops after Dorrego, captured him, and shot him without trial. An inconceivably bloody civil war now raged in all the provinces.

Out of these desperate encounters among such bandit chieftains as Lavalle, Paz, Bustos, Lopez, Quiroga, and others, a dangerous and implacable tyrant came to the front, — Juan Manuel Rosas, Chief of the guachos of the great plains. He assumed absolute power in 1829.

For more than twenty years the history of Argentina is the record of the doings of this bloody tyrant, Quiroga, and other chiefs of inferior calibre. The reader interested in their acts is referred to the chapter entitled "Typical Latin-American Dictators — the Worst."

1852. — On the 3d of February Rosas was overpowered and crushingly defeated at Caseros, near Buenos Ayres, by the combined forces of Brazil and Uruguay, under General Urquiza. Rosas took refuge at the British legation, and then went aboard a man-of-war which carried him into exile.

General Urquiza assumed provisional control of the government at Buenos Ayres. He called a Congress of leaders of the several prov-

inces to meet in Santa Fé, there being extraordinary jealousy among the interior cities against Buenos Ayres, which wished to dominate. Urquiza desired to leave these provinces to work out a scheme of self-government. He therefore relinquished his great military power, and retired to his ranch. Immediately pandemonium broke loose. Buenos Ayres sent an army against the Santa Fé Congress, and Urquiza was compelled again to take up arms to defend it. He now made common cause with a counter-revolution, and laid siege to Buenos Ayres; but the commanders of his blockading vessels proved treacherous and betrayed him. They had been paid large bribes by the Buenos Ayres clique. Urquiza withdrew, and Buenos Ayres became independent from the other provinces.

1853. — On May 1 the constituent Congress at Santa Fé adopted a Constitution, — one of those rare documents so seldom encountered in Latin America. It was just like our own, except considerably better. Paraná, in the province of Entre Rios, was selected as the temporary capital.

General Urquiza was selected as the first President, and held the position for six years. He may be justly accounted as one of Argentina's ablest rulers and most distinguished citizens. Buenos Ayres still held aloof from the confederation, but Urquiza was recognized by foreign nations.

1859. — Buenos Ayres decided to attack the confederation, and sent a strong army to the borders of Santa Fé, where it was met and defeated by General Urquiza. He advanced to the city, and required it to accept the Constitution of 1853 and agree to enter the confederation. These demands he subsequently modified.

1860. — On October 21 General Bartolomé Mitré, who was Governor of Buenos Ayres, swore to support the Constitution, saying that it was the permanent organic law.

General Urquiza's term expired, and Dr. Derqui succeeded him. Grave disorders occurred. The federal government interfered in the affairs of the province of San Juan, because of the assassination of the Governor, and finally General Bartolomé Mitré with a force of Buenos Ayres troops revolted against Derqui.

On September 17 General Mitré gained the decisive victory of Pavon, and deposed Derqui.

1861. — General Mitré became ruler of Argentina, and Buenos Ayres became the seat of the federal government.

1862–1864. — Many local revolts took place, and Lopez of Paraguay became a menace to the peace of Argentina.

1864. — The tyrant Lopez demanded transit for his armies across Argentine territory in order to attack the Brazilian forces, which had intervened in Uruguay. This being denied, Lopez invaded Argentina.

1865–1870. — The great and bloody war was fought between the allies, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, against the Paraguayan Dic-

tator. General Mitré was Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces until 1868, when he turned the command over to the Brazilian General Baron of Caxias. Argentina's losses were enormous; so were Brazil's, and Paraguay was almost destroyed.

1867. — Cholera broke out in Argentina. The Argentines were severely repulsed at Curupayty.

1868. — Dr. Sarmiento was elected President of Argentina, and took his seat on October 12. This man, known as the "Schoolmaster President," was one of the most enlightened executives that South America has ever produced. He inaugurated an excellent system of public education. Under his rule Argentina prospered greatly.

1870. — The war with Paraguay ended, and Argentina had, by the treaty, its title confirmed to extensive and valuable territory.

A revolution broke out in the province of Entre Rios against General Urquiza, who was the Governor. It was led by Lopez Jordan. The revolutionists captured General Urquiza and assassinated him.

1871. — An epidemic of yellow fever broke out in Buenos Ayres, there being 24,000 deaths from January to June.

1874. — Dr. Nicolas Avellaneda, a native of Tucuman, was declared elected President. This was accomplished in virtue of the customary revolution, in which General Mitré led the opposition, and Colonel Julio Roca directed the soldiers who supported the official candidate.

1875–1878. — There were local uprisings in many parts of the country, owing to the irrepressible conflict between the "Porteños," the people of Buenos Ayres, and the outlying provinces.

1877. — General Alsina, Governor of Buenos Ayres, undertook a vigorous campaign against the Indian tribes, which refused to allow white men to settle in vast sections of Argentina.

1878. — General Julio Roca, who had become Minister of War, prosecuted extensive campaigns against the Indians, driving them west into the Andes and south of the Rio Negro. This eventually resulted in the conquest and annexation of Patagonia.

1880. — A bitter struggle ensued between the Buenos Ayres clique, and the Cordoba clique which represented the outlying provinces.

On February 15 a bloody battle was narrowly averted in Buenos Ayres, when President Avellaneda endeavored with the federal army to suppress a military organization of more than 2000 men in Buenos Ayres, known as the "Tiro Nacional." He alleged that it was a revolutionary body.

The Buenos Ayreans put forth Dr. Tejedor as candidate for President; the Cordoba clique presented General Julio Roca. Each side knew it would have to fight in order to elect its man.

In May the Buenos Ayres leaders decided to seize the Cordoba "League" by a *coup d'état*. The attempt to put the plan into execution was made by Colonel Olmos and a small party. He succeeded in capturing the Governor, Dr. Viso, and Juarez Celman, a prominent partisan of General Roca; but in a short time they themselves were captured and imprisoned.

In June a riot occurred in Buenos Ayres, and many shots were exchanged between citizens and the President's escort. An attempt was then made to assassinate President Avellaneda, and war at once broke out. Dr. Tejedor attempted to seize Avellaneda, who escaped and joined his troops.

The government troops, about 8000 men, veteran Indian fighters, were commanded by General Roca, aided by Dr. Carlos Pellegrini. They were well armed with Remingtons and Krupp field guns.

The Buenos Ayres troops, called Porteños, opposed to the government, numbered 15,000 men, but were poorly supplied with arms. Colonel Julio Campos was given command.

In the middle of July Colonel Arias, with 10,000 Porteños, fought Colonel Racedo, with 2500 "Leaguers" at Olivera, fifty miles from Buenos Ayres. Both sides claimed the victory.

On July 20 Colonel Racedo, "Leaguer," with 10,000 men, attacked Arias, "Porteño," with about an equal number, on the outskirts of Buenos Ayres. The battle continued all day with heavy losses, and was renewed on July 21. The National, or League, losses were 2000 men, and those of the Buenos Ayres army 3000. For lack of ammunition, the Porteños were compelled to beg for an armistice, which resulted in a treaty of virtual surrender.

On September 21 General Roca was declared President, and his friends occupied every place in the national government. He now proceeded to give the government a strong and able administration. He encouraged railroads, consolidated the provinces, attracted foreign capital, and started Argentina once more on the road to prosperity.

1884. — General Roca sent Dr. Carlos Pellegrini to London, where he procured a loan of £8,333,000 sterling. Local revolutions broke out in Corrientes, Catamarca, Santa Fé, and Entre Rios, but these were suppressed. Unexampled extravagance now set in, one piece of folly being the building of a new town, La Plata, as a local capital, at a cost of $50,000,000, where there could be no possible industry to sustain it. The public funds were wasted by other equally absurd extravagances.

1886. — General Roca turned the presidency over to his brother-in-law, Dr. Juarez Celman. At this time there were $61,000,000 of bank notes in circulation, and General Roca had issued a decree some time before in which he said that the notes were not redeemable for two years. In other words, specie payment had been suspended.

The Administration of Celman and Conditions in Argentina in Recent Times

A very interesting *résumé* of affairs in Argentina during this period is given by Mr. Theodore Child, in his "Spanish American Republics," which is as follows:

"Owing to the lamentable want of public morality south of the equator, and to the cynicism of the political vultures who make it their business to prey upon their fatherland, it is always a painful task to speak about the administration of the South American republics. In the case of the Argentine Republic, so richly gifted by nature, so energetic, so full of youth and promise, our regret is poignant when we think of the hundreds of thousands of simple-minded workers who have been the victims of the dishonest politicians that are responsible for a commercial and economical crisis, to remove the traces of which will take fully ten years of national effort. Let us hope that recent events will be a lesson to the Argentines, and that in self-defence at least they will learn to become actively and continuously citizens, jealous of their rights, and mindful of their human dignity. And yet we are hardly justified in anticipating this much-desired improvement in the near future, for during the past twelve months there has really been very little change in the condition of Argentine affairs in spite of the revolution; the newspapers of 1891, like those of 1890, are full of lamentations and recriminations; *La Prensa* continues to reveal abuses and scandals, and to warn the Argentines of the wrath to come; in short, with the best will in the world it is difficult to take an optimist view of the Argentine situation. The hopes of the country and its salvation are centred, of course, in its natural wealth. Some day the turning-point will inevitably be reached, and the tide of misfortune will retire. But when will this day dawn?

"We are, perhaps, justified in supposing that in the beginning of 1890 Dr. Miguel Juarez Celman, who owed his election as President to the influence of his brother-in-law, General Julio A. Roca, was more or less the tool of a group of supporters who, to serve their own interested ends, persuaded him that he was exceedingly popular, that he was uncontested chief of the nation, and that he could and ought to retain his power perpetually. Celman, in short, considered himself to be virtually Dictator of the Argentine. By the usual South American means of centralized power, worked out into the most extraordinary minutiæ, the election of Deputies for the National Congress at the opening of the year had been a mere farce, both in the capital and in nearly all the provinces, because the agents of Celman, or, in other words, the official party, were absolute masters of the voting registers. Public opinion was thereby disorganized, and violence was anticipated already, inasmuch as the scandals of the Celman administration were manifest and innumerable, and the public discontent was growing more and more unreserved as the commercial crisis increased in intensity. The quotation of gold at 230 revealed the wretchedness of the financial situation, complicated as it was by the demoralization and disorder of the administration, the bad state of the banks, and by the fact that various provincial banks, notably that of Cordoba, had issued enormous quantities of spurious notes with the complicity of the gov-

ernment. In the course of subsequent investigation it was ascertained that, by order of President Celman, the National Bank had been obliged to take up these clandestine issues of notes, which for the Bank of Cordoba alone reached the sum of $15,000,000.

"The economical and political crises and the blindness and cynicism of Celman went on increasing until April, when a great public meeting was called to constitute the general directing committee of the Union Civica, the object of which newly founded association was to unite scattered forces and to create and organize practically a grand opposition party against the President. Twenty thousand men attended this meeting, which the chief orator, General Bartolomé Mitré, characterized as 'a meeting of popular opposition and of wholesome political agitation.' In his message at the opening of Parliament, on May 10th, President Celman referred with real or feigned satisfaction to the newly founded opposition party, whose action he hoped would contribute to the better government of the country, and at the same time he made all sorts of promises of reform. Subsequent events showed that these promises were not serious; the Finance Minister, Señor Uriburu, who had accepted the responsibility of a program of repression of abuses and reorganization, soon gave in his resignation, because his liberty of action was impeded by the President of the Republic; week after week the political and economical situation grew more and more hopeless; commerce was paralyzed; a serious movement of emigration began; in short, there was every symptom of approaching public ruin, when, on July 19th, a military conspiracy was denounced, and the revolution broke out a few days later, on July 26th, with the support of part of the army and of the fleet, and with every prospect of success.

"The history of this revolution is as mysterious as most public contemporary events in the Argentine. Why did the revolutionary forces remain outside the town in the Parque de Artilleria? Why did they not attack the Government House and get possession of the person of the President? Why was the President allowed to go to and fro from the capital to Campana and San Martin? Why was there suddenly a certain amount of aimless bloodshed? Above all, why, on July 29th, did the revolution surrender to the government of Celman, although it had the sympathy of the nation and the support of the greater part of the armed forces? The intervention of General Julio A. Roca as the *deus ex machina* was sufficient to suggest many curious hypotheses to those who are at all familiar with recent Argentine politics, and the sudden disappearance of the revolution and the patching up of the old government did not impress calm observers as evidences of serious purpose on either side. The government was triumphant; the revolution was vanquished; but, nevertheless, the government was dead, and General Roca remained arbiter of the situation. What intrigues happened between the moment of the suppression of the revolution and the resignation of President Celman, the brother-in-law of the man who suppressed it, we have yet to ascertain; but it was not until August 6th that General Roca was able to announce to Congress that Dr. Juarez Celman had resigned, and that the Vice-President, Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, therefore assumed the supreme power.

"The departure of Celman was the signal for immense public rejoicing, and for a momentary amelioration of the commercial and financial situation; the new ministry and its professed good intentions seemed to promise reparation and speedy recovery; gold went down 70 points, and Argentine paper

rose in the European markets. But the sky did not remain clear for more than a day or two. Whether Dr. Pellegrini was honester than Celman or not, it was out of his power to change the nature of Argentine political men all at once, and it was beyond any man's power to put in order the inheritance of pillage, waste, and deficit which his predecessor in office had left him. The national revenues had diminished — notably the customs duties. Railways and other public works had been sold by Dr. Celman, and the proceeds, deposited in the Banco Nacional, had been paid out to speculators on the stock of that very bank, which furthermore had been obliged by circumstances to suspend the payment of its dividends. Demoralization and fraud were evident on all sides. Meanwhile the government had to face an exterior debt of $122,000,000 (gold) of 6, 5, 4½, 3½, and 3 per cent; an interior debt of $160,000,000 (gold); the Buenos Ayres municipal debt of $24,000,000, and the guarantees of railways and other enterprises that need to be paid in gold. In round numbers, a sum of $15,000,000 is needed to meet these debts which burden the national credit, to say nothing of the hypothecatory schedules whose issue, guaranteed by the nation, exceeds $100,000,000. But this is not all; the provinces of the Argentine Confederation vied with each other under the Celman administration in raising loans for founding banks or increasing the capital of existing banks: operations which have been disastrous, and ended in almost general bankruptcy. Some of the provinces will be able to recover themselves in a few years, thanks to their natural riches, or thanks to the good use made of some of the money borrowed. Mendoza, for instance, has planted millions of vines which will shortly be in full yield. But in other provinces the money borrowed has simply been squandered or appropriated by individuals possessing official influence; and in some places the expenses increased during the years 1887–90 to such an extent that their liabilities now represent as much as fifty times their assets. At the end of 1890 the debt of all the Argentine provinces together was calculated to amount to $200,000,000 (gold), without counting about $300,000,000 (gold) in schedules of the Bancos Hipotecarios.

"Since August, 1890, the Argentine Republic has been struggling against its political and financial difficulties, but still living and producing, thanks to the natural wealth of its soil — that soil which will be its ultimate salvation. The Union Civica has greatly enlarged its sphere of action since the revolution, and has continued its 'wholesome political agitation' in view of the presidential election of 1892. Dr. Pellegrini, in his difficult post of president, has not, perhaps, fulfilled the hopes that were placed in him; he has even been diminished to the rôle of a tool of General Roca; and his ministers, like those of Celman, have on certain occasions given in their resignation because their liberty of action in conformity with public opinion has been impeded. Meanwhile the partisans of Celman have continued from time to time to violate order, especially in the province of Cordoba. The province of Entre Rios has been for months in a disturbed and almost revolutionary condition. Other provinces have experienced crises of political effervescence, which have kept alive those germs of civil war that have lurked in the South American republics ever since they conquered their liberty, three-quarters of a century ago. South of the equator the ballot-box seems to be inevitably sprinkled with the blood of citizens. The Argentine Republic has had an experience of sixty years of politico-electoral warfare; party politics and personal ambition of a political nature have caused more bloodshed than the

conquest of liberty itself; and yet the political education of the nation does not seem to make any progress, nor the patriotism of individuals to acquire any rational development. The prosperity of the Argentine Republic has been impeded in the past by the passions, the political ambitions, and the want of morality of its criollo sons. Its prosperity in the future can only be impeded by these same elements, for the riches of the land are inexhaustible, the industry and enterprise of the immigrant population beyond question, and the results obtained even in these recent days of trouble and crisis are enormous. As for the public credit of the Argentine, the arrangements made in February, 1891, with the London Bankers' Committee give the treasury three years of breathing time, during which period it will be able to create new resources, provided the national and commercial development of the Republic be aided by administrative reform and genuine political progress. As regards these two *desiderata*, however, we must not be too sanguine. The character of the South American criollos will not change greatly in three years, and it is not in three years that the young Republic will be able to repair the unparalleled and incredible mistakes of the past decade.

"Meanwhile the current of immigration which developed the immense wealth of the Argentine within the past twenty years has ceased altogether, after having carried to the country during the thirty-four years from 1857–90 a total of 1,264,000 persons, who have been incorporated in the working population of the Republic. Of this number 60 per cent are Italians, 17 per cent Spanish, 10 per cent French, 2 per cent English.

"The immigration statistics for the year 1890 shows how great and immediate was the effect of this crisis; thus:

"In 1889 the total number of immigrants was 260,909, and of emigrants 40,649, thus leaving a balance in favor of immigration of 220,260.

"In 1890 the total number of immigrants was 127,473, and of emigrants 77,918, thus leaving a balance in favor of immigration of 49,553.

"For the moment it appears that the current of European emigration has been diverted to Brazil."

Subsequent Events in Argentina

1890. — Dr. Carlos Pellegrini became President.

1891. — On February 19 an attempt was made to assassinate General Roca in the streets of Buenos Ayres.

In October martial law was proclaimed in Buenos Ayres and a presidential election held. Dr. Saenz Pena was declared the victor.

1892. — A revolution broke out in the province of Corrientes. In February serious revolts occurred in Santa Fé. In April a revolution took place in Catamarca, and San Luiz followed suit. In August Salta and Tucuman revolted. In September the national troops mutinied, and a general revolution was now in progress everywhere.

On September 25 General Julio Roca again took command of the army. On October 1 General Roca captured Rosario, a rebel stronghold.

1893. — Revolutionary movements continued, and considerable

severe fighting followed. General Roca, however, succeeded in quelling the disturbances.

1895. — On January 22 the President resigned, owing to conflicts with Congress, and the Vice-President, Dr. Uriburu, became Chief Executive.

1897. — General Julio Roca became President once more.

1898. — Serious uprisings occurred in La Rioja and Catamarca, and a severe battle was fought before they were suppressed.

1899. — The Provincial Governor of Buenos Ayres, Dr. Bernardo Irioyen, took possession of the legislative buildings with a battalion of troops, and drove the solons into the street, because they did not agree with the Governor as to his election.

1904. — On October 12 Dr. Manuel Quintana assumed the presidency. A revolution broke out again this year, but was easily suppressed.

1905. — In February a revolutionary movement started in Buenos Ayres and several provinces which was suppressed without serious difficulty.

Such is a brief outline of the history of the leading country of South America. It is heels over head in debt; but its natural resources are so great, and there are so many foreigners there now, that in spite of corruption, extravagance, and the scoundrelism of Jefes, it is bound to progress.

According to a message of President Julio A. Roca, on May 8, 1902, addressed to Congress, the foreign debt of Argentina on December 31, 1901, stood at $386,451,295 gold. Mr. Roca said, however, that the apparent debt was greater than the real debt, which in round figures was $300,000,000.

CHAPTER X

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF CHILI

IN 1809 news of the imprisonment of Ferdinand of Spain at once divided Chili into two contesting factions, — the office-holders, under Captain General Carrasco, who favored the recognition of the Seville Junta *ad interim;* and the Creoles, who, professing adhesion to Spain, desired to secure virtual if not absolute independence.

1810. — In May the Captain General ordered the arrest of many prominent Creoles, charging them with being rebels. This aroused such a storm of opposition that he was compelled to release them.

A revolution soon broke out in Santiago, and Carrasco was forced to resign. Señor Toro took the position.

On September 18 Toro resigned his power to a junta of seven, and the office of Captain General was abolished. This date is observed as the anniversary of Chilian independence.

1811. — An election was called to take place in April. A Spanish detachment revolted in Santiago against the new government, but it was defeated in a severe action by local patriots led by José Carrera.

Congress now met, decreed many reforms on paper, and the members proceeded to engage in a bitter quarrel among themselves. Thereupon José Carrera abolished Congress, with his army, and called himself Jefe Supremo.

The southern provinces led by Dr. Rosas, formed another government at Concepcion, and these two patriotic Presidents made ready to fight. At this inopportune moment the Spaniards gained certain important advantages at Chiloë and Valdivia, so that the patriots did not have the pleasure of murdering each other at this particular date.

1812. — Carrera inaugurated a reign of loot, robbery, confiscation, and assassination. He held Chili in terror, and committed acts of brigandage without remorse or mercy.

1813. — The Viceroy of Lima, Abascal, started for Chili with a large force, landing at Talcahuano, and proceeding to Concepción, where he received reinforcements. He then marched towards Santiago, with 4000 men.

At the river Maule the royalist outpost was attacked, and became panic-stricken, fleeing to Chillan.

Carrera's forces, numbering 12,000 men, pushed on and captured Concepción and Talcahuano. Carrera was, however, compelled to

retreat owing to desertions. His soldiers mutinied; the people hated him on account of his brutality. A new junta obtained control at Santiago, which expelled him, and gave the chief command to Bernardo O'Higgins. This man, an Irishman and one of the most famous characters which Chili has produced, was the son of Ambrose O'Higgins, who as a lad had arrived penniless in Argentina, and became a contractor, a politician, and finally Spanish Viceroy, leaving a fortune to his son Bernardo.

O'Higgins at the outset faced great difficulties. The Spaniards, heavily reinforced, captured Talca, destroying the Chilian army. A counter-revolution had broken out, and named a new Dictator.

O'Higgins agreed to an armistice with the Spanish General Paroja acknowledging the authority of the Spanish Cortes and Crown, it being stipulated that the present government of Santiago should be recognized by the Lima Viceroy.

Immediately Carrera was turned out of prison, where he had been for more than a year. He at once started a revolution against O'Higgins, and captured Santiago.

The Viceroy refused to sanction the armistice between O'Higgins and Paroja, and sent additional armies into Chili.

O'Higgins was defeated, and his army destroyed, at Rancagua, by General Osorio. Carrera and O'Higgins fled across the Andes, the former going to Buenos Ayres, the latter joining the army of General San Martin.

1814. — General Osorio became supreme in Chili. He executed large numbers of the leading revolutionists, and banished more than a hundred prominent men to the barren island of Juan Fernandez, which lies six hundred miles west of Valparaiso.

1815–1816. — The iron rule of General Osorio continued. He was succeeded by Marco del Ponte, who was no less tyrannical.

1817. — On February 12 General San Martin, with 4000 men, defeated the royalists at Chacabuco and marched into Santiago. Captain General Marco retreated to Valparaiso, his troops dismayed. The Captain General himself seemed more anxious to preserve his own precious life than the authority of Spain.

San Martin was at once proclaimed, by an assembly of the leading men of Santiago, "Governor of Chili with Plenary Powers." Not desiring an honor of this kind, he declined the offer. He advised them, however, to select O'Higgins as their ruler. An important battle was fought at Gavilan, between the royalists, under General Odoñez, and the patriots, under Las Heros.

1818. — On January 1 a new government was formed, with O'Higgins at its head. Heavy fighting still continued. The southern part of Chili was in the hands of the Spaniards, who were strongly fortified at Talcahuano and Valdivia.

Plots, intrigues, and all kinds of treachery were rife in Chili, the

friends of Carrera endeavoring to overthrow O'Higgins and his representative Quintana, who was virtual Dictator of Santiago.

In January 4 Spanish ships arrived at Talcahuano, with 230 cannon and 4300 veteran soldiers. San Martin in the mean time was not idle. He had recruited a second army in Chili, and now had 9000 men.

On January 20 O'Higgins at Talca declared Chili independent.

On March 19 San Martin's forces were attacked, under cover of darkness, by the entire Spanish army near the city of Talca. They became panic-stricken and fled, abandoning their arms, ammunition, and supplies. At least one third of them deserted. O'Higgins was wounded.

News of the defeat of San Martin reached Santiago much exaggerated. Counter-revolutions broke out, and the leading citizens sent to the Spanish General Osorio to declare their allegiance. Mobs paraded the streets, shouting for the King.

On April 5 General San Martin gained the great and decisive victory of Maypo, after a desperate battle. The royalists lost 1200 killed, 800 wounded, 2200 prisoners, saving only 800 men out of a total of 5000 who entered the battle. San Martin also had about 5000 men at the opening of this fight. He lost more than 1000 men.

Strong opposition now broke out against O'Higgins, who became extremely tyrannical. His representative, Dr. Monteagudo, had sentenced to death and immediately shot Juan Carrera and Luiz Carrera, who had been imprisoned at Mendoza. These men were brothers of José Carrera, and the family was the leader of a powerful faction opposed to O'Higgins in Chili. Juan and Luiz, who had been expelled, had entered the country in disguise, but were betrayed, arrested, and kept in prison for a long time. O'Higgins now committed extraordinary outrages, confiscating the property of those whom he disliked and imprisoning or shooting them.

The Chilian government acquired several ships and manned them with good sailors.

Towards the end of 1818 Lieutenant Balcarce, under San Martin's orders, captured Chillan, Concepción, and Talcahuano, in Southern Chili, and shut the Spanish commander up in the fortress of Valdivia.

1819. — San Martin was preparing for the invasion of Peru, but revolutions in Argentina, and Chili's indifference put great difficulties in his way to the making of the needed preparations.

Lord Thomas Cochrane, a hare-brained British naval officer, who had joined the Chilian squadron, made flying expeditions to the coast of Ecuador and Peru. He bombarded Callao, and swept the Spanish fleet from the sea. He finally captured the strongly fortified Talcahuano, after two days of as desperate fighting as history records. He

had absurdly inadequate forces, but made up in daring and fierceness of assault what he lacked in knowledge of war. Without Cochrane's performances the subsequent operations of San Martin against Peru would have been impossible.

1820. — San Martin entered upon his campaign against the Viceroy of Lima.

1822. — A strong revolution broke out against O'Higgins at Concepcion, in Southern Chili, led by General Freire. A similar movement was organized in the North.

1823. — In January O'Higgins resigned. General Freire landed at Valparaiso with 1600 men, proceeded to Santiago, and assumed a dictatorship. A new Constitution was promulgated, which, of course, was not worth the paper it was printed upon.

1824. — General Freire banished the Bishop of Santiago, and issued a decree confiscating the property of the Church.

1825. — Freire abolished Congress and appointed a new one to suit himself.

1826. — The last remnants of the Spaniards in Chili surrendered at Chiloë. A Congress was organized in July, which divided Chili into eight provinces.

1827. — General Freire resigned. The financial condition of the government was desperate. General Pinto assumed supreme power.

1828. — General Pinto promulgated a new Constitution.

1829. — Owing to extreme opposition, General Pinto resigned in November. Señor Vicuña, President of the Senate, became Acting Executive. Anarchy reigned throughout the country. Robberies, murders, and riots became universal. General Prieto started a formidable revolution on the Araucanian frontier.

General Lastra took the field in behalf of the government. Many desperate battles were fought, and the customary number of intrigues were in evidence.

1830. — A decisive victory was gained by General Prieto at Lircay on April 17. General Freire fled to Peru, and General Prieto was elected President.

1833. — General Prieto had another Constitution adopted, giving great powers to the Executive. He ruled however with more ability and judgment than any of his predecessors.

1836. — General Freire, who had been in Peru, plotting revolution against Prieto, received aid from President Santa Cruz, and made an attack upon the island of Chiloë. He was quickly defeated, and Chili declared war against Peru, seizing the fleet of the latter. Some detachments of the Chilian army mutinied, seized Prime Minister Portales as hostage, and fled to the mountains, where they were later attacked by government troops, Portales being killed in the fray.

Chili defeated Peru at Gungay, and in numerous other battles, and overthrew Santa Cruz.

1841. — General Bulnes, who had done marked service in the Chilian-Peruvian war, became President. He gave a strong administration, and Chili prospered greatly. In 1846 he was re-elected.

1851. — Manuel Montt became President, through official influence, as a matter of course. A revolution broke out, but was suppressed. In September another armed uprising occurred, more serious than before. Many desperate battles were fought. In December the government won a bloody victory at Loncomilla, which ended a revolution in which about 4000 men had been killed.

1856. — President Montt was re-elected. Much disorder and many local insurrections took place, and the government used the military power with great severity. The President suppressed newspapers, imprisoned persons suspected of being unfriendly to his administration, and had an open rupture with Congress.

1858. — In December Montt proclaimed martial law. For four months a furious revolution raged. The government forces were defeated in the North at Coquimbo by the revolutionists under Colonel Gallo. The rebels were defeated at Chillan. Finally President Montt with 4000 men defeated Gallo with 2000 men, in a pitched battle, and the latter fled across the Andes.

1861. — José Joaquin Perez was selected for President. Chili again prospered, and vast quantities of foreign capital and many immigrants poured into the country.

1865. — Chili engaged in a war with Spain, making common cause with Peru.

1866. — The Spanish fleet bombarded Valparaiso, destroying $10,000,000 worth of property, most of which belonged to foreigners. Perez was again chosen President.

1868–1870. — A fierce war raged between the Araucanian Indians and the Chilian government.

1871. — Frederico Errazuriz was chosen President, and took office on September 18.

1872. — Peru and Bolivia entered into a treaty of alliance against Chili.

1873. — Chili was seriously affected by the world-wide commercial panic. President Errazuriz ordered the construction of several warships in England, among them being the Almirante Cochrane, Almirante Blanco Encalada, and Magallanes. Prior to this, Peru held the naval supremacy in the Pacific.

1876. — Señor Aníbal Pinto was selected President, after the fairest election which Chili had enjoyed up to that time. A severe economic crisis nearly ruined industry, and led to an irredeemable issue of bank-notes from which the country has suffered much.

1878. — Chili and Argentina were on the verge of war, because of a boundary dispute, which was finally adjusted diplomatically.

War between Chili and the Alliance of Peru and Bolivia

1879. — War broke out between Chili and the Peru-Bolivian alliance, over the question of their respective territorial rights on the seaboard of Atacama. This dispute had been of long standing. Chili had exercised quasi-jurisdiction over the Atacama district, lying between south latitude 29° and 23°. The discovery of vast quantities of guano in this hitherto worthless territory excited the cupidity of both Chili and Bolivia. In 1843 Señor Olañeto, Bolivian minister, notified Chili that his government claimed jurisdiction as far south as the twenty-sixth degree, to the mouth of the Salado River, at the Pacific Ocean. A continued quarrel now arose; commissions were appointed; diplomatic discussions had proved vain; and in March, 1863, the Bolivian Congress at Oruro authorized the government to make war on Chili if the affair could not be otherwise settled.

Both governments saw that the foreigner was likely to wish to operate the guano deposits on a large scale, and each felt unhappy at the prospect of not being able to pluck his feathers. In 1866, on August 16, Chili and Bolivia made a treaty fixing the boundary between them at the twenty-fourth degree, and providing for joint jurisdiction over the lands between the twenty-third parallel and the twenty-fifth, the revenue from the guano exploitation thereof to be equally divided between them — so that the foreigner mining and shipping the stuff would catch it coming and going. It was specified that Mejillones should be the only port through which guano could be shipped, and a Chilian official was to be stationed there to represent the interests of his country.

It is obvious that we have here all the conditions for a war. Given two powers in each of which good faith is absolutely lacking, with the intrigues which the possession of the profits of this business was sure to set on foot, and only one outcome is possible.

In 1871 Bolivia refused to liquidate — in other words, to divide up. It might be just to treat a "foreign pig" that way, but when one Latin country works the time-honored confidence game on another, war and bloodshed are sure to follow. The matter was temporarily patched up, however, by a treaty on August 6, 1874. In the mean time a secret treaty had been formed in 1873 between Peru and Bolivia, against Chili, and intrigues continued on both sides.

Bolivia, which by the treaty of 1874 had agreed never to impose taxes on Chili's industries in Atacama, or export duties at the port of Antofagasta, seized the first opportunity to violate its agreement, and on February 14, 1878, when Chili was on the verge of war with Argentina, Bolivia imposed an export tax at Antofagasta of ten cents a quintal on all shipments. Bolivia was supported in this course by Peru, which thought that it had a better navy and stronger army than

Relative Strength of the Peruvian and Chilian Navies at the Outbreak of the War

At the outbreak of the war the navies of the two countries stood as follows:

CHILI'S NAVY, 1879

Name of Vessel	Date Built	Class	Horse Power	Tonnage	Guns	Armor
Almirante Cochrane	1874–5	twinscrews ironclad	2920	3560	six 9-inch M. L. two Nonlenfelt several small guns	9-inch at water line 6-inch around batteries
Blanco Encalada	"	"	"	"		
Chacabuco	...	corvette	800	1670	three 150 lb. Armstrongs four 40-pounders	
O'Higgins	...	"				
Magallanes	1874–5	gunboat	...		three 150-pounders two smaller guns	
Abtao	...	"				
Covadonga	1865	wooden gunboat	...	600	three 150-pounders two 70-pounders three small guns	
Esmeralda	1854	wooden corvette	...	850	twelve 40-pounders	
Ten steam transports						

PERU'S NAVY, 1879

Name of Vessel	Date Built	Class	Horse Power	Tonnage	Guns	Armor
Huascar	1866	ironclad	300	1130	two 10-inch Armstrong 300-pounders and two 40-pounders Whitworths . .	five and one-half inches around revolving turret
Independencia . .	1865	ironclad	550	2004	twelve 70-pounders, two 150-pounders, four 32-pounders, four 9-pounders	four and one-half inch armor
Union	. . .	wooden corvette	400	1150	twelve 70-pounders, one 9-pounds	
Pilcomayo	. . .	wooden corvette	180	600	two 70-pounders, four 40-pounders, four 12-pounders	
Atahualpa	1869	monitor	. . .	2100	two 15-inch Rodman	ten-inch armor around turrets
Manco Capac . . .	"	monitor	. . .	2100	two 15-inch Rodman	ten-inch armor around turrets

Chili. The right or wrong of the matter, of course, had nothing to do with the case. Bolivia then made demands upon the manager of the nitrate company at Antofagasta for the payment of $90,000 "back taxes" under this new scheme, and upon his refusal locked him up in jail and confiscated the property of his company. On January 3, 1879, Chili presented an ultimatum to Bolivia, which was met with refusal. On February 10 diplomatic relations were broken off. On February 14 Chilian troops took possession of Antofagasta and the adjoining territory.

On March 1, 1879, Bolivia declared war.

At this time Señor José Antonia Lavalle, the Peruvian envoy at Santiago, proposed that the dispute be submitted to the arbitration of Peru. Chili replied by presenting him with a copy of the secret treaty of 1873 between Peru and Bolivia, and giving him his passports.

On April 5, 1879, Chili, without any further ceremony, declared war against Peru.

On March 21 Colonel Sotomayor left Caracoles, about thirty miles from Antofagasta, with 600 Chilians, to attack Calama. It was captured on the 23d, the Bolivians, who numbered only 140, under Dr. Zapata, losing about one third their men in killed and wounded.

On April 5 Rear-Admiral Rebolledo, commanding the Chilian squadron, sailed to establish the blockade of Iquique. He destroyed Peruvian commerce, boats, lighters, and wharves, and did great damage.

On April 17 Rebolledo bombarded Mollendo, a defenceless town; and on April 18 this was repeated at Pisagua, an unfortified place, where great quantities of property belonging to foreigners were destroyed.

On May 16 Admiral Rebolledo left the Esmeralda and the Covadonga to maintain the blockade of Iquique, and with the Blanco Encalada and the O'Higgins he steamed north in search of the Peruvian squadron.

On May 21 Captain Miguel Grau, of the Peruvian ironclad Huascar, having learned of the departure of Rebolledo, attacked the Chilian vessels which had been left at Iquique. He was aided by the Independencia under Captain Moore. After a gallant fight the Chilian corvette Esmeralda was destroyed by the Huascar, and sunk, only 50 men being saved out of a crew of 200.

The Chilian gunboat Covadonga fled, pursued by the Independencia. The latter ran on some rocks near Punta Gruesa and was totally wrecked. The Huascar now came up and rescued the crew.

On July 23 the Huascar captured the Chilian transport Rimac, with a regiment of cavalry and 300 horses.

On August 17 the Huascar attacked the Magallanes and the Abtao in the harbor of Antofagasta, and would probably have destroyed them had it not been for the shore batteries.

On October 8 Grau, now Admiral, with the Huascar and the Union, encountered the Chilian squadron, under its new commander, Admiral Riveros, consisting of the Cochrane, Loa, and O'Higgins. After a desperate fight the Peruvian vessels were completely destroyed. Admiral Grau, almost all his officers, and most of his men were killed.

On November 17 the Pilcomayo was captured by the Chilians, leaving the Peruvians with only one small vessel, the Union.

On October 28 the Chilian army of 10,000 men, 850 of which were cavalry and 30 long-range modern field guns, departed from Antofagasta, in 15 transports, convoyed by the Cochrane and the O'Higgins, with Pisagua as its objective. General Escala was in command, and General Sotomayor, Minister of War, accompanied the invaders.

On November 2 this army arrived at Pisagua, which was defended by only 900 men under Colonel Villamil, 300 of whom were raw recruits.

The two small forts of Pisagua were soon disabled by the Cochrane and the O'Higgins. The Chilians at once landed, took the town, killed and wounded 500 Bolivians and Peruvians, and lost only 235 men themselves.

On November 6 Colonel José Vergara, with 175 Chilian troops, encountered a small Peruvian body under Captain Sepulveda, at Agua Santa, and killed 70, dispersing the rest. The Chilians now took possession of the railway from Pisagua to Agua Santa.

On November 19 General Buendia, with about 6000 Peruvians, attacked the Chilians at Dolores, but was repulsed after several hours' fighting with a loss of 296 killed and wounded and 100 prisoners, the Chilian loss being 208. General Buendia retreated during the night to Tarapacá.

On November 20 Iquique was surrendered to the Chilians without a battle. The Chilians now took possession of the whole nitrate district.

On November 27 the Chilians, after forced marches, reached Tarapacá, taking the Peruvians wholly unawares. General Buendia had 2500 infantry, poorly fed and supplied. The Chilian attacking force consisted of 2000 infantry, 150 cavalry, and 10 guns, under Colonel Luis Arteaga. A heavy fight ensued on the heights around Tarapacá, in which the Chilians were driven back from successive positions, losing several of their Krupp field guns. General Buendia received reinforcements from Pachica at a critical moment, and succeeded in forcing the Chilians back to the mouth of the Tarapacá valley, from which point they retreated, leaving 8 guns and 1 standard in the hands of the Peruvians. The Chilian loss was 687 men killed and wounded, and 52 prisoners; the Peruvian loss was 540 men and officers killed and wounded. Notwithstanding this substantial

victory, General Buendia ordered the abandonment of Tarapacá, and a retreat to Arica, where they arrived, December 18, discouraged and worn-out. The Chilians at once took possession of Tarapacá.

1880. — On February 24 General Manuel Baquedano, who had succeeded General Escala, as commander of the Chilian army, ordered an advance on Tacna and Arica, which were defended by General Campero with 10,000 Peruvians and Bolivians.

On February 26 General Baquedano disembarked 10,000 men at Ylo and Pacocha, and 4000 additional men were disembarked two days later.

On March 22 General Baquedano captured Torata, a strong position, thus isolating Tacna and Arica.

On April 17 Colonel Vergara, Chilian, in making a reconnaissance in force of the territory between Ylo and Tacna, a distance of about eighty miles, encountered a Peruvian detachment under Colonel Albarracain, and destroyed it, killing more than 150 men.

On April 17 the Chilian army started overland for Tacna.

On May 20 Minister of War Sotomayor, who accompanied the Chilian army, died at Buenavista, in the valley of the Sama River.

On May 25 the Chilian army encamped within six miles of Tacna.

On May 26 the action commenced. After four hours of fighting the Chilians gained a complete victory. The severity of the battle can be judged from the losses. There were 2128 Chilians, and 3147 Peruvians and Bolivians, killed and wounded. In this battle the Chilians had 14,000 men, and the allies 8000, about forty per cent of whom were killed or wounded. General Campero retreated towards Bolivia with his entire army.

On June 6 General Baquedano ordered the bombardment of Arica, which was well fortified and held by 2000 Peruvians under Colonel Francisco Bolognesi. On June 7 the Chilians stormed the forts of Arica at about daybreak, capturing them, and killing and wounding 800 Peruvians, themselves suffering relatively small losses.

On April 10 the Chilian squadron blockaded Callao. They bombarded it on April 22 and May 10. Considerable damage was inflicted on both sides by numerous incidents of the blockade. On May 25 the Chilian torpedo boat Janequeo was destroyed in an attack on the Peruvian steam launch Independencia, the latter also being foundered by a torpedo.

On July 3 the Chilian armed transport Loa was sunk by a mysterious explosion, supposed to have been caused by an infernal machine. The Chilian vessel Covadonga was likewise destroyed by an infernal machine concealed in a small boat which its crew had captured and atttempted to haul up on the davits, where an explosion occurred.

In September, Captain Patricio Lynch, with 3000 Chilians, devastated the northern coast of Peru, destroying government property, railways, etc., in all coast towns.

On October 22 a conference took place between representatives of Chili and Peru-Bolivia, on board the U. S. corvette Lackawanna. This was brought about by the American Minister to Chili, Mr. Osborne. The demands of Chili were so exacting that the conference was abandoned.

General Baquedano now prepared to attack Lima, with an army of 30,000 men and ample arms and supplies. Curayaco Bay was selected as the base of operations, and he began to concentrate his forces there, driving the Peruvians before him.

On December 22 the main Chilian army landed at Curayaco Bay.

On December 27 Colonel Barbosa captured a detachment of Peruvian cavalry, thereby clearing the Lurin valley.

On December 28 the Chilian army arrived at the Lurin River, and encamped within ten miles of the first line of the defences of Lima.

On December 6 a fight took place in the harbor of Callao between the Chilian torpedo boats, Tucapel, Fresia, and Guacoldo, and a Peruvian launch, aided by the guns of the forts. The Fresia was sunk, and some damage done to the Peruvian cruiser Union.

1881. — On January 9 Colonel Barbosa made a reconnaissance in force on the Peruvian left.

On January 13 at daybreak, the Chilian army attacked the Peruvian positions all along the line. Señor Nicolas Pierola, who had so recently overthrown the Lima government, at the head of a successful revolution, now had almost 26,000 men in line, and 18,000 in reserve; but they were mostly a sorry lot. Many of them had been recluted, — in other words, lassooed and forced into the army. After several hours of fighting the Peruvians were defeated and routed. They lost 5000 killed, 4000 wounded, and 2000 prisoners. The Chilians lost 800 killed and 2500 wounded. There was a total of 42,000 men engaged in the battle, and the combined losses in killed and wounded amounted to 12,300 men.

On January 15 a temporary suspension of hostilities occurred at the request of the Diplomatic Corps in Lima, the suggestion being made at the instance of Señor Pierola. At two P. M., however, the fighting was renewed on both sides, and continued until dark, when the Peruvians fled in all directions. The Peruvians lost 3000 killed and wounded in this battle, and the Chilians 2125. About 25,000 men were engaged on both sides, and the total loss exceeded 5000 in killed and wounded. The fight is known as the battle of Miraflores.

On January 15 Señor Rufino Torico, Alcalde of Lima, surrendered the capital to the Chilian Commander-in-Chief.

It is needless to say that during these events there was the most extraordinary disorder in Lima; mobs and riots terrorized all men. At the very moment Chilians were capturing Tacna and Arica, revolutions occurred in all parts of Peru, and Lima was at that time seized by Señor Pierola, after a bloody fight. There was not enough

patriotism in the Peruvians to consolidate in order to resist foreign invasion, and her miserable politicians and Jefes were more anxious to feather their own nests than to save the honor of their country. The Chilian troops committed many acts of vandalism in Lima — as did the Peruvians themselves — and it became necessary for foreign governments to land marines to protect their legations and citizens.

On January 17 General Saavedra, with his Chilian troops, took possession of Lima, and at once set himself to the task of restoring order. Peru now lay helpless at the mercy of Chili. The conquerors were as cruel and mercenary as ignorant men are apt to be under such circumstances. Chili established such administrations in Peru as it pleased, and dictated such treaties and other dispositions as it desired. In this year Señor Domingo Santa Maria was chosen President of Chili.

1882. — The President exercised the usual custom of compelling the election of a Congress satisfactory to the Executive. This caused great dissatisfaction. Large guerrilla bands still held the interior of Peru, under Colonel Andrés Caceres and others, and constantly attacked the Chilian troops. There were also about 5000 Peruvians at Arequipa. The reorganization of Peru was placed under Admiral Lynch.

1883. — The Chilian Admiral selected General Iglesias to head a new Peruvian government with which an acceptable treaty of peace could be made. On October 23 the treaty was signed provisionally, and it was ratified on May 8, 1884.

1884. — On April 4 a truce was signed between Chili and Bolivia, known as the "Pacto de Tregua," to continue in effect until the two powers should be able to agree upon a treaty.

These treaties have led to unending disputes since that date. Harsh as they were, Chili has not cared to live up to them.

By article three of the treaty with Peru, the provinces of Tacna and Arica were to remain under Chilian control for ten years, to be counted from the date of ratification (May 8, 1884). The article goes on:

"The term having expired, a plebiscite shall decide by popular vote if the territory of these provinces shall remain definitely under the dominion and sovereignty of Chili, or if they shall continue to form a part of the territory of Peru. The government of the country in whose favor the provinces of Tacna and Arica shall be annexed shall pay to the other ten millions of dollars ($10,000,000) Chilian silver money, or Peruvian soles, of equal percentage of fine silver, and of equal weight as the former. A special protocol, which shall be considered an integral part of the present treaty, shall establish the form in which the plebiscite shall take place, and the terms and conditions in which the ten millions of dollars shall be paid by the nation remaining in possession of Tacna and Arica."

As a matter of course, Chili has refused absolutely to abide by this part of the treaty. This war was brought on by the bad faith of Peru and Bolivia. But Chili was no more conscientious. Its most sacred treaty is waste-paper unless the other side has the necessary men and guns. The chief revenue of Chili is now derived from the great guano and nitrate deposits in these provinces, and it will not give them up without a struggle.

1886. — On September 18 Señor José Manuel Balmaceda became President, through the influence of the preceding executive, Santa Maria. A prolonged conflict commenced between the new chief and Congress, in which several cabinets fell or resigned.

1891. — In January President Balmaceda virtually assumed a dictatorship. Civil war at once broke out.

On January 6 and 7 the Chilian navy revolted, and proceeded at once to blockade the coast towns. Revolutionary troops now took possession of Pisagua, Serena, Ovalle, and Coquimbo. The navy, under Jorge Montt, operated in harmony with Señor Waldo Silva, Vice-President of the Senate, and Ramon Barros Luco, President of the Chamber of Deputies. The revolutionists called themselves Congregationalists.

On January 29 government troops recaptured Serena and Coquimbo. A military conspiracy was now discovered and frustrated in Santiago. An "Act of Deposition" was signed by 89 members of Congress, declaring Balmaceda no longer President, but as Congress was not in session, and the act not in legal form, it had no real effect.

On February 6 the squadron, in revolt, landed troops at Pisagua and recaptured the town, taking 250 prisoners and killing and wounding about 40 men. The revolutionists here recluted about 2000 men.

On February 15 General Robles and a government force were practically destroyed by the Congregationalists at Dolores.

On February 16 General Robles was reinforced by Colonel Soto, from Iquique, making 800 men under him. On February 17 General Robles attacked 1200 revolutionists under General Urrutia near Huara, and severely defeated them, killing and wounding 250, the government loss being 167. On the same day Iquique was seized by the commander of the Blanco Encalada.

On February 19 Colonel Soto returned to Iquique, and an engagement took place, in which the ships Esmeralda and Blanco Encalada fired into the town, causing serious fires. Colonel Soto now retired.

On March 7 an action took place at Pozo Almonte, between 1600 Congregationalists, under General Holley, and 1300 government troops, under General Robles. The latter was killed, and his army dispersed, losing more than 400 men in killed and wounded. The Congregationalists lost about the same number.

On April 7 the government troops evacuated Arica, and a force of

650 men and officers went to Arequipa, and remained until the end of the revolution.

On March 18 part of the government garrison at Antofagasta mutinied, and joined the revolutionists.

On March 19 the government troops abandoned Antofagasta, which was at once occupied by General Holley, of the Congregationalists.

On April 22 the Congregationalists took possession of Caldera.

On April 23 the torpedo boats remaining in the control of the government, the Lynch and Condell, crept into the harbor of Caldera, and destroyed the Blanco Encalada by a torpedo, the ship sinking with 12 officers and 207 men.

On May 15 Balmaceda shot two sergeants of the Seventh Regiment, Benigno Peña and Pedro Pablo Meza, on a charge of treason.

On May 23 he shot Gregorio Vera, Ramon Santibanez, Juan Ovalle, Juan Grammer, and many others. These executions aroused public indignation against him.

In April the Congregationalists organized a provisional government at Iquique, with Captain Jorge Montt as Chief of the Junta de Gobierno.

In April the Itata, a Congregationalist steamer, loaded with 5000 rifles and 2,500,000 cartridges, was held at San Diego, with a United States marshal on board, upon denouncement of the Chilian government. The captain, however, sailed away, carrying the United States marshal with him. The vessel was seized by a United States man-of-war, upon arrival at Iquique, and taken back to the jurisdiction of the United States without having had opportunity to discharge its cargo.

On May 5 a meeting of representatives of both contending parties met in the American legation, but were unable to arrive at any compromise.

On May 6 a bomb was thrown at President Balmaceda, but it exploded without doing serious damage.

In June and July Balmaceda showed great energy, recruiting and organizing at least 50,000 men.

On July 12 Balmaceda tortured Richard Cumming, a man born in Chili of British parents, into making a confession of a plot to seize some torpedo vessels, and on the strength of this confession, so extorted, shot him.

On July 3 the Congregationalists received from the transport Maipo, at Iquique, 6 Krupp mountain guns, 1700 shells, 5000 Gras rifles, with about 4,000,000 cartridges, which had been purchased in Europe.

In August the revolutionists, with about 10,000 men, made ready for an attack upon the government forces in Santiago.

On August 19 Balmaceda ordered the execution of several prominent men of Santiago.

On August 20 the massacre of "Lo Cañas" occurred, by which government troops shot 21 young men, mostly unarmed, alleged to be sympathizers of the revolution, who were holding a meeting in a private house.

On August 19, 16 vessels loaded with Congregationalists appeared at Quinteros and disembarked.

On August 21 the Congregational army under Colonel Körner engaged the government troops under General Barnosa, at Concon, near Valparaiso. The Congregationalists were the victors. They lost 216 officers and men killed and 531 wounded. The government lost 1700 in killed and wounded and 1500 prisoners.

On August 23 an ineffective attack was made on Viña del Mar by the Congregationalists.

On August 28 the revolutionary army of about 9200 men attacked the government forces of about the same strength at Placilla, and completely defeated them. General Barbosa was killed in a brutal manner by troopers. The Congregationalists lost 485 killed and 1124 wounded; the government troops lost 941 killed and 2422 wounded.

Valparaiso was at once occupied by the Congregationalists. A scene of anarchy ensued in the city, the victorious troops rioting, looting, drinking, and murdering people all night. Patrols shot more than 300 persons on the plea of re-establishing order.

On August 29 Balmaceda resigned as President of Chili, turning the government over to General Baquedano. Grave confusion and disorders occurred in Santiago. Houses were looted, and several millions of dollars worth of property were destroyed by rioters.

On September 19 Señor Balmaceda committed suicide at the Argentine legation, where he had been concealed since his abdication.

On October 16 the murder and wounding of the American sailors from the United States steamship Baltimore occurred in Valparaiso harbor. These men, 116 in number and unarmed, were attacked by a mob of about 2000 Chilians, in which the police and soldiers took part. This barbarity led to strained relations between the two governments and much diplomatic correspondence.

On November 10 a new Congress met, and the Junta de Gobierno surrendered its power. Admiral Jorge Montt was selected as President, and assumed office on December 26.

On December 11 Señor Matte, the Chilian minister, dictated an insulting letter regarding the attitude of the United States and President Harrison, with reference to the Baltimore affair.

1892. — On January 22 the United States delivered what practically amounted to an ultimatum to Chili. On January 25 Chili

withdrew the offensive note of December 11 and offered to pay an indemnity, and the affair ended.

1894. — President Montt consented to the sale of the Esmeralda to the Japanese government, during the war of the latter with China, — a breach of international law which called forth much criticism.

1896. — Señor Federico Errazuriz was selected for President.

1895, 1898, 1901. — In each of these years Chili and Argentina were on the verge of war on account of boundary disputes. It was largely through the patience and common-sense of President Errazuriz that the matter was finally arbitrated.

1901. — Señor Jerman Riesco was elected President.

1906. — Pedro Montt was elected President to hold office until 1911. He is a man of wide experience in public affairs, the son of Manuel Montt, a former President, and a successful administration is predicted for him.

CHAPTER XI

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF URUGUAY

IN 1806, when the English captured Buenos Ayres, the garrison of Montevideo furnished the troops necessary for recapturing it. At that time Montevideo was a strong centre of Spanish influence and aristocracy. The outlying districts of Uruguay were inhabited by cattlemen, — fearless, desperate riders and good shots.

Maldonado harbor in Eastern Uruguay was seized by the British towards the end of 1806.

1807. — On January 14 Montevideo was besieged by the British with land and naval forces. Uruguayans sallied forth to attack the English, but after losing 1000 men, were driven back.

On January 23, after a desperate bombardment lasting eight days, the English took Montevideo by assault.

A few months later the English withdrew from Montevideo on account of their serious defeat at Buenos Ayres.

Elio, the Spanish Military Governor at Montevideo, suspected the loyalty of Liniers, the Frenchman who had been appointed Spanish Viceroy at Buenos Ayres, and the two men quarrelled. Liniers, being the superior officer, deposed Elio. Thereupon a junta was formed at Montevideo, which declared its independence of Buenos Ayres, and stated it would recognize directly and solely the authority of the legitimate King of Spain, who was then in banishment.

1810. — On July 12 a part of the garrison mutinied at Montevideo against Spanish authority. This was caused by news of the movement for independence in Buenos Ayres. The disturbance was soon suppressed.

1811. — Elio, who had been in Spain, returned to Montevideo with a commission as Viceroy. He instituted severe measures against all persons suspected of sympathy with the revolution, and at once declared war upon the revolutionists of Buenos Ayres.

A powerful revolution now broke out against Elio, particularly among the guachos of the southeastern provinces. José Artigas, a leader of great force and bravery, took control of it.

In April Belgrano, the Buenos Ayrean General, arrived in Uruguay to reinforce the anti-royalists.

On May 18 a Spanish force of 1000 men was almost annihilated at Las Piedras by the Uruguayan guachos, under Artigas. The latter now began a siege of Montevideo.

A Portuguese army now advanced from Brazil against Artigas. At the same time the Buenos Ayres Junta was in dire straits, owing to the destruction of the revolutionary forces, which were invading Bolivia, at Huaqui. Artigas, therefore, retired to defend Buenos Ayres.

1812. — The Brazilian troops were withdrawn from Uruguay in the middle of 1812 because of English pressure.

Spanish authority was again assaulted throughout Uruguay.

On December 3 the Argentine revolutionists, under José Rondeau, gained a bloody victory over the Spanish forces at Cerrito, in the suburbs of Montevideo. Artigas now set up a dictatorship in the outlying provinces, Montevideo still remaining in the hands of Elio.

1813. — Artigas and Rondeau quarrelled, and counter-revolutions broke out. Buenos Ayres refused to recognize Artigas, and the anti-royalists enjoyed a period of civil strife.

1814. — In January Artigas withdrew his forces from the siege of Montevideo.

In May William Brown, the Irish Admiral, destroyed the Spanish fleet, cutting off Montevideo communications by land and sea. The fortress of Montevideo then surrendered to the Argentine anti-royalist General Alvear.

All the guacho chiefs of Western Uruguay, Corrientes, Entre Rios, Santa Fé, and the Missions, resisted the Buenos Ayres anti-royalist Junta, and continual bloodshed ensued. They also opposed the authority of Spain.

1815. — In January one of these guacho chiefs, Fructuoso Rivera, defeated the Buenos Ayrean force at Guayabos, and the junta was compelled to withdraw its armies from Uruguayan territory.

Artigas, not being satisfied with having two wars on his hands, — one with the Spanish authorities and the other with the Buenos Ayres revolutionists, or anti-royalists, — decided to invade Brazil by way of diversion. He attacked the Seven Missions, in Brazilian territory, and captured it, after desperate fighting. During almost a year the Brazilians from Rio Grande made several unsuccessful attempts to regain the territory.

1816. — The forces of Artigas were overwhelmed and destroyed by the Brazilians, who proceeded towards Montevideo.

1817. — In January Artigas, who had about 4000 men, was again overwhelmingly defeated by the Brazilians, and his army scattered to the winds. The Portuguese now took possession of Montevideo.

1818–1820. — There was an uninterrupted warfare between the Brazilians and the Uruguayan guacho chiefs. Artigas fought many bloody battles, but fate was against him. On September 23, 1820,

his forces reduced to only 40 men, he went to Candelario, Paraguay, on the Paraná, and begged Dictator Francia for an asylum. This was granted him. The remainder of his life he spent on a small farm in the great forests. He died in 1850, at the age of eighty-six years.

The other guerrilla chiefs, Rivera, Lavelleja, Oribe, after desperate careers, were defeated one by one, and the Portuguese took possession of the entire country.

1821. — Uruguay, through the medium of a Congress, declared itself a part of Brazil, under the name of Cisplatine Province.

1825. — An invasion of 33 Argentine adventurers, under Lavelleja, landed in the southwestern part of Uruguay to give the country "independence." The troops sent against them from Montevideo refused to fight. General Rivera, the old guacho chief, who after his surrender was made a Brazilian officer, was treacherous to the Portuguese and joined Lavelleja's revolution.

A horde of military chiefs rose in rebellion against Brazil, and declared Uruguay reincorporated with Argentina.

A bloody battle at Sarandi resulted in a great disaster to the Brazilians, who were now confined within the walls of Montevideo. Argentina went wild with joy at the news of this victory, and Buenos Ayres notified Brazil that Uruguay had become a part of her territory. The Emperor of Brazil replied by making a declaration of war.

1826. — A year of desperate fighting between Brazil and Argentina. General Carlos Alvean took command of the armies of Argentina. Counter-insurrections among the Argentines, between the partisans of Lavelleja and Rivera, occurred.

Brazil blockaded Buenos Ayres, but the Irish Admiral Brown, who had cast his lot with Argentina, defeated the Brazilians at sea and blockaded Colonia.

1827. — On February 20 the Argentine General Alvear, with 8000 men, attacked an equal force of Brazilians, under General Barnacena at Ituzaingo, and gained a decisive victory. Admiral Brown at about the same time defeated the Brazilian fleet at Juncal.

1828. — Grave local disorders occurred in Argentina. The Emperor of Brazil had troubles of his own, so that no very heavy fighting took place in Uruguay between these two powers. Plenty of fighting, however, occurred among the patriots themselves. Rivera and Lavelleja were engaged in bitter feuds, and their soldiers in continual skirmishes. Brazil and Argentina made a treaty of peace.

1829. — José Rondeau became President of Uruguay, which had become independent by the treaty between Brazil and Argentina. Rivera started a new revolution, but desisted upon promise that he should be the real President, not the paper one.

1830. — On July 18 one of those rare and unique things, so seldom heard of in Latin America, known as a Constitution, was promulgated.

General Rivera became President.

1831. — The Uruguayan government was at war with the Charrua Indians.

1832. — Civil war broke out. The garrison of Montevideo mutinied, under the leadership of Colonel Garzon, who issued a proclamation to depose President Rivera. The partisans of Lavelleja also arose against the government.

1833. — The revolution continued with varying fortunes.

1834. — Rivera finally dominated the revolution, after two years' hard fighting.

1835. — Manuel Oribe became Supreme Boss. He was bitterly opposed to Rivera, and persecuted the friends of the latter relentlessly. He soon gave place to his brother Ignacio Oribe. The Oribes formed an alliance with Rosas, the tyrant of Argentina, who contemplated the incorporation of Uruguay into his territory. The enemies of Rosas naturally flocked to Rivera. This led to several years of such bitterness and bloodshed on the soil of Uruguay as the world has seldom known.

1836–1837. — The revolution continued in all parts of the country, led by Rivera. Rosas sent the Argentine army to aid Oribe, led by many Argentine generals. Those who supported Rivera were called Colorados, the partisans of Oribe called themselves Blancos.

1838. — Rivera drove Oribe out of Montevideo, and he went to Buenos Ayres. Rivera now became Jefe Supremo. He made a treaty of alliance with the province of Corrientes, and declared war against the tyrant Rosas, of Argentina.

1839. — A large Argentine army which had invaded Uruguay was overwhelmingly defeated on December 10 at Cagancha. Peace was now declared.

1840. — This was a year of peace and prosperity for Uruguay.

1841. — Oribe at the head of one of Rosas' armies invaded Entre Rios, to attack the allies of Rivera there.

1842. — In January Rivera, with 3000 soldiers, went into Entre Rios to aid General Paz against Oribe. At the end of 1842 Rivera and Paz were decisively defeated at Arroya Grande.

1843. — Rosas, with an overwhelming Argentine force, invaded Uruguay. For nine years one of the bloodiest wars of the world was fought in all parts of Uruguay. Rivera and many Colorado chiefs held the outlying provinces, but the armies of Rosas practically controlled the country. This war is known as the *guerra grande*.

1845. — The combined French and British fleets blockaded Buenos Ayres, because of outrages committed by the tyrant Rosas on their citizens, and this hampered his operations in Uruguay. As soon as the blockade was raised, Rosas redoubled his energies to destroy Uruguay. He quarrelled, however, with his chief general, Urquiza, Governor of Entre Rios. Virtual anarchy reigned in Uruguay for several years.

1851. — An alliance was formed between Brazil, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and the Colorado faction of Uruguay, and the command given to General Urquiza.

On July 18 Urquiza crossed the Uruguay with a large army, which was reinforced by heavy desertions from the other side. The Brazilian fleet drove the Argentine vessels from the estuary, and after severe fighting Montevideo surrendered. Urquiza then turned towards Buenos Ayres, and overwhelmingly defeated Rosas at Monte Caseros, and overthrew the noted tyrant. This ended the wars which had been continuous from 1843 to 1851.

1851–1861. — A bewildering array of military chiefs occupied the presidency by means of intrigues and *coup d'états*, but the period was one of comparative peace.

1853. — General Venancio Flores overthrew the President and became Dictator.

1854. — General Flores was forced to resign, and he was succeeded by one chief after another.

1860. — General Berro became Constitutional President. Being a Blanco, the Colorados made ready for the customary pastime.

1863. — In April General Flores, who had been in exile, invaded Uruguay, aided by a strong force from Buenos Ayres. He rallied the Colorados, seized several provinces, and established his own government.

General Flores gave, as his reason for this invasion, the fact that a large number of Colorado prisoners had been assassinated in cold blood at Quinteros. With 1700 men he defeated the government troops at Rio Negro.

1864. — The Blancos selected Dr. Aguirre for President of Uruguay. Aguirre took severe measures against all persons suspected of sympathy with the Colorados. He maltreated Brazilian citizens as well as those of Argentina; but he made an alliance with the bloody Lopez, the Paraguayan tyrant. Lopez had a formidable army, and was anxious to conquer Rio Grande do Sul, a Brazilian province.

In order to protect its citizens in Uruguay, Brazil sent 4000 soldiers to its frontier, and established a threatening squadron in front of Montevideo. President Aguirre was obstinate, secure in his Paraguayan alliance, and he treated the Brazilian envoy, Conselheiro Saraiva, with disrespect.

The Brazilian squadron, under Admiral Tamandaré, destroyed the Uruguayan war-ship, Villa del Salto, and affairs were brought to a crisis.

On December 6 a powerful attack was made on Paysandú, held by Uruguayan troops, by 1200 Brazilians under General Netto, and 5000 revolutionists under General Flores. The Brazilian squadron joined in the attack. On December 31 heavy fighting was renewed at Paysandú.

1865. — On January 2 the combined forces made an attack upon Paysandú, captured, looted, and pillaged it in a shocking manner.

President Aguirre sent an expedition into Rio Grande do Sul, which captured Yaguaron, and practised atrocious acts of savagery against the Brazilians. The force was finally defeated by the Brazilians under Colonel Fidelis.

In February the Brazilians and their Colorado allies invested Montevideo with 14,000 men. President Aguirre now issued a batch of proclamations, and fled to Buenos Ayres.

On February 22 General Flores entered Montevideo, and proclaimed himself President.

Lopez, of Paraguay, in the mean time had declared war against Brazil, given the Brazilian minister, Viana de Lima, his passports, and seized a Brazilian vessel, the Marques d'Olinda, and incorporated it into his fleet. Lopez took Brazil by surprise, and captured Nueva Coimbra, Albuquerque, Tage, Miranda, Corumba, Dourado, and nearly the whole southern part of the province of Matto Grosso before the middle of January, 1865.

For the next five years the record of this war belongs more properly to the history of Paraguay. It was in fact an alliance of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina against Lopez, and led to the latter's downfall. General Flores led the Uruguayan forces during this period in their campaign of invasion.

1867. — General Flores returned to Uruguay. He announced that he was not a candidate for the presidency. His son, Colonel Flores, headed a revolt, his being the only regiment in Montevideo. President Flores induced his son to surrender, and temporarily exiled him.

1868. — On February 15 Dr. Pedro Varela became President. A conspiracy was formed by the Blancos to seize Congress, and a party led by Barnardo P. Berro attacked the Government Palace at noon on February 19. At the same time Colonel Freire led an attack on the regiment, but he was killed and his force dispersed. General Flores was assassinated in his carriage. The perpetrators of the deed were never discovered.

On March 1 General Lorenzo Batlle was selected for President. Wholesale executions on account of Flores' assassination now occurred, and a desperate Blanco insurrection broke out. Cholera added its ravages to that of war, and financial ruin threatened the whole country. The government attempted to compel the acceptance of paper money, which added to the distress.

A revolution was inaugurated by Maximo Perez, and another by General Caraballo; but both were finally subdued.

1869. — This year was filled with revolutions, riots, and the ravages of the cholera. It seemed as if nature were aiding mankind in race-suicide.

1870. — Colonel Timoteo Aparicio, one of the Blancos, on March 5, started a revolution in Northwest Uruguay with men and munitions of war largely obtained from the neighboring provinces of Brazil and Argentina. He soon collected 5000 men.

On September 12 an action was fought between the revolutionists and the government troops under General Suarez, at Santa Lucia, in which the latter was badly defeated and compelled to fall back upon Montevideo.

Soon afterwards Colonel Aparicio with his revolutionary force attacked General Francisco Caraballo, commander of the army corps of the North, at Corralito, and defeated him, after heavy losses on both sides. Caraballo retreated, and was attacked at Rio Negro by Aparicio, but the latter was defeated. The rebels, however, soon had possession of nearly the whole country outside of Montevideo.

On November 28 the revolutionists took the fortress at Cerro by assault, and made ready to seize Montevideo.

On November 29 President Batlle in person led a sortie against the revolutionists, on the outskirts of Montevideo, and drove them from their position at Villa de la Union.

In December Colonel Aparicio was compelled to raise the siege of Montevideo. He moved out to meet the government General Suarez and captured many supplies at Puerto del Ingles.

On December 25 General Suarez, with all the forces at his command, fought a bloody battle with Colonel Aparicio. The revolutionary army was practically destroyed.

1871. — Colonel Aparicio audaciously proceeded to raise a new army, and by June he had 2500 men located at Manantiales de San Juan.

On July 17 General Enrique Castro with a strong government force attacked Aparicio, and virtually wiped his army out of existence.

Señor Tomas Gomensoro now became President.

1872. — On April 6 President Gomensoro arrived at a "treaty" with the rebel leaders, chief of whom was Aparicio, by which he paid them $500,000 and they laid down their arms, and shouted for God and the Patria.

1873. — On February 14 Dr. José E. Ellauri became President. This gentleman had little liking for the presidential office, with its liability to assassination and certainty of revolutionary opposition. He therefore resigned twice; but the army paraded in front of Congress, and told the members that if they accepted the resignation they would all be shot. Thereupon they rejected it unanimously.

1874. — Riots and tumults absorbed public attention, as usual. Colonel Romualdo Castillo, who had been the President's right hand in maintaining law and order, was assassinated at Paysandú.

In November an uprising was led by Colonel Maximo Perez in the department of Sariano, but it was suppressed.

1875. — In January serious rioting occurred in Montevideo. Elections were held on January 10 for President, there being innumerable shooting affrays between the partisans of the candidates.

On January 15 a revolutionary force took possession of Montevideo, ousted President Ellauri, and proclaimed a provisional government with Pedro Varela at its head. Dr. Ellauri sought refuge on a foreign war-ship.

President Varela arrested almost everybody he did not like, placed them in a leaky old tub, the Puig, and sent them to sea. Most of them finally reached the United States.

In May a revolution broke out against Varela, in the department of Maldonado. It was led by Colonel Julian de la Llana. In the department of Salto 1000 troops under Colonel Atanasildo Saldana joined the revolution.

Colonel Julio Arrue with a force from Buenos Ayres disembarked at Colonia and joined the insurrection. The troops of Mercedes revolted, and joined the movement.

In October the revolutionists under Colonel Arrue defeated the government troops in the department of Soriano.

President Varela gave command of his army to General Aparicio, the famous revolutionary leader, who was ably seconded by Colonel Latorre, Minister of War.

General Aparicio defeated the revolutionists in an important engagement in the department of Minas, and broke their backbone.

The debt of Uruguay had now grown to over $40,000,000, equal to about $150 per capita. The President was accused of crooked practices in manipulating the public funds.

1876. — On March 10 Colonel Latorre seized the government, and declared himself Dictator. He ruled for four years with a rod of iron. Brigandage was universal. He mercilessly stamped it out, shooting every one engaged in that occupation he could catch. But he also instituted a reign of terror, in which there were hundreds of mysterious assassinations of persons supposed to be unfriendly to the government.

1880. — On March 13 President Latorre resigned, declaring that Uruguay was ungovernable.

Dr. Francisco A. Vidal, a physician, was chosen President by Congress. He made Colonel Maximo Santos Prime Minister, and Dr. Vidal remained a figure-head thereafter.

In May a mob, led by the military, destroyed most of the newspapers of Montevideo.

1882. — On March 1 Dr. Vidal resigned, and General Santos became President. His administration was rotten to the core, — tyrannical, corrupt, and infamous.

1886. — On March 1 Santos had Congress re-elect Dr. Francisco A. Vidal as President, and appoint himself as Commander-in-Chief of the army.

On March 28 a revolutionary movement occurred at Guaviyu, under the leadership of General Enrique Castro and José Miguel Arredondo.

On March 30 General Tajes, with a government force, attacked the rebels and severely defeated them.

On May 24 Dr. Vidal resigned the presidency, and General Santos assumed supreme control.

On August 17 an attempt was made to assassinate Santos, the bullet breaking his lower jaw. A new revolution broke out, and Santos became seriously alarmed.

On November 18 General Santos resigned, and General Maximo Tajes was selected for the presidency. This man gave a good administration, and did his utmost to bring Uruguay to prosperity.

1890. — Dr. Julio Herrera y Obes became President. His administration was corrupt, extravagant, and tyrannical, — the old military elements dominating.

1891. — Uruguay defaulted on its obligations, and a grave economic crisis occurred.

1894. — On March 1 Herrera y Obes resigned, and Señor Duncan Stewart became Acting Executive *ad interim*.

On March 21 the Congress selected Juan Idiarte Borda as President.

1897. — In February a revolution broke out, caused by the corruption and general debauchery of the Borda administration. It was led by Aparicio Saraiva in the North, while Colonel Diego Lamas, who had recruited in Argentina, invaded the southern part of Uruguay.

In March President Borda concentrated his troops, and sent them north to attack Saraiva. The armies met at Arbolito, where the government troops were defeated. By June President Borda had 10,000 men in the field. Engagements took place at Cerro Colorado, Cerros Blancos, and Tres Arboles; but nothing decisive occurred.

On August 25 President Borda was assassinated in Montevideo. The assassin, Avelino Arredondo, surrendered to the police, was duly tried, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. His only defence was that he thought the country had suffered enough from Borda's misrule, and that he wished to put an end to it.

Juan Lindolfo Cuestas, President of the Senate, now became Chief Executive. In September Señor Cuestas entered into negotiations with the rebels, offering them most of the offices they wanted, and $200,000 cash. The offer was accepted with gratitude.

1898. — Owing to repeated and continual opposition to his reform policies, President Cuestas, on February 10, dissolved Congress, suspended the Constitution, and declared himself Dictator.

1899. — Congress met and approved the acts of Dictator Cuestas, and elected him Constitutional President.

On July 1 a mutiny broke out at the garrison of Montevideo, which was quelled after a battle of several hours and the loss of about 200 lives.

1903. — On March 1 Señor José Batlle y Ordoñez was elected President.

Shortly afterwards General Aparicio Saraiva inaugurated a new revolution, which, however, was finally subdued.

CHAPTER XII

RULERS AND REVOLUTIONS OF PARAGUAY

ON May 25, 1810, the Spanish viceroy of Buenos Ayres was overthrown by a revolution.

In the following months Manuel Belgrano headed a few hundred Paraguayans, invaded Entre Rios and Corrientes, and overthrew Spanish authority.

1811. — On January 19 Belgrano was destroyed near Asunción, by a body of royalists, mostly composed of Indians, under Yegros, a native Paraguayan, who disliked the Buenos Ayreans. This action definitely decided the independence of Paraguay from Buenos Ayres.

In March a junta was formed with Yegros as chief, and Dr. Francia, a noted lawyer, as secretary.

1813. — Francia and Yegros were given supreme authority in Paraguay, with the title of Consuls.

1814. — Dr. Francia forced Yegros out. The latter was an ignorant soldier, unfit to be entrusted with power.

1816. — Dr. Francia became Supreme Dictator. He ruled for the next twenty-five years, — as bloody and implacable a despot as the world has ever produced. He relied for support wholly upon the Indians, who regarded him with superstitious reverence. He ordered executions by the thousands, isolated Paraguay from the world, had neither legislature nor judiciary, was himself the whole government, and ruthlessly shot any person who incurred his displeasure. He was particularly severe against the educated classes, the priesthood, and all white persons, and executed them upon the slightest provocation.

1840. — The tyrant Francia died, and anarchy reigned for months.

1841. — Carlos Antonio Lopez was selected for First Consul.

1844. — Congress named Lopez President for ten years.

1849. — War was declared by Paraguay against the tyrant Rosas of Buenos Ayres, because the latter sought to prevent Paraguay's commerce reaching the sea via the Paraná River.

1850–1862. — Lopez was in constant trouble with foreign powers, and displayed great hatred for all foreigners.

1862. — Lopez died, and his son Francisco Solano Lopez became ruler. Lopez the younger was an inconceivable despot, a criminal tyrant such as the world has seldom seen. "He ordered his best friends

to execution; he tortured his mother and sisters, and murdered his brothers." The reader interested in the doings of this desperado will find a biographical sketch of him under "Typical Dictators — the Worst." An account of conditions in Paraguay at this time may be read in the chapter headed "The Reign of Terror under the Bloody Lopez."

The bloody war of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, allies against Paraguay, led to the downfall of Lopez, and almost the annihilation of his country.

1870. — On March 1 Lopez was captured, and killed by a common soldier, before surrendering. Thus perished the most dreadful character which the Western Hemisphere has produced. Dawson says:

"When Lopez was waiting in 1868 for the final attack of the Brasilians, he made use of the last months of his power to arrest, torture, and murder nearly every white man left in Paraguay, including his own brother, his brother-in-law, and the generals who had served him best, and the friends who had enjoyed his most intimate confidence. Even women and foreigners did not escape the cold, deliberate bloodthirstiness of this demon. He had his own sister beaten with clubs and exposed her naked in the forest; he had the wife of the brave general who was forced to surrender at Humaita speared, and subjected two members of the American legation to the most sickening torture."

1871. — Salvador Jovellanos became President of Paraguay.

1872. — Three different revolutions occurred in Paraguay, which were suppressed by Brazilian troops. It would seem that these people never knew when they had enough of fighting. The country was now placed virtually under the protectorate of Brazil.

1874. — Señor Gill became President.

1875. — President Gill was assassinated.

Since this date the rulers have been as follows:

1875, Señor Uriarte.	1894, Señor Morinigo.
1875, Señor Baredo.	1894, J. B. Egusquiza.
1875, Señor Saguier.	1898, Emilio Aceval.
1882, General Caballero.	1902, Juan B. Escurra.
1886, Señor Escobar.	1904, Juan B. Gaona.
1890, Señor Gonzalez.	1905, Dr. Baez.

Several of these Presidents have secured office by revolution. In 1881 President Saguier was overthrown by the army.

In 1894 President Gonzalez was seized in his office, revolvers pointed at his head, and in this manner was taken to a ship and deported out of the country. The army was in the conspiracy.

Paraguay is one of the most backward of all the South American countries.

CHAPTER XIII

SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI

ON January 27, 1801, the Haitian General Toussaint l'Ouverture took possession of the entire island in the name of France, the sovereignty having been ceded by Spain.

1806. — Dessalines, who had proclaimed himself Emperor, was assassinated. The Spaniards took possession of the eastern portion of the island called Santo Domingo.

1821. — On December 1 the people proclaimed their independence of Spain. Revolutions and counter-revolutions occurred.

1822. — General Boyer, ruler of Haiti, took possession of Santo Domingo.

1843. — Boyer was driven out by a revolution.

1844. — On February 27 Santo Domingo again proclaimed its independence and adopted a Constitution.

1861. — Spain re-established authority over Santo Domingo.

1865. — Spain relinquished its control of the island. Another Constitution was adopted.

1871. — United States commissioners visited Santo Domingo with a view to its annexation, in accordance with the views of President Grant. They reported favorably, and the people of Santo Domingo were willing, but Congress took no action.

1879. — Santo Domingo adopted another Constitution, and abolished the previous one.

1880. — That rare and priceless guarantee of liberty known in Latin America as a Constitution was again promulgated, preceding Constitutions being abolished.

1881. — The Constitution was abolished, and another adopted.

1887. — One more Constitution was promulgated.

From the beginning of the last century until the present time there has been one continual, unending scene of diabolism, revolution, brigandage, and crime in this island. Even Venezuela or Honduras has not been so bad. I shall not attempt to catalogue these revolutions and uprisings. The ten thousand thousand records of murder, pillage, loot, surprises, assaults, assassinations, outrages, — they horrify and shock one; their record becomes wearisome and disgusting.

Fate of Haiti's Rulers

If it be true that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," what shall we say of the head that wears the Dictator's hat?

The rulers of Haiti have seen their ups and downs, as have those of our other "Sisters." An authority writes:

"Toussaint l'Ouverture died a prisoner in the castle of St. Joux, France, before the independence; Dessalines was assassinated; Christophe committed suicide; Petión died in office; Boyer and his immediate successor, Rivière, were overthrown by violence and died in exile; Guerrier, like Petión, died in office; Pierrot retired from sheer incapacity before an approaching storm, and was permitted quietly to end his days at home in comparative obscurity; Riche, like Petión and Guerrier, was still in office when he died, by some supposed to have been foully dealt with; Soulouque, overthrown by revolution, practically spent his after life in exile, though he was allowed to return to his native town just before he died; Geffrard was driven by violence into exile, where he ended his days; Salnave, likewise driven from power by revolution, was captured and shot by order of his successor; Saget alone retired at the end of his term and died in his country; Domingue went out under violence and died in exile; Canal retired voluntarily before a revolution, and is now in exile; Salomon, after nearly ten years of office, broken down by overwork, disease, and old age, went out in revolution and died in exile; Legitime, driven from power by revolution, is still in exile; and Hyppolite, who took his place, was succeeded by General Sam, who was forced to abdicate, the revolutionists establishing a provincial government, which was overthrown by General Nord Alexis, after a long fight with Mr. Firmin and other ambitious patriots."

CHAPTER XIV

SOME OF THE RULERS AND REVOLUTIONS OF MEXICO

FOLLOWING the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, the country was ruled by five governors and two councils, and then by sixty-two Spanish viceroys in succession.

1810. — On the night of September 15 Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, in conjunction with Allende, Aldama, Abasolo, and other Mexican officers proclaimed independence, at the village of Dolores, State of Guanajuato. Hidalgo and his companions in arms captured the cities of Guanajuato, Celaya, Toluca, and Valladolid. He was defeated at Aculco and Puerte de Calderon.

1811. — On May 21 Hidalgo was captured at Acatita de Bajan by the Spaniards.

On July 31 Hidalgo was shot by the Spaniards at Chihuahua.

José Maria Morelos y Pavon, a priest of Caracuaro, State of Michoacan, took up the work of Hidalgo. It is worth noting, in passing, that while the Catholic priesthood in Nueva Granada were the supporters of Spanish authority, it was otherwise in Mexico.

Morelos captured many cities, and defeated the Spaniards in numerous engagements. He defended with 3000 men the city of Cuautla against 12,000 royalists, and later captured Orizaba, Acapulco, Oaxaca, and Tehuacan.

1812. — On September 14 the first Mexican Congress was organized at Chilpancingo, State of Guerrero, with Morelos y Pavon as its guiding spirit.

On November 6 a declaration of independence was issued, and a Constitution was later adopted.

1813. — The revolution against Spain continued in all parts of the country. Morelos met reverses and was captured.

1814. — Continuous fighting.

1815. — On December 22 Morelos was shot by the Spaniards in the city of Mexico.

1816–1821. — The fighting between the patriots and the royalists continued with varying fortunes, much the same as in Central America and Nueva Granada. During this period Generals Mina, Guerrero, and Bravo came to the front as the leading spirits opposed to the monarchy.

1821. — On January 10 a conference was held between General Guerrero, chief of the revolutionary forces, and General Agustin Iturbide, commander of the royalist forces.

On February 24 the "Plan of Iguala" was promulgated, by which Iturbide and Guerrero joined forces, under the command of the former.

Iturbide's troops now captured Morella, Puebla, Queretero, and many other towns.

On September 27 Iturbide entered the city of Mexico in triumph, after having concluded a treaty with the Viceroy, Don Juan o Donoju, at Cordoba. A regency of three members was established for the government of Mexico, with Iturbide as President.

1822. — On February 24 Congress met in the city of Mexico. Under military pressure this Congress elected Iturbide "Emperor of Mexico." He was crowned with great pomp, on July 21, in the Cathedral, with the title Augustine I.

On December 22 Santa Anna raised the standard of revolt at Vera Cruz, and proclaimed a Republic. A desperate internecine strife now deluged the country in blood. A period of anarchy and desolation followed and continued for fifty years. It was only effectually ended by the accession of Porfirio Diaz to the presidency.

1823. — In May "Emperor" Iturbide was compelled to abdicate, his armies having been everywhere defeated. He retired to London. A provisional government was established.

1824. — Iturbide returned to Mexico. He was arrested on disembarking, taken to Padilla, and on July 19 was shot by order of the "legislature" of Tamaulipas.

On October 10 General Guadalupe Victoria became President of Mexico, a Constitution having been established. He was Mexico's first President.

1825. — On January 1 the Congress met in the city of Mexico under the new Constitution.

England and the United States recognized the independence of Mexico.

1828–1830. — Continued conflicts and contests occurred. Pedraza, Guerrero, and Bustamente all claimed to be President. Santa Anna was a prominent figure in all kinds of schemes, treachery, and uprisings.

1835. — General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, after a series of intrigues and revolutions, became Dictator and abolished the Constitution of 1824.

1833–1835. — Continuous mutinies and civil wars raged, and anarchy reigned in all parts of the country.

1836. — Texas seceded from Mexico and defeated and captured Santa Anna.

1837. — Santa Anna again returned to Mexico and assumed the dictatorship.

1839. — Bravo became President. Civil war raged. Bravo's term was brief, and anarchy ensued.

1841. — Santa Anna again Dictator. Uprisings, pronunciamentos, surprises, revolutions, rife in all parts of the country.

1844. — Santa Anna was banished after much bloodshed, and Canalizo took his place.

1845. — Herrera became President. Revolutions continued.

1846. — Santa Anna again became President.

1847. — War with the United States.

1848. — On February 2 the Treaty of Guadalupe was signed, by which California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States, and Mexico received $15,000,000.

1853. — On April 1 Santa Anna again seized the reins of power and ruled as a despot until 1855. Despotism and desolation ruined the country, brigandage was universal, bloodshed perennial.

1854. — In this year the uprisings took more definite shape, and became known as the Ayutla revolution, with the liberal party supporting it. It was intended to restore the constitutional government.

1855. — The Ayutla revolution was successful, and on October 4 General Juan Alvarez was proclaimed President. He resigned in a short time, and General Comonfort assumed the office.

1856. — A constitutional convention was held, and radical reforms inaugurated. Mexico had a rupture with Spain.

1857. — On February 5 a Constitution was proclaimed, and General Comonfort was declared to be President.

On December 11 Comonfort assumed office, abolished the Constitution, dissolved Congress, and proclaimed himself Dictator.

1858. — Almost immediately after Comonfort abolished the Constitution Benito Juarez raised the standard of revolt at Vera Cruz, and the bloody "War of Reform" began.

1859. — War and devastation were everywhere. Juarez was generally successful. The government of Juarez at Vera Cruz was recognized by the American envoy MacLean.

In the city of Mexico one transformation after another occurred. Zuloaga overthrew Comonfort, and assumed the presidency. He soon abdicated in favor of Miramon, the General of the conservative forces who had supported Comonfort in establishing the dictatorship. Miramon had no liking for the job, and restored Zuloaga. A tumultuous disorder was everywhere, and outrages were committed on the British legation and against all foreigners.

1860. — The conservatives were completely overthrown, and capitulated at Guadalajara, and Miramon saved himself by flight. Benito Juarez entered the capital and declared himself President.

1861. — Juarez issued decrees confiscating practically all the church property of Mexico, estimated at from $350,000,000 to $400,000,000. He promulgated measures of great severity against

the religious orders, separated the Church from the State, and declared marriage to be a civil contract only.

In December of this year England, Spain, and France made hostile demonstrations against Mexico and occupied Vera Cruz. This was caused by the numberless outrages committed against foreigners and the contempt with which Juarez treated the claims of the respective governments.

1862. — England and Spain withdrew their forces, but France continued the war. On May 5 the French were severely defeated at Puebla. Receiving reinforcements, the French continued fighting their way to the capital and defeated the forces of Juarez in numerous engagements.

1863. — The French took possession of the city of Mexico. Louis Napoleon of France offered the crown of Mexico to the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, who, upon being advised that the people of Mexico desired it, accepted it.

1864. — Maximilian arrived in Mexico in June, and was crowned Emperor amid the most extraordinary demonstrations of popular rejoicing and approval.

1865–1867. — Benito Juarez again raised the flag of revolution. His forces were defeated on all sides by the French armies. At the end of our own Civil War General Sheridan was sent with a powerful force of seasoned regulars into Texas, ready to expel by force if necessary the French troops from Mexico. A peremptory demand was thereupon made by the United States on Louis Napoleon that he withdraw his army from Mexico. He was forced to accede, and with this his dreams of universal Latin fusion vanished into thin air.

Deprived of the support of French arms, Maximilian was unable to sustain himself against the great fighter Juarez.

1867. — Maximilian was captured, and on June 19 the Emperor and his two generals, Miramon and Meijra, were shot at Queretaro by orders of Juarez. The assassination marks Juarez as a savage. It is a blot on the administration at Washington which nothing can palliate or excuse. Juarez could not have captured Maximilian except through the intervention of the United States, so that it was the bounden obligation of our government to see that the rules of civilized warfare were respected.

In July Juarez proclaimed himself President.

1868–1869. — Various pronunciamentos by Santa Anna and others were promulgated, and serious disturbances took place in many places.

1872. — President Juarez died in office on July 18, and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada succeeded him.

1873. — A new Constitution was adopted, on the same general lines as that of 1857, but containing many new provisions. This Constitution with sundry amendments remains in force to-day.

1874–1875. — Revolutions in various parts of the country.

1876. — President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was overthrown by a revolution which began at Tuxtepec and ended with the battle of Tecoac, on November 16.

1877. — In April General Porfirio Diaz became President.

1880. — General Diaz selected General Manuel Gonzalez to succeed him for the ensuing term, Diaz of course being the real "power behind the throne."

1884. — General Porfirio Diaz again assumed the presidency, which he has held up to the present time (December, 1907) without opposition. The indications are that he will remain in that position as long as he lives.

From now on the history of Mexico is the personal biography of Porfirio Diaz, and the reader is referred to the sketch of his life in another chapter. The outline of Santa Anna's life, also given in another chapter, contains mention of historic facts which it has not been deemed necessary to repeat here.

He who compares the stability and prosperity of modern Mexico with the anarchy of the old régime must be amazed at the contrast. The Encyclopædia Britannica says:

"As many as three hundred successful or abortive revolutions are recorded during the brief but stormy life of Mexican independence. But amid the confusion of empires, republics, dictatorships, and military usurpations, succeeding each other with bewildering rapidity, the thoughtful student will detect a steady progress towards the ultimate triumph of those Liberal ideas which lie at the base of true national freedom. . . . Between 1821 and 1868 the form of government was changed ten times; over fifty persons succeeded each other as presidents, dictators, or emperors; both emperors were shot, Iturbide in 1824, Maximilian in 1867, and according to some calculations there occurred at least three hundred pronunciamentos."

No more excellent concrete example of the curse of anarchy and military dictatorships and of the blessings of good government can be found than in the history of Mexico.

CHAPTER XV

SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS, PRESIDENTS, DICTATORS, AND JEFE SUPREMOS OF CENTRAL AMERICA

IT is not intended to give other than the briefest outline of the interminable broils of Central America. The history might with propriety be called a Century of Anarchy. Those who are interested in the details of the doings of the rabble of lunatics who have deluged that rich and beautiful land with blood for a century are referred to Hubert Bancroft's work on "The History of Central America." I have neither time, space, nor patience to give other than the merest bird's-eye view of the perennial carnage, under the name of revolution, which has branded these countries, so far as their so-called governments are concerned, as three fourths barbarous and entirely criminal. An idea of the eternal flux of war can be formed by a simple inspection of the list of alleged Presidents of one of these countries, Honduras. Each of the others is substantially the same. But there is a limit to the space at my disposal. Battles must be dismissed with a word, and whole revolutions with a sentence. Since 1824 Honduras has had more than one hundred Presidents, all of them elected with the machete, — one continuous, unending, unremitting period of devastation and bloodshed. If it were worth while to occupy time with the disgraceful recital, a similar list of Presidents of our other "Sister Republics" of Central America could be given. A mere list of the battles would fill pages, — a record more horrible than that of Venezuela, — but no good purpose would be subserved by wasting space on them.

Mr. Antonio R. Vallejo was commissioned by the government of Honduras to write a history of that country, which was published at the Government Printing Office, Tegucigalpa, in 1882. The following list of Presidents, Supreme Chiefs, etc., of that country up to date of publication is taken from Mr. Vallejo's book. Since that date the list has been made from official reports to the United States government made by its ministers and consuls:

First Chief, Dionisio Herrera, September 16, 1824; was sent to Guatemala a prisoner after the fall of Comayagua, May 10, 1827.

First Chief, Jeronimo Zelaya, September, 1827.

Provisional Chief, Cleto Bendana, September 12, 1827.

Adviser, Francisco Morazan, November, 1827.

First Chief, Jeronimo Zelaya, June, 1828; his authority was only recognized by one department, Santa Barbara.

Provisional Vice-Chief, Diego Vijil, June 30, 1828.

Vice-Chief, Diego Vijil, March 5, 1829.

First Chief, Francisco Morazan, December 2, 1829.

Adviser, Juan A. Arias, December 24, 1829.

Supreme Chief, Francisco Morazan, April 22, 1830.

Adviser, J. Santos del Valle, July 28, 1830.

First Chief, José Antonio Marquez, March 12, 1831.

Adviser, Francisco Milla, March 22, 1832.

First Chief, Joaquin Rivera, January 7, 1833.

Vice-Chief, Francisco Ferrera, September 24, 1833; on January, 1841, Ferrera returned to rule again under the title "President of the State."

Adviser, José M. Bustillo, September 10, 1835; in August, 1839, he exercised the executive power again, under the title of "President interim."

Adviser, José M. Martinez, January 1, 1837.

First Chief, Justo José Herrera, May 28, 1837.

Adviser, José M. Martinez, September 3, 1838.

Adviser, Lino Matute, November 12, 1838.

Adviser, Juan Francisco de Moline, January 9, 1839.

Adviser, Felipe Medina, April 13, 1839.

Adviser, José Alvarado, April 15, 1839.

Adviser, José M. Guerero, April 27, 1839.

Acting President, Mariano Garrigo, August 10, 1839.

President interim, José M. Bustillo, August 20, 1839.

Magistracy of Ministers, Monico Bueso, Francisco Aguilar, August 27, 1839.

Adviser, F. Zelaya y Ayes, September 21, 1839.

Constitutional President, Francisco Ferrera, January 1, 1841.

Magistracy of Ministers, Juan Morales, Julian Tercero, A. Alvarado, January 1, 1843.

Constitutional President, Francisco Ferrera, February 23, 1843.

Magistracy of Ministers, C. Alvarado, C. Chavez, October, 1844.

Constitutional President, Francisco Ferrera, November, 1844.

Magistracy of Ministers, C. Alvarado, C. Chavez, January 1, 1845.

Constitutional President, Coronado Chavez, January 8, 1845.

Magistracy of Ministers, C. Alvarado, F. Ferrera, S. Guardiola, January 1, 1847.

President of State, Dr. Juan Lindo, February 12, 1847.

President of State, Dr. Juan Lindo, July 16, 1848.

Vice-President, Felipe Bustillo, 1848; in 1850 rebelled against the government of Lindo, and put Senator Miguel Bustamente in the executive power, but he lasted only forty days.

Senator, Francisco Gomez, February 1, 1852.

Constitutional President, Trinidad Cabanas, March 1, 1852.

Provisional Supreme Chief of the Republic of Central America, Francisco Casteyon, October 28, 1852.

Senator, Francisco Gomez, May 9, 1853.

Constitutional President, General T. Cabanas, December 31, 1853.
Vice-President, J. Santiago Buezo, October 18, 1855.
Senator, Francisco Aguilar, November 8, 1855.
Constitutional President, General S. Guardiola, February 17, 1856.
Constitutional President, General S. Guardiola, February 7, 1860.
Senator, Francisco Montes, January 11, 1862.
Senator, General José Maria Medina, February 3, 1862.
Vice-President, Victoriano Castellanos, February 4, 1862.
Senator, Francisco Montes, December 4, 1862.
Senator, General José Maria Medina, June 21, 1863.
Senator, Francisco Inestroza, January 1, 1864.
Constitutional President, General José Maria Medina, February 15, 1864.
Senator-adviser, Lawyer Crescencio Gomez, May 15, 1865.
Constitutional President, General José Maria Medina, September 1, 1865.
Provisional President, General José Maria Medina, September 28, 1865.
Designated, according to the new Constitution, Attorney Crescencio Gomez, October 2, 1865.
Constitutional President, General José Maria Medina, February, 1866.
Representative and First Designated, General Juan Lopez, April 27, 1867.
Constitutional President, Lieutenant-General José Maria Medina, November 21, 1867.
Magistracy of Ministers, José Maria Aguirre and Elias Cacho, May, 1868.
Designated Deputy, Francisco Cruz, September 5, 1869.
President, General José Maria Medina, January 2, 1870.
President, General José Maria Medina, February 2, 1870.
Designated Deputy, Inocente Rodriguez, 1871.
President by Revolution, General F. Xatruch, March 26, 1871.
President, General José Maria Medina, May 17, 1871.
Designated Deputy, Inocente Rodriguez, July 2, 1871.
President, General José Maria Medina, October 20, 1871.
Designated Deputy, Crescencio Gomez, April 5, 1872.
President by Revolution, Attorney Cileo Arias, May 12, 1872.
Semi-President by Rebellion, General Juan Antonio Medina, July 16, 1872.
President by Revolution, Ponciano Leira, November 23, 1873.
Provisional President nominated by the National Convention, Ponciano Leira, April 29, 1874.
Constitutional President, Ponciano Leira, February 2, 1875.
President by Revolution, General José Maria Medina, December 16, 1875.
Designated President, José Maria Zelaya, January 13, 1876.
Constituted President, Ponciano Leira, January, 1876.
President, Minister General Marcelino Mejia, June 8, 1876.
President, Attorney Crescencio Gomez, June 8, 1876.
Magistracy of Ministers, Attorneys Colindres and Mejia, August 12, 1876.
President, General José Maria Medina, August 16, 1876.
President, by Proclamation of the Hondurans, Marco A. Soto, August 27, 1876.
Pseudo-President, by anarchy, Salvador Cruz, August 30, 1876; this government only lasted five days, and Dr. Soto regained power.
Constitutional President, Dr. Marco A. Soto, May 30, 1877.
Magistracy of Ministers, Ramon Rosa, Enrique Gutierrez, A. Zelaya, June 10, 1880.

Constitutional President, Dr. Marco A. Soto, July 30, 1880.
President by the New Constitution, Dr. Marco A. Soto, February 1, 1881.
Magistracy of Ministers, Enrique Gutierrez, Luis Bogran, Rafael Alvarado, May 9, 1883.
President, Luis Bogran, 1884.
Military Dictator, General Sanchez, 1890.
President, Luis Bogran, 1890.
Constitutional President, General Ponciano Leira, 1891.
Dictator, General Policarpo Bonilla, 1891.
President, General Leira, 1891.
Provisional President, General Vasquez, 1892.
Military Dictator, General Bonilla, 1892.
Military Dictator, General Vasquez, 1893.
Military Dictator, General Policarpo Bonilla, 1893.
Constitutional President, General Bonilla, 1894.

Mr. Richard Lee Fearn prepared a brief outline of the revolutions of the Central American States, from documents in the Library of Congress, from which the following is given as sufficient for general information. The student who desires more minute details is referred to Bancroft. Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Costa Rica, all have a history very similar to that of Honduras. These little half-breed dictatorships have had more "rulers" since their independence than all the nations of Europe combined have had in the past thousand years.

Guatemala

1825. — April, Arce elected first President Central American Republic, followed by two years' fighting.

1828. — February, "Arce retired without resigning."

1829. — April, General Francisco Morazan, of Honduras, overthrew the central government, establishing Barrundia as President, subsequently taking the office himself.

1838. — February, Rafael Carrera, mob leader, seized Guatemala, destroyed Morazan's power, leading in 1840 to destruction of Central American Republic.

1844. — Rafael Carrera caused Guatemala to elect him President, had his term extended in 1854 "for life," and ruled till his death in 1865.

1870. — Justo Rufino Barrios, after several years' fighting, secured absolute control of government and had himself elected President.

1887. — June, President Manuel L. Barillas established temporary dictatorship on account of revolutionary bands menacing government.

1890. — State of anarchy throughout country: son of Barrios, late Dictator, and numerous other discontents, encouraged by Ezeta, President of Salvador, opposed Barillas, who continued Dictator. General Alfonso Irungaray issued a pronunciamento, and, joined by

1500 deserters, seized the capital, but failed to hold it. Dr. Rafael Ayala, "actual" Vice-President, set up a rival government, which lasted only a few months, until Barillas obtained peace with Salvador through mediation of the American minister.

1891. — Barillas kept busy suppressing small risings.

1897. — June to October, futile revolt, led by Vice-President Morales, with much fighting, because National Assembly had prolonged term of President Barrios four years.

1898. — Barrios murdered by British subject. Cabrera, friend of late Dictator, was proclaimed Acting President, in the absence of Vice-President Morales, who returned to take his place by force; but (September) Cabrera was elected President.

Salvador

No peace at all until 1865.

1872. — Liberals, assisted by Honduras, overthrew President Duenas, who had been installed by Guatemala in 1865.

1876. — Valle ousted from presidency by Guatemalans.

1890. — June 22, President Mendenez killed at anniversary banquet. General Carlos Ezeta arrived, with 600 men, and was proclaimed Provisional President.

Zaldivar, who had been living in Paris, and Alvarez, in Guatemala, raised forces in their own behalf, and General Rivas raised forces in behalf of Vice-President Ayala.

Congress in September "unanimously elected" Carlos Ezeta Provisional President until March, 1891.

1891. — Numerous plots against Ezeta, who had himself elected for four years' term. Ayala, his principal rival, and several others were assassinated.

1894. — General Rafael Antonio Gutierrez and army officers started revolution against Ezeta, April (Carlos, President, and Antonio, Vice-President), who fled (June). Gutierrez proclaimed himself President, June 24.

1895. — Ezeta brothers made a weak attempt to reassert themselves.

1896. — Several small outbreaks.

1898. — General Tomas Regolado headed an insurrection just before election of successor to Gutierrez and established provisional government without bloodshed.

Nicaragua

1824–1840. — Continuous fighting; numerous successful revolts; all rulers chosen by force.

1855. — William Walker (filibuster) captured government and elected himself President in 1856.

1891. — Roberto Sacasa "had himself elected"; small uprisings, because he expelled prominent men, quickly quelled.

1893. — Joaquin Zavala and others united to overthrow Sacasa; organized provisional government, with Morales nominal President; American minister mediated, Sacasa resigning to Machado until election could be held. Zavala's army was admitted to Managua to disband, but seized the town (July), Zavala proclaiming himself President, but gave way (August) to Zelaya, chosen as a compromise between opposing political parties. Colonel Ortiz, with 10,000 armed men, had in the mean time captured Corinto and proclaimed himself provisional President, but finally recognized the election of Zelaya.

1894. — Marked by small disaffections in favor of Ortiz.

1896. — Determined attempt to overthrow Zelaya, who promptly declared himself Dictator.

(February) Vice-President Baca proclaimed himself provisional President, was assisted by Ortiz. Zelaya, helped by Honduras, triumphed (May).

1898. — February, small revolts suppressed.

1899. — Revolt in Mosquito territory very brief.

Costa Rica

1838. — May, Braulio Carillo overthrew Jefe of Costa Rica.

1841. — General Morazan, of Honduras, seized government in April, to be driven out in September.

1855. — July, General Juan Lopez drove out President Cabanas and caused new election to be held.

1859. — August 14, Juan Rafael Mora, who had been elected by the masses three months before, was deposed by the property owners, merchants, and army, and a successor duly elected.

1860. — Mora landed with 400 men, but was captured and shot (September).

1869. — Lorenzo Salazar, Maximo Blanco, and others headed a pronunciamento, deposed President Castro, and installed in his place Jesus Jiminez, who was First Designado.

1870. — Jiminez similarly deposed, and Bruno Carranza proclaimed in his place.

1877. — Revolutionary movement forced President Herrara to surrender office to Tomas Guardia, who was President in 1872, and who the year before was First Designado, Herrara being Second.

1892. — President Rodriguez dissolved Congress and suspended constitutional rights because of difference in policy; no fighting.

1893. — Conspiracy to overthrow Rodriguez nipped in the bud.

1902. — Ascension Esquivel, President.

1906. — Señor Cleto Gonzalez Viquez, President.

CHAPTER XVI

CUBAN REVOLUTION OF 1906

AFTER a century of bloodshed, which finally involved the United States in a war with Spain, Cuba was given her "independence" and was proclaimed a Republic. Scarcely were the United States armies withdrawn than did the spirit of disorder assert itself.

In February, 1906, an incipient revolution occurred in Cuba, under the leadership of the liberal Senator Morua Delgardo. An attack was made on the cuartel at Guanabacoa, and many horses captured. The attacking party was composed exclusively of liberals.

Intrigues and plots were fomented in all parts of the island during the next few months, and by the latter part of July the liberal party was ready to inaugurate a revolution on an important scale.

The leader of this movement was General José Miguel Gomez, who had been the liberal candidate for the presidency in the fall of 1905. General Gomez was defeated by T. Estrada Palma, who then held the office of President, and was the candidate of the moderates. This so-called election was of course a farce. Wholesale arrests were made of the liberals as they were preparing to vote, and hundreds of them thrown in jail. An affair which caused great excitement at the time was the killing of Congressman Villuendas, the national liberal candidate for President, by the police, at Cienfuegos, on September 22, 1905. The responsibility for this crime was laid at the doors of the Palma government, the alleged motive being that he was considered a dangerous rival. No thorough investigation of the affair was ever made by the authorities. Intimidations, bribery, and extensive ballot frauds were perpetrated, so that the majority of the liberals refrained from voting altogether. While it is true that these fraudulent methods were almost universal, it is useless to moralize on the subject. The fact is that a real election is an impossibility in Latin America. Had the liberals been in power, the intimidation, assaults, arrests, and wholesale frauds would have been perpetrated just the same. The Latin-Americans know less of real popular democratic government than do the Russians, and any attempt to hold elections is a mere humbug.

But General Gomez was not satisfied with the election which placed Palma in power a second time. He determined to hold an election of

his own, with those improved automatic voting-machines, the Mauser and the machete.

Early in August, 1906, there were rumors of serious movements in Cuba. The government sent out the report that these were merely the uprisings of bandits. On August 18 the rural guards attacked a band of 30 insurgents, under the leadership of Colonel Pozo, near Rio Hondo, province of Pinar del Rio. About the same time a band, under the leadership of Enrique Mesa, alleged to be an outlaw, came into conflict with the government troops in Santiago province. These affairs were pooh-poohed by the government, as of no importance.

Two days later it was reported that numerous bands of guerrillas had devastated all parts of Cuba. One band of 150 men under General Quintin Banderas, a negro leader, attacked the government forces at Hoyo Colorado, near Havana.

On August 20 General Pino Guerra, a rebel leader, was reported to be attacking the town of Pinar del Rio with about 800 men. The city was defended by only about 300 rural guards. Uprisings were also reported at Sancti Spiritus, in the province of Santa Clara, under the leadership of General Gomez.

On August 21 it was reported that General José Miguel Gomez had left Yaguajay, province of Santa Clara, with a band of revolutionists. Guines, a town twenty miles south of Havana, was occupied by the insurgents without serious fighting. Many arrests were made in Havana and in all parts of Cuba, and a great deal of desultory fighting by small bands took place. It was now estimated that there were about 2000 men engaged in the revolutionary movement.

At this time the Cuban government stated that the revolution was of little or no importance and that it would be subdued within two or three weeks. Señor Mariano Corona, representative from Santiago province, director of *El Cubano Libre*, speaking for the government, said that this was the fourth revolution which President Palma had been called upon to subdue since he had held office, that the revolutionists were unarmed and of no consequence, that the government had ample arms and resources, and that the revolutionists would be wiped out of existence and wholly annihilated within a short time.

On August 22 General Rodriguez, commander of the rural guards, called the newspaper correspondents into his office at Havana, and told them that Cuba was quite able to cope with the revolution, that the reports about insurgent bands were greatly exaggerated, etc. President Palma also gave out an interview saying there was no cause for alarm, that the movement in Santa Clara was small, in Matanzas trifling, and in Pinar del Rio of little consequence.

On this date the bands of Guerra, Pozo, and other insurrectionary leaders, numbering 400 men, united at San Luis, and attacked the rural guards under Major Laurent and Lieutenant Azcuy and defeated them.

On August 23 it was reported that the Cuban government had asked the United States for 8 rapid-fire guns and artillerymen to work them. General Pino Guerra with a strong force captured San Juan de Martinez, the terminus of the Western Railway. In a conflict at the Silveira farm, near Punta Brava, fifteen miles from Havana, General Quentin Banderas with a small force was attacked at night by 38 mounted rural guards under Captain Ignacio Delgado and Lieutenant Martinez. The rebels were routed, and Banderas killed.

Señor O'Farrill, Secretary of State and Justice, and Acting Minister of the Interior, resigned. It was admitted by everybody outside of the government that the entire island was in a ferment, and the situation exceedingly grave.

On August 24 it was reported that an unsuccessful attempt had been made the previous evening in Havana to assassinate General Emilio Nuñez, governor of the province of Havana. Congressman Carlos Mendieta, of Santa Clara, took up arms against the government. Colonel Reinos organized a band of insurgents at Rancho Veloz. Louis Perez, liberal Governor of Pinar del Rio, joined the insurgents. The mayor of Aguacate, in Havana province, and practically all the inhabitants, declared themselves in insurrection. General Pino Guerra, with over 2000 insurgent troops, engaged Colonel Estrampe, with a somewhat smaller government force, in the province of Pinar del Rio, and defeated him. General José Miguel Gomez, revolutionary leader at Sancti Spiritus, was captured and put in jail in Havana.

San Juan y Martinez was recaptured by the government troops under Colonels Bacallao and Avalo. A conflict occurred between a detachment of rural guards and a band of insurgents at San Antonio de los Baños, in which several men were killed. A band of revolutionists under Manuel Gonzalez was dispersed near Colon. Campos Marquetti, member of Congress for Artemisa, province of Pinar del Rio, joined the revolt. The town of Guanes, on the Western Railway, was occupied by Pino Guerra.

On August 25 President Palma called for volunteers, offering chiefs of battalions and regiments $200 a month; adjutants, $125 a month; captains, $100 a month; and soldiers, $2 a day.

A body of 150 rural guards under Major Gomez attacked and dispersed Reinoso's band of 200 insurgents at Cascajal, near Santa Rosa, killing about 20 rebels. Revolutionary bands of from 10 to 100 men were overrunning all parts of Havana province. Another band of insurgents was organized at Remedios, province of Santa Clara, by Colonel Severiano Garcia and Captain Cepeda. A group of 40 men under Quentin Bravo, a daring fighter in the Spanish wars, joined the insurrection. Rural guards fought at Rio Blanco with a large insurgent band, under Colonel Asbert, who was wounded. Seventy

revolutionists occupied the village of Arroyo Naranjo, five miles from Havana.

There were shipped from New York for President Palma, on the steamship Mexico, 2000 Remington rifles and 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition.

On August 26 President Palma announced that he was considering a decree for a general amnesty, in the hope of allaying the widespread hostility. Nearly every town in Santa Clara was in revolution. A former mayor of Trinidad took the field at the head of 100 rebels. The mayor of Las Cruces led 200 revolutionists into the field. Orestes Ferrara, professor of law in Havana University, led an insurgent band in Santa Clara.

On August 28 the government of Cuba asserted that it would subdue the revolution in a short time. Mr. M. C. Aldamo, delegate of the treasury of the Cuban government, said: "With 20,000 of the highest-paid soldiers in the world in the field, with all the rapid-fire guns procurable, hot from the factories, the Cuban government will have obliterated the revolution by the last of September. It will not have crushed it merely; it will have wiped it out."

On August 28 the government despatched 300 infantry and cavalry, under General Francisco Pereza, for Batabano; also 100, under General Bernaba Boza, for Pinar del Rio. The Governor of Santa Clara telegraphed that the insurgents in that province were surrendering; but Captain Asbert had a large band of revolutionists near Havana.

Major José Augustin Castellanos, an emissary of General Pino Guerra, arrived in New York, and stated that the insurgents demanded a new election in Cuba, and that unless the United States intervened to bring this about, the rebels would fight until victorious or completely defeated.

On August 29 the town of Cabanos was reported captured by the insurgents. It is a place of 4000 inhabitants, located about thirty-five miles west-southwest of Havana. Campos Marquetti, a negro member of Congress with a band of insurgents, raided the Mercedita Sugar Estate. The whole of Cuba seemed to be alive with bands of insurgents or of rural guards, and skirmishes were numerous.

On August 30 it was reported that a heavy battle was expected near Guanes between 1000 cavalry, under General Avalos, and the revolutionary General Pino Guerra. A battle of three hours' duration occurred between 150 rural guards, under Captain Collazo and General Alfred Rego, and about 300 revolutionists. The latter were dispersed with a loss of about 20 in killed and wounded. About 3000 insurgents were reported in the neighborhood of Cienfuegos. Assaults and outrages by revolutionary bands in Santa Clara were numerous. Guerra's men plundered and looted Galafre and Sabalo. At Calabazar, in Havana province, a fight took place between 50 insurgents

and 15 rural guards, the latter being defeated. A similar fight took place at Artemisa, province of Pinar del Rio. Machine guns in Havana were manned by American volunteers, which provoked much criticism among American residents of Cuba, who believed that our countrymen should have remained entirely neutral.

On August 31 numerous demands were made by Americans for protection, and forwarded by Mr. Sleeper, the United States Chargé in Cuba, to the State Department. The Constancia Sugar Company, the Mercedita Sugar Estate Company, and others were the complainants. The town of Guanes, in Pinar del Rio, was reported to be besieged. Passenger trains were fired upon by insurgents at Aguada and near Rodas, Santa Clara. Severe fighting took place in the outskirts of Cienfuegos. There was a rising at Songo, twenty miles from Santiago, Colonel Carlos Dubois being at the head. A strong uprising in Santiago province was reported. Fighting of a desultory kind took place at Cardenos, Matanzas province. It was reported that there were 3000 insurgents in the vicinity of Cienfuegos, and that all the small towns in the vicinity were under their control. Pillage was widespread. A detachment of rural guards dispersed 125 revolutionists near Esperanza, killing 10 of them.

Talk of American Intervention

During all this time there was a great deal of talk about American intervention. The sentiment of both sides on this conflict was doubtless accurately represented by *La Discusion*, the semi-official organ of the government, which said editorially:

"Permanent intervention would be worse than death. It would be preferable if the Caribbean should engulf the Pearl of the Antilles."

The article further appeals thus to racial sentiment:

"The colored race may tremble before the possibility of intervention. Americans hate and despise negroes. Even their own negroes, with whom they have been in contact for two hundred years, are treated like dogs, lynched and hardly considered human. If it is so with negroes of their own land and language, what would happen to the Cuban negro?"

As to what the white people might expect under American intervention, the article goes on to say:

"Our courteous comrades in the public departments will be superseded by men of the type of Bliss [General Tasker H. Bliss], who, when Administrator of Customs, asked nobody to be seated in his office, and who forced the use of the English language. Also instead of our deliberate and refined judges we should have Judge Pitchers [alluding to Captain William L. Pitchers

of the Eighth United States Infantry, who in 1899 was Police Magistrate and Supervisor of Police of Havana], with their ten dollars or ten days. Furthermore, we shall have with us beer-drinking American officers with clanking spurs, masters of all, captivating our adorable virgins. That this may occur Cubans fight against Cubans, making room that Finlanders, Germans, Americans, and Spaniards may come and enjoy the fecundity of our soil and air, the murmuring of our rivers, the beauty of our moonlit nights, the kiss of our sea, and even the love of our women, all because it is said the elections were not fair. Is there no other remedy except placing our necks under the yoke of Uncle Sam? This war can have no other end but intervention."

While the above opinion on the subject of intervention was expressed by the organ of the moderates, a similar view was given out by Pino Guerra, the revolutionary leader, as follows:

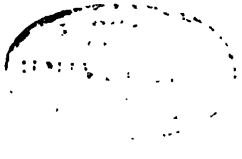
"The revolutionists like not American intervention if the latter means military occupation of the island and the establishment of an American administration here. We want our independence. The Americans would merely make us slaves. The kind of intervention we want is that the American government recognize the elections as fraudulent and send a note to President Palma requesting him to call new elections and show fair play. We are fighting against tyranny. If the Americans come to deprive us of our independence, we will fight also against them."

Americans who believe these Latin-American buccaneers to be the friends of the United States should be placed at their mercy for a short time. It is certain that their views would then materially change.

On September 1 it was reported that the insurrection was growing constantly, that there were 1500 revolutionists south of Artemisa, and that the disorder had spread to Puerto Principe. At Moron 70 men took up arms under Garcia Canizares, Speaker of the House of Representatives under the liberal régime. At Arroyo Blanco, near Ciego de Avila, a force of 200 men was organized by the revolutionary General Dellon Sanchez. General Carillo and Campos Marquetti, the negro congressman, with 300 insurgents, took possession of Bahia Honda, in Havana province, and about 50 recruits from the town joined them. A revolutionary band of 200 raided Ranchuelo, near Cienfuegos. The insurgent leader Urbano Sanchez was captured at Songo by rural guards.

On September 2 it was stated that President Palma had called General Cebreco, one of the proposed peace commissioners, to the palace to inform him that "the government had no concessions to offer or accept, and no intention other than fighting the matter through and suppressing the insurrection."

El Economista, the leading financial weekly, said that the revolution, besides costing millions of dollars to industries which are operating upon foreign capital, would, should it last several weeks, cause



ruin to the Vuelta Abajo tobacco crop, amounting to $12,000,000 or $15,000,000, besides a year's loss to the farmers. The paper went on to say that the loss to the cattle interests would be from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000. Concerning the sugar crop, it said that a continuation of the trouble for two months would mean a loss of from 100,000 to 200,000 tons on account of lack of labor. It reckoned the losses to the fruit crop at about $4,000,000, and stated that all these losses could at best be only partially remedied unless there were a prompt effort for peace or the immediate assistance of the United States were requested.

On September 4 it was stated that apprehension in Havana was increasing. At least two thirds of all the people in the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Santa Clara, and Havana were stated to be hostile to the government.

Americans returning to New York stated that the revolution in Cuba was more serious than the despatches indicated; that "little is known in this country of what is transpiring in the island, because of the cut wires, and the censorship of the government, which controls the lines."

M. C. Aldama, press agent of the Palma government in New York, gave out a report of a battle lasting three days, in which the insurgents lost 100 men.

The revolutionary junta in New York gave out reports of numerous rebel victories. One engagement took place near Matanzas, the rebels, under Colonel Cepero, killing a number of rural guards, including their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Jorge. At Cotorro, in Havana province, the government troops under General Pedro Delgado, lost 90 men in killed, wounded, and deserted. Colonel Estrampas, with 180 rural guards, was reported defeated with a loss of 40 killed and 10 deserted, by Colonel Asbert, the revolutionary leader in Pinar del Rio province. Juan Santos, mayor of Punta Bravo, near Havana, revolted against the Palma government, with 50 men.

On September 6 a truce and armistice for ten days was, through the efforts of General Menocal, proposed by the government and accepted by most of the liberal leaders. Pino Guerra, however, refused to accede to this arrangement unless the government would stipulate to annul the elections for President and congressmen.

On September 7 Pino Guerra, who had a force of between 3000 and 4000 men, cut the Western Railway beyond Pinar del Rio City, by blowing up two railway bridges. He then took possession of San Juan y Martinez. Machete fights were continuous between the rural guards and the insurgents under Loynaz del Castillo, in Havana province. A squadron of 100 cavalry deserted and joined the insurgents at Cienfuegos.

On September 8 President Palma called an extraordinary session of Congress, to convene on the 14th instant, for the purpose of considering the alarming situation. An armored train with 350 troops

encountered a band of revolutionists between Herradura and Consolacion del Sur, and a fight ensued, without decisive effect. It was reported that Colonel Avalos, commander of the government troops in Pinar del Rio, was surrounded by the superior forces of Guerra. The mayor of Guayabal, near Guanajay, took his rural guards and joined the revolutionists.

On September 9 it was reported that Colonel Avalo succeeded in forming a junction with the armored train near Consolacion del Sur. The insurgents attacked the train at this point, but were beaten off, and many killed by the machine guns, under the command of Captain Webster, an American.

On September 10 President Palma declared martial law, by decreeing the suspension of all constitutional guarantees and revoking all offers of amnesty. Many liberal leaders were arrested. The press despatches stated:

"Three hundred soldiers have been brought from Guanajay into Havana on account of the possibility of an attack on the capital.

"The rebel leader, Colonel Edward Guzman, has appointed Dr. Figueroa, President of the liberal party in Cienfuegos, to act as peace commissioner in his behalf.

"Four more batteries of machine guns from Havana arrived to-day in the region east of Consolacion del Sur, near the point where the rebels destroyed bridges and disabled the first armored train sent out. The second train was fired on several times this morning.

"Small bands of insurgents entered Paso Real at eleven o'clock this morning. They made no trouble, and later marched in the direction of the Santa Clara River.

"The battalion under Major Clews, to protect the men repairing the railroad, is moving westward. It will co-operate with Colonel Avalos and give the detachment under Captain Webster a fresh supply of ammunition.

"A troop train from Havana was attacked early this morning at Artemisa. The rebels were driven off with machine guns.

"Sixty more residents of Havana and its vicinity have been indicted for complicity with the rebels. The privilege of bail is refused to them.

"It now appears that the rebels are in possession of the junction, at Rincon, of the United Railway branches, and trains on the Western Line are stopped and searched at will. Rincon is fifteen miles southwest of Havana."

On September 11 Colonel Aguirre and J. A. Castellanos, of the Cuban revolutionary junta in New York, announced that there would soon be 20,000 insurgents under arms, and that they could capture Havana whenever they wished.

The administration at Washington took precautions to send warships to Key West and other points near Havana. The question of intervention under the Platt amendment was seriously considered by the administration.

On September 12 the situation in Cuba became more alarming, and the Washington government sent the cruiser Denver and gunboat

Marietta to Havana. In Cuba the government continued making large numbers of arrests of members of the liberal party.

"Those placed in jail include Representatives Ambrosio Borges, Augustin Garcia, and Osuna Antonio, Gonzalo Perez, editor of the *Liberal*, Alfonso Lopez, Santa Marina, Pelayo Garcia, Dr. Malberty, a former representative; Señor Felipe Gonzales, clerk of the House of Representatives; Señor Sarrin, Dr. Samuel Secades, and Señor Juan Ramon O'Farrill, former mayor of Havana, who was ousted from his post by Governor Nuñez in order to make room for a moderate successor. All efforts to find Alfredo Zayas have thus far been unsuccessful. It is rumored that Zayas has left the city and joined one of the rebel bands."

These arrests increased the bitterness of the liberals, and caused large numbers of men to join the insurrection, it being stated that more than 1000 men joined Pino Guerro's army, within one week, of their own accord. The insurgents in Santa Clara province, stated to number from 8000 to 12,000, destroyed several railroad bridges and did much damage to sugar estates. The rebels looted the town of Sierra Morena, near Sagua, and entered Cruces, carrying off $9000 of the town funds, also $1200 belonging to the post-office. A serious uprising was reported in the province of Santiago and the old province of Camaguey.

On September 13 at 5.30 P. M. a force of 155 men landed in Havana, from the U. S. cruiser Denver, for the protection of American interests. They camped in the Plaza de Armas, facing the palace. The force was commanded by Lieutenant-Commander M. L. Miller. President Palma had stated to Commander Colwell of the Denver that he could not guarantee the lives of Americans in Havana, and he therefore asked that marines be landed.

Many revolutionary outrages were reported, among them the destruction of the Hatuey Sugar Mill at Santo Domingo, Santa Clara province, valued at $2,000,000, and owned by Mr. Rabeu, an American; also the Homeguero and San José estates.

Cuban Congress Meets

On September 14 the Cuban Congress met in Havana, in extraordinary session, at the call of President Palma.

The President submitted a message deploring the conduct of the opposition. Who would have supposed, he asked, that with the advancing prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people with millions in the treasury after paying $19,000,000 to the army of liberation and investing $11,000,000 in public improvements, and with such splendid credit abroad, there could be Cubans who would conspire to change the constitutional order by placing armed force, violence, and anarchy before law, order, and peace, to the country's shame and sorrow?

Congress, although a quorum was not present, granted President Palma almost unlimited powers to prosecute the war, including the right to appropriate any of the public funds for war purposes.

On this date President Roosevelt sent a message to Señor Quesada, Cuban minister at Washington, warning the Cuban people of the danger and folly of their course and suggesting the possibility of intervention.

The American blue-jackets from the Denver who had landed at the request of President Palma returned to the vessel, it being understood that the Washington administration had disapproved of the landing.

Señor Zayas and General del Castillo, of the insurgent forces, sent messages to Commander Colwell of the Denver, offering to surrender their command to the American government.

Taft and Bacon sent to Cuba

On September 15 it was announced that the President had determined to send to Cuba Judge William H. Taft, Secretary of War, and Robert Bacon Assistant Secretary of State.

The Cuban insurgents attacked Santo Domingo, in Santa Clara province, but were repulsed. General Rodriguez with 400 rural guards attacked 1000 revolutionists under General del Castillo and Colonels Asbert and Acosta, at Wajay, twelve miles south of Havana, and dispersed them. A battle occurred at El Cano, ten miles southwest of Havana.

The American war-ships Des Moines and Dixie arrived at Havana. The Cleveland sailed from Norfolk for that port, and other war-ships were under way. On September 16 Messrs. Taft and Bacon left Washington for Havana. The battle-ships Louisiana, Virginia, and New Jersey sailed from Newport for Havana.

President Palma had a conference with the leading revolutionists, and announced an indefinite suspension of hostilities with a view to making peace before the arrival of Messrs. Taft and Bacon. This decree was issued on the recommendation of Señor Montalvo, the Secretary of Public Works, after a conference with José Miguel Gomez, who was then in prison, and General Menocal, Vice-President Mendez Capote, General Freyre Andrade, Señor Dolz, and others.

On September 17 the Cuban revolutionists at Bajucal definitely rejected the peace proposals. They demanded the unconditional annulment of the last elections. To this the Palma government refused to assent.

Several minor engagements were reported in Cuba. Colonel Dubois with 400 revolutionists attacked the rural guards at La Maya. A small force of insurgents were repulsed in San Felipe, near Batabano.

On September 18 many Americans from the Isle of Pines made

complaint to Minister Morgan that Cuban officials were molesting them in their homes, seizing their firearms, etc., which were absolutely necessary for their own protection.

At Los Palacios a fight occurred between 90 rural guards and a party of Guerra's revolutionists, in which the former were defeated. Guerra's men were reported as having committed many depredations. Considerable destruction to property by insurgents was reported on the Cuban Western Railroad, owned by an English company. Many bridges were destroyed, — among them, the bridges near Los Palacios, Santa Cruz, Taco Taco, and other points.

The State Department at Washington was advised by M. R. Spellman, of the Colonial Cuban Company, of New York, that the Esperanza Sugar Estate, near Cienfuegos, had been destroyed by Colonel Collada and a band of insurgents.

On September 19 Secretary of War Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon, who had arrived in Havana, listened to statements from the Presidents of the liberal and moderate parties. The conference was held at Minister Morgan's house, in the village of Marianao, near Havana, — about three miles' distance from Arroya Arenas, where an insurgent force under Colonel Baldomero Acosta was encamped.

A despatch from Santiago de Cuba stated that 50 armed men, mounted, under command of Captain Vicente Costa and Lieutenant Francisco Salmon, entered the town of Firmeza, and raided the Juragua mines, seizing explosives, etc. Several bands of insurrectionists were reported as having recently organized in this province, among them one of 150 men led by Juan Lopez.

The War Department at Washington exhibited great energy in preparing for all emergencies. General Bell, Chief of Staff, ordered Generals Barry and Duval home from the German military manœuvres, and General Funston was sent to Cuba. Horses, mules, and military supplies were rushed to available points, in case intervention should become necessary.

On September 20 Messrs. Taft and Bacon heard arguments and reports from a large number of the leaders of all parties, and representatives of business interests. Senator Alfredo Zayas represented the revolutionists in these conferences. Officials of the government declared they would not consider any proposition looking towards new elections.

A water famine was reported from Cienfuegos, owing to destruction of the waterworks at Jicotea by insurgents. The commander of the gunboat Marietta landed marines for the protection of American property. He placed 80 men on the Constancia estate, up the Danmaji River; 80 on the Soledad estate; and 120 on the Hormiguero estate. Revolutionists seized the coasting steamer Rik at Bahia Honda, and rifled the mails, robbing passengers, etc.

Raids were made on the Colonial Sugar Company, with headquarters at Constancia, and damage done to the extent of $25,000.

On September 21 further conferences were held between Messrs. Taft and Bacon and the leaders of the contending forces. The revolutionary leaders selected a committee to represent them, consisting of José Miguel Gomez, Juan Gualberto Gomez, ex-Senator Monteagudo, Carlos Garcia, Garcia Velez, Alfredo Zayas, and General del Castillo. Among the generals who took part in the conference were Pino Guerra, Machado, Ferrara, Asbert, Guas, Acosta, and Betancourt.

On September 22 the United States cruisers Minneapolis and Newark arrived in Havana. Captain Albert R. Couden, commander of the battle-ship Louisiana, stated that the American war-ships in the harbor could land 4000 men if necessary.

On September 23 conferences continued between the American officials and representatives of the Cuban factions.

On September 25 it was announced that President Palma, Vice-President Capote, and the moderate senators and representatives would resign.

Secretary Taft ordered the Marietta to despatch 30 men to Sagua la Grande, province of Santa Clara, to guard the Cuban Central Railroad, owned by an English company, which had already been damaged to the extent of $400,000.

The United States government continued to rush war-ships and marines to Cuban waters, making the total available landing force 11,000 men, with 12 war-vessels at hand.

On September 26 reports from all parts of Cuba indicated a virtual state of anarchy, in which the insurgent armies, made up of the worst elements, were indulging in a riot of loot and pillage. Brigadier Funston reached Havana, and was placed in immediate command of the American troops. The action of the moderates in deciding to resign all offices, leaving Cuba practically without a government, was severely criticised in all quarters. At the palace Secretary Fonts y Stirling spoke bitterly of America and Americans. Secretary Lamar said the Americans had behaved unjustly towards a government which had been acknowledged by all nations. Secretary Freyre de Andrade said that probably the moderates, when they saw the Cuban flag come down, would make war upon the Americans.

President Palma's letter announcing his irrevocable decision to resign was made public.

Vice-President Mendez Capote said:

"It is utterly impossible for us to reopen negotiations with the peace commissioners unless they compel the rebels to lay down their arms. The American commissioners have shown marked partiality. They have not regarded these men as rebels, but have simply treated with them as an armed force in the field. Never before has the American government treated with rebels. It was not done under the McKinley administration in the previous Cuban rev-

olution. It looks much as if the American war-ships were here for the purpose of backing up the rebel cause.

"The American navy, however, is not the only one. Other nations also have large interests in Cuba, and it would be easier for us to precipitate the intervention of some other government than that of the United States. What an easy thing it would be for us to destroy the property of British or German subjects, and how quickly we would see here the war-ships of these nations. We may not be the most enlightened people in the world, but we are not fools."

A meeting of moderates was held at the residence of Señor Dolz, President of the Senate, at which about sixty prominent men were present. A report of the meeting says:

"The speakers shouted denunciations of the American government, and hotly insisted that the moderate party should appeal to the powers of the world for protection against the usurpation of the sovereignty of Cuba by the United States. It was said that the government forces should fight to the death rather than submit to the terms insisted upon by the rebels, and one speaker depicted the horrors of negro domination, which would result, he said, from the threatened liberal ascendancy brought about with the assistance of the United States.

"Some of the most radical members present asserted that the government had plenty of dynamite in Havana which could be used to precipitate international complications by means of the destruction of foreign property. Several prominent men said that by using dynamite they could bring about intervention by Germany, or perhaps by Great Britain, while others announced that they knew that the foreign diplomats here would favor such a course. It was argued that the destruction of the German Bank and the damaging of English railroad property would soon result in European intervention. Certain American properties also were specifically mentioned as open to such attacks. Several speakers said that they would prefer Germany or Great Britain in Cuba to the United States.

"This frenzy subsided after an hour and a half, and the meeting then settled down to a consideration of the question whether it might not be possible to reopen negotiations with the peace commissioners."

On September 27 the moderate party endeavored to perpetuate the administration of President Palma by rejecting his resignation, but the President refused to reconsider his action.

It was reported that Secretary Taft and Mr. Bacon contemplated taking control of the island, but the announcement was made that American occupation would only be temporary.

Arrangements were made by the American General Staff and Admiral Converse to seize the fortifications of Havana and Cienfuegos the moment that an open rupture should appear inevitable.

Taft becomes Provisional Governor

On September 28 Secretary William H. Taft assumed the provisional governorship of Cuba.

On September 29 Governor Taft called on President Palma at the palace, and made necessary preparations to assume the reins of government. He was greeted by Mr. Belt, secretary to the President.

Governor Taft received a letter signed by General José Miguel Gomez and others of the conspiracy prisoners, as follows:

"We understand that the provisional government this day established in Cuba intends to carry out, so far as the same may be applicable to the changed conditions, the basis of the settlement which the peace commissioners recommended to both the Moderate and Liberal parties, including general amnesty for all political offenders. The undersigned, representing the insurgent forces in the field, by proper declaration hereby agree in behalf of such insurgent forces that they will at once lay down their arms, return to their homes, and restore the property taken by them for military purposes which may now be in their possession. We request the appointment of a commission by the provisional government to meet a similar commission appointed by us to arrange the details for the surrender of the arms and property, after which the insurgents will return to their homes."

Mr. Taft ordered the release of all conspiracy prisoners and appointed a commission as requested in the foregoing letter. The commission consisted of Brigadier-General Funston, president; General Menocal, General Agramonte, and Colonel Carlos Fernandez, to represent the Cubans, assisted by Major Ladd, U. S. A., and Lieutenant Mitchell, General Funston's aid, as recorder. The insurgent commission consisted of General José Miguel Gomez, J. G. Gomez, Manuel Lazo, Alfredo Zayas, Pelayo Garcia, S. G. Monteaguado, Carlos Garcia, and Demetrio Castillo.

All the prisoners were immediately set free, and went directly from the Presidio to the American legation, where they held a conference with Governor Taft regarding the details of the insurgent disarmament.

On September 30 General Funston landed 450 marines at Havana. The disarmament commission proceeded rapidly with its work.

On October 2 it was announced definitely from Washington that American occupation of Cuba would only be temporary. It was stated that ex-Governor Magoon would be selected for Governor of Cuba. The work of disarming the revolutionists proceeded rapidly in Cuba. Arrangements were made to send 1000 of Guerra's men home on special trains, while 1800 were to march home.

On October 3 Charles E. Magoon was designated as Provisional Governor of Cuba by President Roosevelt. General Bell was appointed as Commanding General. President Palma and his family left Havana for Matanzas on a special train.

On October 9 Governor Magoon arrived in Havana. Governor Taft's last act in the island was the issuing of a general amnesty decree. This proclamation granted pardon to all persons engaged in the killing of Congressman Villuendas at Cienfuegos, in September, 1905; to those implicated in killing the rural guards at Guanabacoa, in Febru-

ary, 1906, and, in fact, for all crimes which had been the outgrowth of the recent revolution.

On October 13 Judge and Mrs. Taft and Mr. and Mrs. Bacon sailed for the United States. Judge Taft issued a brief proclamation, which was printed in the official Gazette, in which he said:

"By direction and with the authority of the President of the United States, I hereby lay down the office of Provisional Governor of Cuba, assumed by me on August 29, and turn the same over to Charles E. Magoon, my successor."

Governor Magoon issued a proclamation, assuming the government of Cuba, which differed from Secretary Taft's in referring definitely to the Platt Amendment as the authority for the United States intervention. In his proclamation Governor Magoon said:

"The policy declared and the assurances given by Secretary Taft will be strictly adhered to and carried out. As Provisional Governor I shall exercise the powers and perform the duties provided for by Article 3 of the Appendix to the Constitution of Cuba, for the preservation of Cuban independence and the protection of life and property. As soon as it proves consistent with the attainment of these ends, I shall seek to bring about the restoration of the ordinary agencies and methods of government under the other and general provisions of the Cuban Constitution. All the provisions of the Constitution and laws which for the time being would be inconsistent with the exercise of the powers provided for by Article 3 of the Appendix must be deemed to be in abeyance. All the other provisions of the Constitution and laws continue in full force and effect."

CHAPTER XVII

LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS IN 1906 AND 1907

BRIGANDAGE and pillage, under the guise of revolution, continues throughout Haiti, Santo Domingo, Central America, and the northern part of South America, as bald and unrestrained to-day as at any time during the past century. That the reader may understand that the years 1906 and 1907 are in this respect no different from preceding years, the following very brief *résumé* is given of events occurring almost immediately prior to the publication of this work. No attempt can be made to give even a list of the battles and skirmishes, or to portray adequately the loss of life and property, and the horrible crimes which are inseparable from the excesses of debauched armies of criminals, led by men who are, in every proper sense of the term, bandits.

In the presence of this appalling disorder it is difficult to say which is the more absurd, — the soft and silly discussions of "peace conventions," or the fussy, meddling impotency of the State Department at Washington.

Revolution in Ecuador

Several bloody battles were fought in the beginning of 1906 in Ecuador. The following Associated Press despatch shows how the patriots of Ecuador celebrated the new year:

1906. — "Guayaquil, Ecuador, January 8. The first day of the year 1906 was chosen by the followers of General Alfaro, the former President, to raise the standard of revolution. The rebels intended rising in all the Republic the same day, but their plans were discovered and partly failed. The revolution commenced with an attack on Rio Bamba barracks by Colonel Emilio Maria Reran with several young Rio Bambanos [natives of Rio Bamba]. One of these young men killed the sentinel with a dagger. Some of the soldiers of the Quito battalion, whose barracks were attacked, were in sympathy with the rebels, and a severe fight took place within the barracks between the rebels and the royal troops. Many were killed or wounded on both sides.

"The rebels occupied Rio Bamba until January 4th, when they were attacked by government forces from Guayaquil under Colonel Manuel Andrade. Guaranda, capital of the province of Bolívar, was next occupied by the rebels.

"As soon as the news of the rebellion reached Quito, the capital, Colonel Larrea, Secretary of the War and Navy, left with the Pichincha and Carchi battalions and some pieces of artillery.

"The news of these desertions were concealed from the public for four days. Meanwhile the authorities of Guayaquil sent the Sucré battalion of artillery under Colonel Manuel Andrade to attack the rebels. Besides the artillery, the authorities sent to the front a force of policemen and a number of recruits. These forces under Andrade during the morning of January 4 attacked and defeated the rebels under Teran, who occupied San Juan near Gatazo.

"Captain Olmelda Alfaro, son of General Don Alfaro, was for some years at the West Point Military Academy. He is now with Teran's forces.

"The rebels of Guanga imprisoned the tax collector and obliged him to give them $12,000. After the fighting at Gatazo the rebels were reinforced by the troops which deserted from Colonel Larrea, and the government troops under Andrade avoided a battle and retreated to Alaust.

"Besides the calamity of the revolution, yellow fever is spreading here. There were twenty-two cases to-day at the government Lazaret."

A later despatch from Guayaquil, Ecuador, stated:

"General Alfaro occupied Quito, the capital, at three o'clock on Thursday afternoon. The entrance of the revolutionary forces was followed by serious rioting. The people during the afternoon attacked the prisons, liberated the political prisoners, and afterward captured the police barracks, where the rioters obtained possession of a number of rifles and some cannon. Rifle shots were heard later in all parts of the city, and the rioters became so bold that they attacked a battalion of artillery. Many persons were killed or wounded on both sides during the fighting.

"A junta of notable persons met in the Government Palace here at four o'clock yesterday afternoon and formed a new government. Vice-President Baquerizo Moreno assumed the executive power, establishing the capital here and appointing a ministry, which, however, only lasted one hour. The people rejected the administration of Señor Baquerizo Moreno, and proclaimed General Eloy Alfaro, former President of Ecuador and leader of the revolution, President, and in his absence Dr. Emilio Arevalo assumed civil and military authority.

"There was a great panic during the evening, and in the midst of the disorder General Leonidas Plaza, minister of Ecuador to the United States, who arrived here on January 18, and assumed chief command of the army in its operations against the rebels, escaped from the city and embarked on board the Chilian steamer Loa, which left here to-day for Panama. Later in the evening order was restored.

"The schoolship Maranon has joined in the rebellion. A number of revolutionists from Daule, twenty-two miles from here, arrived this morning, and were enthusiastically received."

This telegram was received by a New York merchant:

"Cables were interrupted for a short time last night by gunshots after the city was turned over to Alfaro. General Gorpia, commander-in-chief, refused to surrender the troops and artillery.

"Five thousand armed citizens proceeded to attack the artillery barracks, which opened fire with cannon and quick-firing guns on the citizens, killing and wounding many of the attackers and innocent persons.

"A state of terror prevailed all night, bullets passing through the wooden houses in all directions. Firing continued until this morning.

"General Alfaro, in a fight near Quito, killed and wounded 400 persons and entered Quito without fighting within the capital.

"Finally the artillery surrendered, and the revolution is over. All is quiet. General Alfaro has been named Chief Executive."

Thus was another presidential election held in one of our "Sister Republics."

Riots in Colombia

1906. — Colombia also had an incipient revolution in February. An attempt was made to assassinate General Rafael Reyes, the President. The leaders of the conspirators were captured, and four of them were shot, after a pretended judicial trial, but actually by order of General Reyes. It was alleged by partisans of Reyes that the would-be assassins were hired by the Jesuits, — an accusation which is frequently trumped up under such circumstances, because it affords the so-called Liberales a sufficient pretext for robbing, stealing, and confiscating the property of the Church and its communicants.

Revolution in Brazil

1906. — Revolutions were general, as usual, in many sections of Brazil in 1906. Early in June it was reported that a heavy uprising had taken place in the State of Matto Grosso. By the middle of July this movement had become of great strength. The insurgents under Dr. Generoso Ponce captured the towns of Corumba, Santa Ana de Parahibo, Pacome, and most of the smaller villages, after scenes of terrible carnage. At this time the revolutionists had about 5000 men in the field, and the government over twice that number under the command of General Barreto. About the middle of July the revolutionists captured Cuyaba, the capital of the State, overwhelmingly defeating the government troops and killing the President of the State. During these encounters over 4000 persons were killed. The government then despatched 40,000 federal troops into Matto Grosso, under command of General Ribero. In August other uprisings occurred in other States of Brazil. The police and troops revolted at Aracaju, the capital of the State of Sergipe, and compelled the Governor and Vice-Governor to resign. This was apparently made in co-operation with other similar movements elsewhere.

In June, 1906, Peruvian troops invaded a part of the territory in dispute between Ecuador and Peru, a matter which had been submitted to the arbitration of King Alfonso of Spain.

More Revolutions in Santo Domingo

1906. — Amid the whirligig of revolutions Ramon Caceres became President of Santo Domingo, after Morales was overthrown. In November, 1905, General Q. Berroa had revolted in Macoris, against Morales, and desultory uprisings continued, notwithstanding the presence of American war-ships. In fact, the ignoble lethargy of the United States Senate in refusing to support President Roosevelt's policy was mainly responsible for this trouble. In June, 1906, General Mauricio Jimenez and others inaugurated a more serious revolution. General Berroa, in an interview published in the "New York Tribune," June 27, 1906, said:

"The existing conditions in Santo Domingo are terrible. Men are being killed every day for political reasons, and the jails are filled with enemies of the government. Every constitutional right is denied to my compatriots. People are also starving to death. The right of suffrage is a dead letter with the present government.

"The revolution now in progress is a Christian uprising against barbarism. The movement is increasing in strength every day, and has spread from Monte Cristo, where it is strongest, to the States of Azua, Barahona, Macoris, and Santo Domingo."

Acts of brigandage were re-enacted in this beautiful, desolate island. Revolutionary attacks were made on town and village, on farm and hacienda, and bloody encounters occurred in Barahona, Porto Plata, San Cristobal, San Pedro de Macoris, Azua, Hato Mayor, La Vega, Sabana de la Mar, Monte Cristi, and many other places.

All that Jimenez and Berroa said about the government of Caceres was true, and should they get into power, they would forthwith proceed to inaugurate a similar or more vicious reign of tyranny.

A serious rebellion broke out on August 18 in Santo Domingo. Revolutionary bands under the command of General Navarro landed near Riviere, attacked and captured Dajabon, which was pillaged and abandoned after 20 persons had been killed.

A state of anarchy prevailed in the northern part of Santo Domingo. All commerce with the interior was stopped, and traffic in the northern districts was prohibited.

On August 21 General Guellito, at the head of 900 insurgents, left Dajabon to join the troops of General Navarro and made an attack upon Monte Cristi. The government sent 1200 men from Mocha against the rebels. Messrs. Milbourn and Thurston, two Americans employed as collectors in the Dominican custom-house service, were assassinated near Las Matas.

In the latter part of September, 1906, President Caceres, of Santo Domingo, with 1200 men, attacked the rebels, raised the siege of Monte Cristi, and pursued the besiegers, dispersing them and captur-

ing a number of prisoners. Twenty-four of the latter were executed, and the properties of the recalcitrant rebels were destroyed. Later the rebels rallied.

The rebel Generals Miguel Andres Pichardo, Mauricio Jimenez, and the others held large sections of Santo Domingo during almost the entire year. Numerous filibustering expeditions were fitted out from Cuba, Jamaica, St. Thomas, and other points. One such expedition, led by Generals Enrique Jimenez and Pedro La Sala, landed near Blanco in the northern part of Santo Domingo, but was captured at San José de las Matos, near Santiago. General Candelario de la Rosa later landed a strong expedition from Jamaica in the vicinity of Barahona on the south coast of Santo Domingo. Ex-President Morales and ex-President Jimenez spent most of the year fitting out such expeditions from St. Thomas, Cuba, and other places adjacent.

Revolutions in Central America

1906. — Central America had its customary batch of revolutions in 1906. Since 1821 there have been numerous treaties of amity and eternal friendship between these murderous barbarisms. In 1842, 1847, 1852, 1889, and 1898 treaties or attempts to form a union were made. Almost in every instance these resulted in the outbreak of war between the parties. Pillage and revolution have been almost unceasing, while interviews with diplomats and newspaper editors continue to be published broadcast extolling the peaceableness and beneficence of those countries. Early in 1906 Mr. R. M. Rivas, editor of the *Diario del Salvador*, a prominent Central American newspaper, visited Washington and expressed himself in roseate views of Central America. He said: "The time of revolutions in Central America has passed, and the public men of all the countries concerned are looking toward a union founded upon lasting peace. The spirit of union is in the air, but the time has not yet come; it will come within a decade."

Unfortunately the logic of events does not harmonize with the dreams of enthusiasts. In 1905 a treaty had been signed among the Central American countries, but that made no difference. In March, 1906, Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua entered into an alliance against Guatemala. President Cabrera, of the latter country, alleged that General Regalado and President Escalon, of Salvador, had conspired to assassinate him. Revolutions and counter-revolutions broke out in the countries in question, and invasions under the guise of revolution, so that by June 1, 1906, the merry game of butchery was in full swing. A body of forces invaded Guatemala from Salvador, led by General Regalado, but the latter was killed at the engagement of El Jicara early in July.

In this battle it is stated that Salvador lost about 700 killed

and 1100 wounded, and Guatemala about 2800 killed and 3900 wounded.

After two months of skirmishing and a few sanguinary battles peace was brought about through the mediation of the United States. The "peace," however, did not last for any considerable length of time. It merely served to give the "Generales" a little breathing-spell, and afforded them an opportunity to levy a few more "forced loans," in preparation for a new and a bigger fight, which broke out with renewed fierceness early in 1907.

1907. — Early in February the American consul W. E. Alger, at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, reported that war between that country and Nicaragua appeared inevitable. Consul General Pio Bolaños, representing the latter country at New York City, made public a cable from President Zelaya, dated February 7, announcing positively there would be no war. He stated that talk of war was utter nonsense. The State Department at Washington announced that peace was assured.

President Bonilla, of Honduras, nevertheless, declared the Treaty of Corinto, which provided for the arbitration of Central American disputes, to be void, on the ground that Nicaragua persisted in maintaining armed forces along the border.

Towards the end of February war broke out in earnest. A Nicaraguan army invaded Honduras at Portillo del Espino, but after a battle lasting two hours retreated, leaving 37 dead.

On February 20 it was reported from Managua, Nicaragua, that troops under Generals Fornos and Vasquez had defeated Honduran troops and had captured several towns.

On February 21 Honduras declared war, and Nicaragua announced that its troops were marching upon the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa. These troops occupied El Triunfo and San Bernardo after six hours' fighting.

Honduran revolutionary leaders went over to the support of Zelaya, while several Nicaraguans of prominence became officers in the army of Bonilla. Among these were Generals Anastasio Oritz, Paulino Godey, Benito Cehavarria, Emeliano Chamarro, and Rafael Hernandez.

On February 24 San Marcos de Colon, defended by Solomon Ordonez, Honduran Minister of War, was captured by the Nicaraguans.

On March 2 Mr. Olivares, American consul at Managua, cabled the State Department: "El Corpus, key of position at Tegucigalpa, was taken by Nicaragua to-day. Four battalions of Nicaraguans and a strong force of Hondurans engaged. Action brilliant."

A strong revolution now broke out in Honduras against Bonilla. Ex-President Sierra, who was ousted by Bonilla when the latter came into power at the head of a successful revolution, joined the Nicaraguan forces, taking with him quite a staff of "Generals" and several

peons. Reclutas were resorted to in all parts of the country, and many foreigners were conscripted into the army.

On March 16 it was reported that General Barahona, Minister of War of Honduras, had defeated 3000 revolutionists at Maleras, Izaga, and Sabana Larga. These troops were under the command of Generals Dionisio Gutierrez, Balladares, and Gamero, all of whom were killed in the fight.

At this time Salvador entered into an alliance with Honduras, and 2500 Salvadorean troops, under General José Presa, landed at Amapala. General Bonilla invaded Nicaragua, among his troops being two detachments of Nicaraguan revolutionists, under Generals Chavarria and Chamorre.

On March 18 it was reported by Philip Brown, secretary of the American legation at Tegucigalpa, that Trujillo, a Honduran port, was being attacked from the sea by Nicaraguan troops, who succeeded in capturing it.

On March 20 American marines were landed at Trujillo and Ceiba from the gunboat Marietta, under Commander Fullam, for the protection of American interests.

On March 21 a proclamation was published by President Manuel Bonilla, declaring that the Hondurans were victorious at Choluteca. He said:

> A corps of scouts of our forces attacked the enemy in considerable numbers at Namasigue, taking three advanced positions, capturing the pueblo, and driving out the enemy completely from the extreme heights. The losses of the enemy were numerous, since they fled in masses which were presented in broadside to our gunners. The artillery was unable to stop the irresistible advance of our small column, which was a single company, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lescadio Lardizabal. They advanced the rifles and a battery of artillery.
>
> The enemy disbanded by hundreds in their extremity, and I am powerless to approximate what became of them. With this triumph of to-day, which was gained in four or five hours of fighting, without large sacrifice on our part, the enemy has arrived at a most pronounced state of demoralization. The enthusiasm of the army is great, and with one mind they desire to advance.
>
> MANUEL BONILLA.

As a matter of fact, the Honduran and Salvadorean allied army was severely defeated at Choluteca, losing 200 men and 1500 rifles. José de Olivares, American consul at Managua, reported that the allies had 6000 men at Namasique, and the Nicaraguans about 20,000, and that the former, being the attacking party, lost 1000 men, in a battle lasting three nights and two days.

An official report stated that on March 11 General Chomorro with a column of Honduran soldiers captured Topomalpa, Nicaragua, after thirteen hours' fighting and the killing of 100 men.

On March 25 President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, announced the capture and occupation of the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa.

Amapala and many other towns were bombarded, and anarchy reigned supreme in all parts of the country.

On April 3 Commander Fullam, of the United States gunboat Marietta, wrote General Juan J. Estrada, commanding the Nicaraguan army, that no more bombardments of coast towns would be permitted "during the frequent wars and revolutions in Central America."

On April 12 Consul Olivares wired: "Amapala has been surrendered by Bonilla, and the war is ended."

President Zelaya set up a "provisional government" for Honduras, and Bonilla sought refuge on an American war-ship and later went to Mexico.

During all this time the governments of the United States and Mexico had been "tendering their good offices" to bring about peace. At the fall of Amapala it was stated that there would be no further disturbances. Andrew Carnegie, who had evidently never read the story about Mrs. Partington trying to sweep back the Atlantic Ocean, sent a commissioner to South America for the purpose of promoting peace among those governments. Whether or not Mr. Carnegie authorized his representative to put all the generals on the pay-roll during good behavior was not stated.

Notwithstanding all this talk of peace, the Nicaraguan army, after sailing from Puerto Cortez for Bluefields returned to the former place, owing to an invasion by the allied forces of Salvador and Honduras of the western departments of Copan, Gracias, and Intubucat. Heavy skirmishes continued in most sections.

On April 23 peace negotiations were concluded at Amapala between President Figuera, of Salvador, and President Zelaya, of Nicaragua.

On April 24 passengers arriving at New Orleans from Puerto Cortez, Honduras, reported grave troubles growing out of disagreements between the Nicaraguans and their allies, the Honduran revolutionists, regarding the division of the offices in the provisional government. It was also stated that a Guatemalan army was in the vicinity of Puerto Cortez, and openly hostile, while another of the same country had been collected at Port Barrios, forty miles distant.

On April 29 an alleged attempt was made to assassinate President Estrada Cabrera, of Guatemala, and a formidable revolution was said to be forming in that country. This was the third attempt on Cabrera's life. He was shot in the leg by a would-be assassin in April, 1905, and a second attempt was made, according to reports, the following month. Cabrera is an unspeakable despot of the Cipriano Castro type.

On May 4 another attempt to assassinate Cabrera was reported.

A mine of dynamite had been placed in front of the barracks of the "Guard of Honor," the President's personal body-guard.

During the month of April strained relations had developed between Mexico and Guatemala, growing out of the assassination of General José Lizandro Barillas, former President of Guatemala, who was stabbed at the House of Commons, City of Mexico, on April 7, by two Guatemalans, named Morales and Mora. These men made a confession to the authorities of Mexico, stating that they acted under orders from General José Maria Lima, who was regarded as the right-hand man of President Cabrera, of Guatemala. Mexico demanded the extradition of General Lima, which Guatemala refused to grant.

Desultory battles continued in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador. General Terencio Sierra, formerly President of Honduras, was defeated by the forces of President Miguel R. Davila, of the new Honduran provisional government, who also captured El Corpus.

On May 15 the Nicaraguan Congress approved the treaty of peace arranged between that country and Salvador at Amapala. At the same time there was great turmoil in all parts of Salvador, and arrests of many prominent men on suspicion of sympathy with Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan chargé d'affaires, Felipe Fernandez, was besieged by a mob in Salvador, and sought refuge aboard an American steamer.

Early in June President Cabrera, of Guatemala, had ten men, many of them foreigners, sentenced to death, and nine others to imprisonment, on the pretext that they were implicated in the alleged attempt on his life in April. He also commenced proceedings for the confiscation of the property of these men, estimated to amount to $15,000,000 gold. A press despatch said: "The fact that most of the men who were sentenced to death or imprisoned for participation in attempts to assassinate President Cabrera belong to the best classes of the Republic has caused a considerable depression in business. A delegation of Spaniards called to-day at the Spanish legation to protest against the sentence imposed upon Ricardo Trigueros, a Spaniard." As a matter of fact it has been stated by persons in a position to know the inside facts that the attempt to assassinate Cabrera was a hoax, devised by the President himself, for the purpose of affording him a pretext for executing respectable men of large means, whose property he desired to confiscate to his own use.

On June 12 President Figueroa, of Salvador, cabled that the government troops had routed revolutionists under Rivas, at Sonsonata, and looted the town. Nicaraguan forces attacked Acajutla on June 11, "for general revolutionary purposes," as naïvely stated by American Minister Merry. Nicaraguan troops were in all parts of Honduras, looting and plundering. Armies under Generals Toledo and Alfara were on the Honduran border, threatening Salvador, notwithstanding the solemn treaty of peace which had been signed, while General Corea planned to invade the country via Amapala.

Heavy detachments of Mexican and Guatemalan troops likewise occupied the borders of these respective countries, while threats of war were ominous.

At the date of the publication of this work the anarchistic conditions continue in Central America, much as they have existed during the past century. To talk of peace, industry, and honor among such savages is an abuse of words. The situation there leads one to observe, however, that if the Washington administration would devote itself to the less spectacular work of affording a decent protection to our own citizens in these barbarous dictatorships, it would perform a work of some permanent benefit, not alone to our country, but to the dictatorships themselves.

PART II—CHARACTER SKETCHES OF NOTED LATIN-AMERICAN LEADERS

CHAPTER XVIII

LEADERS IN THE REVOLT AGAINST SPAIN— MIRANDA AND BOLÍVAR

IT was a strange and unique set of military adventurers who led the revolutions against Spain in South America in the early part of the nineteenth century. From 1800 to 1830 the history of South America stands out conspicuous in the annals of the world since the dawn of authentic records. Adventures, hair-breadth escapes, battles and campaigns, intrigues, treachery, bombast, cunning, daring, reckless disregard for life, murder, infinite cruelty, — all constitute here a panorama such as the Recording Angel has perhaps set down to no other continent and to no other time.

While during this period there were hundreds of generals, and thousands of lesser officers, whose personal feats of valor and deviltry might fill thrilling volumes, the names of Miranda, Bolívar, Paez, San Martin, and Sucré stand out, perhaps, the most conspicuous. We therefore make a study of the characters of these men in their environment, not as a matter of historical interest, but rather for the purpose of painting a picture of the beginnings of these Latin-American countries, with whose doings we are so intensely occupied at the present time.

The revolutionary movements against Spain were in two parallel streams: that of Buenos Ayres and the South was carried through Argentina and Chili by San Martin; that of the North swept through Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and into Peru, inaugurated by Miranda and borne along by Bolívar, aided by Paez and other intrepid adventurers.

The two movements effected their junction in Peru, where Sucré made himself famous.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA

Francisco Miranda was born in Santa Fé, New Granada, or in Caracas, Venezuela, it is not certain which, in 1756. He served with the French in the continental army during our own Revolution, from 1779 to 1781. He then went to Paris, became a Major-General in the French army, but incurring the displeasure of the French Directory

in 1797, he fled to England, and later went to Russia, where he endeavored to interest the Empress Catherine in his plans for overthrowing the power of Spain in South America.

He then came to New York, organized a revolutionary movement, and started for Venezuela in the Leander in 1806. From Moses Smith, an American who was induced to embark on the expedition, we learn that Miranda arrived at Jaquemel in Santo Domingo on the 15th of February. Here proclamations were printed in which the griefs, wrongs, and hardships of the people of South America were set forth. It was expected that the Cleopatra, under Captain Wright, would join them and proceed with them to the island of Bonair, on the coast of the Spanish Main. Failing this, two American schooners, the Bee and the Bacchus, were chartered, and an army of not more than 200 men enlisted, and sail was set. Through inadvertence or mischance they did not reach Bonair until the 24th of April. Preparations had been made with this small army to undertake the landing in Colombia, when the ships were discovered by two Spanish *guardacostas*, — one a brig of twenty guns, the other a schooner of eighteen. What happened then we will allow Smith to narrate in his own words:

"They were hailed by the captain of the Leander, and ordered to prepare for action. After some broadsides exchanged between the armed vessels on both sides, they were ordered to board the enemy on the lee side, while the Leander was to attack and board the ship on the weather side. They obeyed their orders, but before they could accomplish them, to their inexpressible astonishment, they saw the Leander, with Miranda on board, haul down her colors and make off. The remaining ships were boarded and taken by the Spaniards. The men were plundered, stripped, and rifled; and so impatient were the conquerors for the booty that before they took the time to pull the clothes off they first cut the pockets to make sure of the contents. So expert were they in this inglorious kind of warfare that they seldom failed to clear away the pocket with a single stroke. The prisoners were next pinioned and secured, tied back to back, and in that humiliating posture conveyed to Puerto Cabello. There they were disembarked, and driven into the castle of St. Philip, chained two and two, and loaded with irons. They were divided into two parties of about thirty each, the whole number taken in the two schooners amounting to about sixty. They were then thrown into two separate dungeons, and suffered indescribable privations.

"Their trial took place toward the end of June. It was not till the 20th of July that their doom was announced to them. On that day their prison doors were thrown open, and they were told by an interpreter that they must come out to be hanged. The names of ten of the prisoners, all officers in Miranda's army, were first called, and the interpreter read this sentence from a paper he held: 'In the morning of to-morrow, at six o'clock, you and each of you, are sentenced to be hanged by the neck until you are dead; after which your heads are to be severed from your bodies, placed upon poles, and distributed in the most public parts of the country.' The remainder, being nineteen in number, were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in the castle of Boca Chica, near Cartagena, which sentences were all executed."

With the failure of his expeditions, Miranda had drifted around and gone back to London again, where he was without influence. But the news of his schemes had fired the Venezuelan heart, ready then, as now, for a revolution, or for anything which promised adventure, loot, and "glory."

Let us leave Miranda for a moment to return to him later.

Simon Bolívar was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on or about July 24, 1783. His father, Don Juan Vicente Bolívar y Ponte, a wealthy Peruvian, died in 1786, and his mother, Doña Maria Concepción Palacios y Sojo, died a few years later, when he was fifteen years old. An uncle, Don Carlos Palacios, became his guardian, and sent him to Spain, where he studied law, and travelled in Europe. He spent much time in Paris, and there he imbibed the spirit of the French Revolution. In 1805 he went to Italy, and was present at the coronation of Napoleon as king of that country. He then went to Rome, where it is said he and his friend Simon Rodriguez made solemn vows to liberate their country from the yoke of Spain. From Rome he went to Hamburg, and thence to the United States, sailing for Venezuela in 1809.

He at once began the revolutionary movements which have made his name forever famous. There was a general uprising in 1810, and he was given an officer's commission and sent to London to buy arms, in conjunction with Luis Lopez Mendes.

BOLÍVAR AND MIRANDA

Here begins the strange history of Bolívar and Miranda as co-workers in the same cause. Bolívar returned from London in 1811, bringing Miranda with him, and the latter was received with great ovations. He was now an old man, while Bolívar was young and vigorous, and the populace yelled "*Viva Miranda*," "*Viva Bolívar*," much as they have since shouted "*Viva*" to each incoming "savior" of the country. Miranda was selected as Lieutenant-General of the Army of the Provinces. The tricolor flag of Miranda was adopted by the Revolutionary Congress of Venezuela as its emblem on July 5, 1811, the day of the declaration of independence.

No serious fighting was done for some time. Domingo Monteverde, field-marshal of the royal army under Ferdinand VII, met and defeated the patriots at Carora. But an earthquake which occurred on March 26, 1812, at Caracas, and another which followed on April 4, did the patriots more damage than was caused by battles. About 600 of Miranda's soldiers and large numbers of people had perished, and the superstitious populace ascribed this to the anger of God at their actions in declaring independence, — a view which the Spanish authorities did not seriously endeavor to combat.

Monteverde now made a dashing campaign from Coro to Caracas,

capturing Barquisimeto, San Carlos, and other points on the route.

Miranda, who had assumed the supreme command of the army, ordered Bolívar to proceed to Puerto Cabello and take command of the fortress, while he marched out of Caracas, which was in ruins from the earthquake, against Monteverde. He had 12,000 men, and Monteverde had a much inferior force, but Miranda's troops were insubordinate, or disheartened by the earthquake, and there were many desertions to the Spanish cause. He took up quarters at Maracay, and later retreated to La Victoria, where he repulsed an assault by Monteverde.

In the mean time, on June 30, Bolívar had met disaster at Puerto Cabello. A commander of the prison had turned the prisoners loose, organized them as royalists, and turned the guns of the fort on the city. Bolívar had only about forty men left, and these refused to fight; so he hurriedly got a sailing-vessel, and embarked for La Guayra on July 5, 1812, just one year after the declaration of independence.

News of Bolívar's flight disheartened Miranda, and he suspected treachery. An army of liberated slaves were marching upon Caracas from the provinces, and one disaster after another had befallen his army. At the suggestion of Antonio Fernandez de Leon, who was one of the leading spirits of the revolution, he therefore agreed to surrender to General Monteverde. The latter offered terms of peace, in a letter which Miranda sent to Congress, and which was accepted by that body. A treaty was concluded on July 29, 1812, in which the authority of Spain was fully recognized.

The day following the signing of the treaty Miranda went to La Guayra. He was old, ill, worn out with the heat, and broken in spirit. Simon Bolívar, Colonel Manuel M. Casas, Dr. Miguel Peña, Governor; Dr. Pedro Gual, Colonel Juan Paz del Castillo, Colonel José Cortes, Rafael Chatillon, Miguel Carabano, Rafael Castillo, Thomas Montilla, Colonel José Mires, Juan José Valdez, Sergeant-Major; José Landaeta, commander of the garrison, and various other persons connected or sympathizing with the patriot movement, were in La Guayra at the time, and they at once entered into a conspiracy to imprison Miranda.

General Miranda had intended to go on board a vessel that night lying in the harbor, and Captain Haynes, who scented the conspiracy, urged him to do so; but his comrades invited him to stay for supper. General Miranda, believing himself to be in the house of his friends and subordinates, accepted the invitation.

General H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein tells us that the house was surrounded by a guard under Casas, who was military comandante at La Guayra, and Miranda, having been placed in a room without lock and key, was surprised at an early hour in the morning by Casas, Peña, and Bolívar, who accused him of being a traitor, forced him

to Fort San Carlos, some distance from La Guayra, where he was put in irons and locked in one of the darkest dungeons.

Monteverde was immediately informed of this arrest, and though it violated the faith of his own treaty he took no steps toward releasing Miranda. From prison to prison Miranda passed from one indignity to another, and thus spent the remainder of his life in chains. A British officer said of him, "I have seen the nobleman tied to a wall, with a chain about his neck, neither more nor less than a dog."

Who can defend this iniquity of Simon Bolívar?

SIMON BOLÍVAR

Miranda gone, let us turn again to Bolívar.

From this date until his death, in exile, at San Pedro, on December 17, 1830, his life is unparalleled. It is said that he fought more than four hundred battles; at least five different attempts were made to assassinate him; he exercised at times supreme military power over the entire northern part of South America; he was guilty of many barbarities; he had numerous liaisons with women; he made speeches of fanatical eloquence to his soldiers and to the so-called legislatures which he established; and the Constitutions and laws which he promulgated were a curious mixture of bombast, absurd declarations in favor of what he called liberty, but which were in reality weapons of tyranny and military despotism.

This strange conglomeration of genius, hysteria, and impracticability, to be seen everywhere in the Latin-American character, must be remembered if we are to understand the actions of a man like Bolívar.

After his act of perfidy in imprisoning Miranda in La Guayra, Bolívar at once fled to Curoçao, then, as now, the haven of all political refugees. But he ached for adventure; he itched for glory. In September, 1812, he went to Cartagena, Colombia, where he was successful in driving the Spaniards from the lower Magdalena River.

Invading Venezuela with about 500 men, he forced his way to Merida and Trujillo, organized a popular revolt, and took practically the same road to Caracas as has been taken from the Andine provinces many a time since, the last time by the "Restorer" Cipriano Castro.

He now issued a decreta of "war to the death":

> Yes, Americans, the hateful and cruel Spaniards have introduced desolation in the midst of the innocent and peaceful people of the Colombian hemisphere. The war to the death which these Spaniards wage has forced them to abandon their native country, which they have not known how to preserve and have ignominiously lost. Fugitives and wanderers, like the enemies of the Saviour God, they behold themselves cast away from all parts and per-

secuted by all men. Europe expels them, America repels them. Their vices in both worlds have loaded them with the malediction of all humankind. All parts of the globe are tinged with the innocent blood which the ferocious Spaniards have caused to flow. All of them are stained with the crimes which they have committed, not for the love of glory, but in the search of a vile metal, which is their supreme god. The executioners, who have entitled themselves our enemies, have most outrageously violated the rights of people and of nations at Quito, La Paz, Mexico, Caracas, and recently at Popayan. They sacrificed our virtuous brethren in their dungeons in the cities of Quito and La Paz; they beheaded thousands of our prisoners in Mexico; they buried alive, in the cells and floating prisons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, our fathers, children, and friends of Venezuela; they have immolated the president and comandante of Popayan, with all their companions of misfortunes; and lastly, O God! almost in our presence they have committed a most horrid slaughter, at Barinas, of our prisoners of war and our peaceful countrymen of that capital. . . . But these victims shall be revenged, these assassins exterminated. Our kindness is now quenched, and as our oppressors force us into a mortal war, they shall disappear from America, and our land shall be purged of the monsters who infest it. Our hatred will be implacable, and the war shall be to death.

SIMON BOLÍVAR.

HEADQUARTERS OF MERIDA, June 8, 1813.

After eight years of "war to the death" General Bolívar seems to have modified his ferocity, for we find him in 1821 urging his soldiers to have "humanity and compassion even for your most bitter enemies." He defeated Monteverde crushingly at Lastoguanes, and entered Caracas August 6, 1813.

Bolívar's entry into Caracas throws a curious side-light on the Latin-American character. He was received with the wildest acclamations and greeted as the Savior of Venezuela. Larrazabel says: "A multitude of beautiful young women, dressed in white and bearing crowns of laurel, pushed their way through the crowd to take hold of the bridle of his horse. Bolívar dismounted, and was almost overpowered by the crowns cast upon him. The people wept for joy." A picture of this event shows Bolívar standing on a triumphal car, richly decorated and drawn by young women, — daughters of the leading families of the city.

With General Mariño in the Eastern part of Venezuela, and the forces of Bolívar in the West, the royalists were practically overthrown by January, 1814; but they rallied, and Boves defeated Bolívar near Cura, and compelled him to embark for Cumaná, his army almost destroyed. Once again did the Spaniards obtain complete possession of Venezuela.

Bolívar now left Venezuela and went to Colombia. He met the revolutionary junta at Tunja, New Granada, and 2000 men were raised for him. With these he appeared before Santa Fé de Bogotá, and captured the place. He then attacked Santa Martha, but was defeated, the Spanish General Morillo having an overwhelming force.

He then resigned his commission and went to Kingston, Jamaica, in May, 1814, having met with nothing but disaster for several months.

Bolívar then went to Aux Cayes, Haiti, where President Petión aided him in organizing another expedition, in May, 1816. This was defeated, but a second expedition proved more successful, and landing at Barcelona, he formed a revolutionary government, and on February 16–18, 1817, met the army of Morillo, and in a desperate battle completely defeated it. In their retreat the royalists were attacked by General Paez and almost completely destroyed. Bolívar now swept everything before him. He established headquarters at Angostura, now called Cuidad Bolívar, on the Orinoco, where a so-called Congress assembled, February 15, 1819.

Bolívar, having now reorganized and reinforced his army, started on the brilliant campaign across the Cordilleras, where he effected a junction with General Santander in New Granada. He entered Tunja in July, 1819, and gained the decisive victory of Boyacá on August 7, which gave him possession of practically the entire country, although Morillo still had considerable forces under his command.

Bolívar had a law passed, on December 17, 1819, uniting Colombia and Venezuela, under the name "Republic of Colombia," and he became President. He established the capital provisionally at Cucuta, on the borders of both countries, and proceeded to take the field with greatly increased forces against Morillo. He gained such important victories that an armistice was concluded at Trujillo on November 25, 1820, to last for six months.

The Spanish King now sent General Torre to command in New Granada, but he was completely routed at Carabobo and driven back upon Puerto Cabello. Gradually the royalists were driven from all parts of the country, and two years later Puerto Cabello was surrendered to the revolutionary General Paez.

On August 30, 1821, a Constitution was promulgated for the Republic of Colombia, and General Bolívar became President, and Santander Vice-President.

Bolívar had been in one continuous turmoil for ten years; he had almost literally "waded through rivers of blood"; but he was not satisfied. He marched on Quito, Ecuador, and gained a great victory over the royalists at Pichincha, largely through the signal ability of General Sucré, who commanded the revolutionary armies in that section. Bolívar then marched upon Lima, Peru, where he was made absolute Dictator. The intrigues and open hostility of the republican factions, however, compelled him to leave.

He returned later with a new army, and on August 6, 1824, defeated the royalists under Canterac on the plains of Junia. General Sucré harassed the royalists in Upper Peru, and gained a great victory at Ayacucho, thus confining the Spaniards to one or two points.

In June, 1825, Bolívar visited Upper Peru, and in August a stretch

of territory was detached from the department of Buenos Ayres, and called Bolivia, in honor of Bolívar.

Bolívar convened an *Asamblea Constituyente*, a sort of provisional Congress, in December, 1824, to meet in the following February in Peru. It was composed wholly of his own followers, who made him absolute Dictator. At the same time he proposed a Constitution for Bolivia. This was presented to their Congress on May 25, 1826. It lodged the executive power in the hands of a President for life, with power to nominate his successor.

While Bolívar was establishing the dictatorships of Bolivia and Peru, General Santander had been left in charge of Colombia, and General Paez of Venezuela. General Paez had been extremely arbitrary in the exercise of military power and had begun a revolution against the civil government. Bolívar hastened to Venezuela, met Paez at Puerto Cabello, and issued a decree of general amnesty.

An election was held in the latter part of 1826, and Bolívar was declared to be President, and Santander Vice-President, of the Republic of Colombia, for the term commencing January, 1827.

At this time Bolívar made a pretence of resigning as President, in order to show the people that he was not ambitious, as had been alleged. Congress easily convinced him that duty and destiny required him to remain in power.

A revolution was started in Peru against Bolívar, by the troops under Generals Lara and Sands, early in 1827. The Bolivian code was repudiated, and a provisional government organized. But this movement was overcome without serious difficulty. General Santander and the republicans of Colombia also became very distrustful of the ambition of Bolívar, who regarded himself as a second Napoleon, but nevertheless he had the army back of him, and was able to overcome all opposition. He decreed himself Dictator of Colombia, with supreme power, at Bogotá, on August 27, 1828, and this power he continued to exercise until early in 1830, when his enemies became too powerful.

In January, 1830, Bolívar resigned his dictatorship again. He expected that the Congress would refuse to accept it, but to his consternation his opponents obtained a majority and accepted the resignation, voting Bolívar a pension of $3000 a year, on condition that he should leave the country. He knew this meant exile or imprisonment. He therefore sent in his final resignation on April 27, 1830, and left Bogotá never to return. He went to Cartagena, and thence to Santa Marta, where he visited the bishop, an old friend. Bolívar died on December 17, 1830. In an address dictated on his death-bed to be presented to the Colombian people, he said:

"My wishes are for the happiness of the people. If my death should unite them, I will go to the tomb content, yes, to the tomb! The people send me there, but I forgive them."

The Character of Bolívar.

The character of Bolívar has given rise to much discussion and animadversion.

He has been called the Liberator, and generally accepted as the Washington of South America. He was neither the one nor the other. Justly to appreciate the character of Bolívar, one must thoroughly understand the Latin-American temperament. It has no counterpart among Anglo-Saxons. Mercurial, impractical, visionary, recklessly daring, vainglorious, sympathetic, cunning, sensitive, intense, ambitious, with no sense of proportion, cruel and kind in the same breath, giving vent to the highest sentiments of frenzied patriotism and practising the most absolute despotism, shouting for liberty and disregarding the rights of all men, yet saved from being called hypocritical by the very intensity of fanaticism, — mix in with this a love of romance, affairs with beautiful women, escapes from assassinations, and it will be seen that to compare Bolívar with Washington is as absurd as it would be to compare Don Quixote with General Grant. There is no common measure or characteristic, and no possible basis for comparison.

Bolívar was not a Napoleon, but in his way he was fully as remarkable as Napoleon. He was the forerunner of a line of military Dictators of the type of Santa Anna and Guzman Blanco, and by far the greatest of them all. But his character lacked stability, solidity; he was irresponsible, erratic, destructive, and not constructive.

That ethical strabismus by which Americans see heroic qualities in the murderous dictators of Latin-America is well illustrated in the following extracts from Hezekiah Butterworth's "History of South America," which represents the average sentiment in the United States regarding Bolívar:

"At Rome he was a dreamer.

"They stood upon the sacred Mount, and they spoke of another Sacred Mount that rose over Caracas, awaiting heroes such as gave the Roman republic its glory. Bolívar was agitated. He read as it were the book of the world. He talked of the liberty of the land of the Andes, and then he held out his hand to Rodriguez. 'Let us here make an oath,' he said. 'Let us here, on this sacred hill, pledge our lives to the liberties of our own country.' Rodriguez' heart responded to that of Bolívar. Then and there they pledged themselves to the cause of South American independence. With that resolution the republics of the Sun were born."

"In that sublime resolution on Monte Aventino were the battle of Boyacá, the emancipation of New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador, the restoration of liberty to Peru, and the freedom of the whole of northern South America."

"It would carry him on its refluent wave to Peru. It would cause him there to be hailed almost as a God — to pass under triumphal arches, amid singing priests, dancing Indians, and prostrate people, while the thunder of

cannon shook the peaks of the high Andes and the bells of the cities rang aloud with joy."

"Young Bolívar rose, and poured forth his ardent and decisive sentiments in fiery words."

"The speech, like that of Patrick Henry amid like events, was decisive."

"But the good that men have done is a harvest that can never be forgotten. Truly said Simon Bolívar, years afterwards, in his hour of triumph: 'The seed of liberty yields its just fruit. If there is anything which is never lost, it is the blood which is shed for a just cause.'"

"'My only ambition is the freedom of my fellow citizens.'"

"We must ever judge his purpose by his oath."

"He made himself the altar of liberty, and at last laid himself upon it."

"He entered the magical atmosphere of Peru, and there laid the foundation of the Republic."

"Bolívar now met the immortal apostle of liberty, Alexander Petión, of Hayti."

"These words reveal the spirit of Bolívar. We cannot doubt Bolívar's sincerity. The execution of Piar caused him as much suffering as that of Major André caused Washington."

"On the death of his beloved wife the Liberator resolved never to marry again, so that he might devote all his thought to the cause of South American liberty; again and again he placed his resignation of the highest trusts into the hands of the representatives of the people; he declared that if his death would better serve the cause of liberty and unity, he was willing to die."

Very heroic and very pathetic is all this! But let us turn to the real Bolívar.

One of Bolívar's "war to the death" proclamations has been given, but another and more cruel proclamation was issued a week later from Trujillo, decreeing death to every Spaniard who did not take up arms in behalf of the revolution, to all prisoners of war, etc. The indescribably bloody and inhuman policy inaugurated by him can be better understood after reading the chapters in the present work which give an outline of the history of Venezuela.

I shall quote again, not from a hysterical panegyrist like Butterworth, but from a sincere admirer and defender of Bolívar, Carlos Benedetti, a man who approved of the career of Bolívar in its entirety. His *Historia de Colombia* [1] is a work in every way friendly to Bolívar.

"Seven times had Bolívar proposed to Monteverde the exchange of prisoners and as often the proposition had been rejected; the condition of the patriots became worse every day; it was assured that Boves, if he fell on Caracas, would decapitate all the Americans; children from the age of twelve years, the old men to sixty, all had been called to the service, and there were no other forces with which to resist; the resources were being exhausted, and fears were felt that the 1000 prisoners locked up in Caracas and La Guayra might try to rise up; knowledge of the critical situation of the Republic, united to the natural sentiment of conserving existence, even to the

[1] Lima, 1887, pp. 456–457.

murder of enemies, had already influenced the spirit of the people in such a manner that they asked the death of the Spaniards and Canarios, enemies of independence. The authorities, in consequence, in order to allay the tumult of the multitude which asked the death of those unfortunates, disposed that eighteen of the more dangerous prisoners should be taken out and shot. Bolívar was at once consulted by the comandante of La Guayra, as to what should be done with the prisoners in that city, and he answered that they should be killed without any exception, and he gave the same order to the Jefes of Caracas. The execution took place in the plaza of the cathedral in Caracas, in the location destined for the butchery of cattle in that city, and in the heights of La Guayra, Castle of San Carlos, and road of Macuto, in the days running from the 8th to the 16th of February. The prisoners were taken out successively from the jails and calabooses, and conducted to the place of execution. Some were shot, but the larger part lost their lives from the strokes of lances and of machetes, and their bodies were thrown immediately on the funeral pile, which consumed about 100 victims daily. In this manner perished 866 Spaniards and Canarios, and it was a veritable butchery. Bolívar gave a manifesto justifying this act in San Mateo, where he was consulted as to what should be done with the prisoners of La Guayra, and ordered their execution the same as those of Caracas. The justice of this is that it was in retaliation for identical deeds."

If the Spaniards had issued orders for a war to the death and for the slaughter of prisoners, every American writer and historian would have been horrified. The Spaniards committed many infamous cruelties in this war; the so-called patriots committed savage atrocities, without parallel, even in Indian warfare. Much of this horrible barbaric savagry was due to the orders and influence of Bolívar himself.

Proof of this, if any were needed, is to be found in the fact that the revolution did not take on such a savage aspect in Colombia, where the operations of the armies were under the general direction of the Congress of Nueva Granada. This Congress would not sanction the assassination of prisoners, nor the massacre of male non-combatants, let alone of women and children. The people of Colombia were identical in character with those of Venezuela, and the conflict was actuated by similar ideas. The military campaigns were intense, and the battles terrible beyond description, but the barbarism of the Venezuelan revolution under Bolívar was unknown. The Spaniards themselves committed no such atrocities in Colombia, and one of the few occasions on which Spanish prisoners were assassinated in Colombia was when General Urdaneta, one of Bolívar's lieutenants, was driven out of Venezuela and into Colombian territory, where one of his first acts was to shoot five Spaniards who had been taken prisoners. The Congress of Nueva Granada disapproved of the act, which caused great consternation, and at once relieved him of his command. The war of extermination and of assassination of non-combatants and prisoners inaugurated by Bolívar in Venezuela is susceptible of no

defence or palliation. It places him outside the pale of civilized military commanders. The bloodthirsty Spaniards, Morillo and Moxo, were no less culpable.

It is estimated that Bolívar's order of "war to the death" was responsible for the loss of at least 100,000 lives, a vast number of these being women and children.

La Libertadora del Libertador

At the age of nineteen Bolívar had married in Madrid a girl of sixteen, the daughter of a family of rank. He brought her to America, but she died shortly after of yellow fever.

Bolívar, in speaking of the death of his wife, said: "I loved my wife much, and at her death I took an oath never to marry. I have kept my word. If I had not been bereaved, perhaps my life would have been different. I would not have been general of liberators. I would not have made my second voyage to Europe. I would not have had the ideas which I gained by my travels, nor would I have had the experience, or made the study of the world, of mankind, and of things, which has been of so much service to me during the course of my political career. The death of my wife placed me early in the way of patriotic effort, and caused me to follow the chariot of Mars rather than the plough of Ceres."

A curious argument this, which many writers seem to think adds a halo to the "Liberator." But there is another side to this heroic renunciation of marriage.

In *Leyendas Historicas de Venezuela*, by Aristides Rojas (Caracas, 1890), is a description of one of many episodes in Bolívar's career, — a story of romance and danger — of just that kind to endear Bolívar to the Latin-American heart.

Manuelita Saenz was the favorite mistress of Bolívar. She was an ardent patriot, ready to make any sacrifice for the republicans, and Bolívar was her idol. She had been married at the age of about twenty years, in 1817, to Dr. Thorne, an Englishman. In 1822 her name appeared among 112 ladies of the "Order of the Sun," — a patriotic society, — and she was engaged in many daring enterprises, riding through Lima on horseback, like a man, and in other ways showing her independence.

Dr. Thorne seems to have worshipped her, but she cared nothing for him. Rojas says, "The women of the Torrid Zone do not agree well, in the generality of cases, with the taciturn, reserved, and ceremonious character of the sons of the North."

At least Manuelita did not. "Scarcely had the Liberator arrived in Quito in 1822, after the battle of Pichincha, when Manuelita encountered the fortunate man who from peak to peak was conducting the genius of war. They saw, they met, they loved. . . . Bolívar

lacked the attractions of Apollo, but he possessed oriental imagination, clear talent, facile speech, which realized cultured models, — the practice, in short, which gives conquests in love . . . so he conquered the heart of Manuelita; but she had conquered something more, — the absolute dominion, the throne without a crown," etc.

Thorne did not like this; he was desperately in love with Manuelita himself, and begged her to return. This is what she answered her husband, — she had already left him to live with Bolívar:

" No, no, no, no more, man, for God's sake. Why do you write to me asking me to change my resolution? What good does it do you, except to cause me the pain of saying to you 'no' a thousand times? Sir, you are excellent, inimitable, never will I say anything else about you; but my friend, to leave you for General Bolívar is something — to leave another husband without your qualities would be nothing.

"And do you think that I, after being the sweetheart of this General for seven years, and with the certainty of possessing his heart, would rather be the woman of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, or of the Sacred Trinity? If anything I am sorry of, it is that you were not even somewhat better, so that I could have left you. I know very well that nothing can unite me with him under those auspices which you call honor. Do you think I am less honorable because he is my lover and not my husband? Ah, I do not live preoccupied by social inventions devised to torment us.

"Let me alone, my dear Englishman. We will make another agreement: in the sky we will return to marry each other, but not on the earth. Do you think this agreement bad? Then I would say that you are very unreasonable. In the heavenly country we will pass an angelic life, all spiritual (since as a man you are heavy); there everything will be of the church, because the monotonous life is reserved to your nation (in love, I say, because in the rest, who are more apt in commerce and the marine?).

"Love, you English entertain without pleasure; conversation without grace, and slowly; greetings with reverence; rising up and sitting down with care; jokes without smiles; these are divine formulas, but I miserable mortal that laughs at myself, at you and at this English seriousness, etc. — how bad it would be with me in heaven! — as bad as if I were to live in England, or Constantinople; because to the English is due my conception of tyranny towards women, although you were not so to me; — but you were as jealous as a Portuguese.

"All this I do not care for — have n't I got good taste?

"Enough of jokes: formally and without laughing, with all seriousness, with the truth and purity of the church, I say that I will never live with you again. That you are angelic, and I the opposite, is a strong religious impediment; but that I am in love with another is a stronger and more powerful one. Don't you see I am thinking formally?

"Your invariable friend,

"MANUELA."

Manuela, who frequently visited Bolívar in the palace in Bogotá, was indisposed on the afternoon of September 25, 1828. Bolívar, who was also sick, sent for her. She excused herself at first, saying that

she was not feeling well, but later she went. She found Bolívar, and also his nephew Fernando, Captain Ibarra, and Colonel Ferguson, while only a small guard was around Bolívar's mansion.

The doors of the palace were closed. Bolívar took a tepid bath, Manuela reading to him in the mean time, and stillness reigned everywhere. At midnight the dogs of the palace barked, and soon footsteps were heard about the building. A conspiracy of revolution had been formed, signs and countersigns obtained, the sentinels deceived, and an entrance forced into the palace.

Bolívar was sleeping. Manuela awoke him, and told him what was passing. He dressed quickly, and she directed him to a balcony, telling him to make for the armory of Vargas, where there were loyal troops. She then went in the direction of the noise, and was seized by the intruders, who demanded to know where Bolívar was. "In the Consejo," said Manuela; but the conspirators went rushing toward the sleeping-room which Bolívar had just left. Infuriated at not finding Bolívar, the invaders seized Manuela. At that moment, however, they encountered Ibarra, who opened the door of his bedroom and fired upon them, and was himself wounded.

"Have they murdered the Liberator?" one of the officers of the palace asked Manuela, and she answered, "No, he lives." The intruders then tried to compel her to tell them where he was, but she said she did not know. They put her in a room under guard.

At this moment Ferguson came looking for Bolívar, and was shot dead by one of the conspirators, Carujo, who had been his intimate friend.

Bolívar in the mean time had thrown himself out of a window, and run in the direction of the monastery of the Carmelitas, hearing shots on all sides, and cries of "Death to the tyrant." On his way he encountered a faithful young friend, José Maria Antunez, born in Maracaibo. He led Bolívar to the bridge called Carmen, the intention being to take the left bank of a creek called San Augustin, so as to arrive at the armory of Vargas, with the object of leading these troops into the fight. When they arrived at the bridge, the troops at Vargas were already in action, the artillery fire being directed towards that side of the creek where Bolívar contemplated going. Voices were now heard shouting, "*Viva el Libertador*"; others were crying, "Death to the tyrant." The contending forces seemed nearing the bridge. Bolívar's guide led the general to a hiding-place beneath the bridge, which was no sooner gained than a troop of hostile artillery was heard to pass overhead.

A desultory fight was kept up in all parts of the town for several hours, but the conspirators were at last vanquished. General Urdaneta, Minister of War, then sent out to search in every direction for Bolívar, whose disappearance by this time was generally known.

Bolívar under the bridge heard them pass, shouting, "*Viva el*

Libertador!" "*Viva Bolívar.*" Thinking this was a ruse to get him to come out, he remained for several hours in his hiding-place.

Finally the general's guide went out, and seeing that his friends were in the ascendancy, Bolívar was himself extricated from his unpleasant position, — wet, covered with mud, shivering with cold, and so hoarse that he could scarcely speak.

Bolívar was greeted with a frenzy of joy on his return to the palace. Turning to Manuela, he said: "*Tu eres la Libertadora del Libertador,*" — "You were the Liberator of the Liberator."

Bolívar shoots Piar

Bolívar's treachery to Miranda is well known, but his act in shooting General Piar may be regarded as a piece of infamous ingratitude, such as an historian is seldom called upon to record, even in incomprehensible Latin America.

Manuel Carlos Piar was born in Curoçao in 1782. He joined Bolívar's first expedition from Hayti in 1816, which was really fitted out by President Petión. From the beginning of the revolution up to this date, every military adventure of Bolívar had ended disastrously. The real fighting had been done by Generals Mariño, Paez, and others. Bolívar had been whipped from one end of Venezuela to the other, and had demonstrated that he knew nothing of strategy. He had already twice escaped from Venezuela, and had left the half-breed generals to face an adverse situation as best they could. The influence which he had over the swarthy Jefes of the plains was due to his education and superior knowledge of the world rather than to his military prowess. At the same time his indomitable determination and fanatical enthusiasm, his daring and recklessness, in conjunction with the fact that he had a greater organizing ability than the unlettered Jefes, gave him his prestige. But so far as real military standing was concerned at that time, he had none. When he sailed from Aguin, Hayti, on March 30, 1816, Generals Mariano Montilla, Bermudez, and many others, refused to have anything to do with him, regarding him as impracticable and hare-brained. General Piar, however, went with him, and stood by him loyally.

This trip was a complete fiasco, and on August 16, after having lost what few soldiers he had, Bolívar arrived at Guira, only to find mutiny and hostility, if not downright contempt, expressed for him. Generals Mariño and Bermudez, who commanded in that section, would have nothing to do with him, and, sword in hand, Bolívar forced himself through a mob of Venezuelan soldiers, and escaped a second time to Hayti, absolutely without followers or influence.

At this critical juncture General Manuel Carlos Piar came to the front. He had proved himself as great a general as Venezuela possessed. At the great battle of Juncal, on September 26, General Piar

with 2000 men had overwhelmingly defeated the royalist Morales with 3000 men, and he was now a military factor not to be disregarded. He heard with sorrow of the disgrace which had befallen Bolívar. In co-operation with General Arismendi, of Margarita, Piar, disregarding entirely the opinions of Generals Mariño, Bermudez, and the rest, sent at once a commissioner to see Bolívar, in Hayti, to assure him of their loyalty, to tell him that they still recognized him as the Jefe Supremo, and to place themselves and their armies at his disposal. Bolívar was reanimated. He organized a second expedition from Hayti, and afterwards united with General Piar at Angostura. The military genius and unswerving loyalty of General Piar had saved Bolívar at the most critical period of his career. Not only this, General Piar had been fighting desperate battles while Bolívar was in Hayti, and after his return, and by the great victory which he won near San Felix, on April 11, 1817, over the Spanish Brigadier Latorre, killing and wounding about 1000 royalists, he turned the tide in favor of the anti-royalists, and made independence once more a possibility.

Little did Piar dream that he was nursing a viper which was destined to sting him to death! Little did the hero of one hundred desperate conflicts with the royalists imagine that his end was to come from the hands of a man who owed everything to his friendship, even to the very power which enabled him to order the assassination!

A so-called Congress had been established at Cariaco, which had disregarded Bolívar's pretence of being "Supreme Jefe," — a pretence which was at that time ridiculous, — and appointed a junta to govern the country. General Piar was favorable to this scheme, and this angered Bolívar. Although Piar and Arismendi had recalled Bolívar from Hayti, it was with the idea that he should be their chief, not their tyrant.

When this Congress was dissolved, General Piar suggested that a board of generals and influential men should be formed to administer the government. This offended Bolívar intensely. He was determined to be the Supreme Boss himself, of the Board of Administration and of everything else. What power Bolívar had up to this moment was due chiefly to General Piar; but he quarrelled with Piar, who thereupon left his army in command of Bolívar and retired to private life. Piar went first to Upata, and later to Angostura. Bolívar heard that Piar was fomenting a conspiracy, — and in Venezuela a man can hear almost anything he wishes, especially if it is wicked, — and he sent for Piar. The General refused to come; and it was stated that he had arrived at an understanding with General Mariño by which he was to recognize and serve under the latter as "Supreme Chief of the Republic."

Bolívar summoned his officers, and formed a junta, which again declared him Jefe Supremo de la Republica. Thereupon he sent a body of cavalry to make General Piar prisoner. This was com-

manded by General Cedeño, Juan Antonio Mina, and Juan Francisco Sanchez. No such force was needed, however, for General Piar was found entirely alone, in the village of Aragua de Cumaná. There was not the slightest evidence of any conspiracy, or that General Piar ever again intended to enter military life. Piar was taken to the headquarters of Bolívar, who appointed a mock court martial to try him on the charge of conspiracy and desertion. No time was lost in complying with the orders of Bolívar and declaring him guilty. Bolívar immediately signed the sentence of death. On the next day, October 17, 1817, General Piar was taken out and shot by his own troops. He attempted to make a speech to his ungrateful compatriots before they shot him, but they beat the drums so that his voice was drowned.

Simon Bolívar, on the day following this heinous crime, concocted the following composition by way of an address to his soldiers:

SOLDIERS: Yesterday was a day of pain for my heart. General Piar was executed for his crimes of high treason, conspiracy and desertion. A just and legal tribunal pronounced the sentence against that unfortunate citizen, who, intoxicated by the favors of fortune, and to satiate his ambition, attempted to ruin the country. General Piar really had done important services to the republic, and although the course of his conduct had always been mutinous, his services were bountifully rewarded by the government of Venezuela.

Nothing was left to be desired by a chief who had obtained the highest grades of the army. The second authority of the republic, which was vacant by the dissidence of General Mariño, was to be conferred on him before his rebellion; but he aspired to the supreme command, and formed a purpose the most atrocious that can be conceived. Not only had Piar intended civil war, but also anarchy, and the most inhuman sacrifice of his own companions and brethren.

Soldiers! You know it. Equality, liberty and independence are our motto. Has not humanity recovered her rights by our laws? Have not our arms broken the chains of the slaves? Has not the hateful difference of classes and colors been abolished forever? Have not the national moneys been ordered to be divided among you? Do not fortune and glory await you? Are not your merits abundantly rewarded, or at least justly? What then, did General Piar want for you? Are you not equal, free, independent, happy and honored? Could Piar obtain for you greater wealth? No, no, no. The tomb was being opened by Piar with his own hands, to bury in it the life, the wealth, the honor of the brave defenders of the liberty of Venezuela, their children, wives and fathers. . . .

Soldiers! Heaven watches for your well-being and the government, which is your father, is vigilant in your behalf. Your chief, who is your companion in arms, who is always at your head, and has participated in your perils and privations, as also in your victories, confides in you; rely then on him, sure that he loves you more than if even he were your father or your son.

SIMON BOLÍVAR.

HEADQUARTERS OF ANGOSTURA, October 17, 1817.

CHAPTER XIX

NOTED REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS—PAEZ, SAN MARTIN, AND SUCRÉ

JOSÉ ANTONIO PAEZ

JOSÉ ANTONIO PAEZ was born in the province of Barinas, Venezuela, June 13, 1790. He was a cattle-herder prior to the outbreak of the revolutions which made him famous. During his youth, he had many turbulent experiences. At the age of seventeen he was waylaid by a band of robbers, but killed one of them, and the others fled. Aristides Rojas relates, in his *Leyendas Historicas de Venezuela*, that Paez, when a boy, was bitten by a snake and at another time by a vicious dog; that he never recovered from the nervous shock, and that he was always afterwards subject to epileptic fits, while the sight of a snake filled him with terror and threw him into convulsions. When Paez went into a battle, it was with a perfect frenzy of excitement; in those terrible shocks against the cavalry of Lopez, Morales, La Torre, and Morillo, he was almost certain to suffer from horrible convulsions. "Thus, on entering the action of Chire and Yagual, and in the persecution of the enemy in the fields of Gamarra and Ortiz, and finally in Carabobo, after a splendid triumph, Paez had convulsions which deprived him for a time of reason." At the age of twenty he became a cavalry leader in the revolutionary ranks, and organized formidable forces of mountaineers. After some years of desultory fighting he enlisted under the banner of Bolívar in 1817, and two years later was made Major-General.

In the battle of Ortiz, in 1818, nearly the entire infantry at the command of Bolívar was destroyed by the Spaniards; but Paez with his cavalry made such terrific charges on the royalists that Bolívar was finally able to extricate his army. At the end of the engagement Paez went into convulsions, and was found by an English colonel lying at the foot of a tree, his mouth filled with foam. The Englishman gave the general some water and bathed his head, when Paez, opening his eyes, recognized the colonel and said, "I found myself so tired from the fatigues of the battle; I had already killed twenty-nine of the enemy, and was crossing my lance with one more, when I felt myself sick." At his side was the bloody lance, which he presented to the

English colonel as a testimonial of friendship. In the great defeat which Bolívar suffered at Gamarra, in 1819, Paez performed wonders with his cavalry; but he again suffered a terrible convulsion, his first words, upon regaining consciousness, being, "My lance, where is my lance? Bring my horse!"

Finally, at the brilliant victory of Carabobo, in 1821, which destroyed the power of Spain in that part of the continent, Paez also suffered from an epileptic attack, which was upon him at the moment that Bolívar came to offer him the thanks of Colombia and the rank of General-in-Chief. General Paez became Dictator of Venezuela, and for about seventeen years, exercised almost absolute power, either directly or through men appointed by himself. He took part in the movement for the separation of Venezula from Colombia, in 1829, and became its first President, in 1830.

The latter years of General Paez were as turbulent as his youth, and he finally was expelled from Venezuela. He came to New York, and lived there several years, dying in 1873. His autobiography was published in New York in 1869. His son, Ramon Paez, wrote his father's biography, which was published in New York in 1864.

JOSÉ DE SAN MARTIN

This distinguished patriot was born at Yapeyu, on the Uruguay River, February 25, 1778. At the age of eight years he went with his parents to Spain, and was educated for the military profession at the College of Nobles in Madrid. He saw service in Africa, fighting against the Moors, before he had reached his majority. In London San Martin met Miranda, who was busily engaged establishing revolutionary societies, and became imbued with the views of the illustrious enthusiast.

San Martin returned to South America in 1811, shortly after the royalist government had been overthrown in Argentina, and at once entered the ranks of the insurgents, organizing a troop of cavalry. In a short time he succeeded Belgrano in command of the army and instituted many real reforms. His ambition now was to create an army sufficient to drive the forces of Ferdinand out of Chili. To this end he began his work at Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes. His plan was to cross the Uspallata Pass, nearly 13,000 feet high, overcome the royalist armies in Chili, and descend upon Peru. In furtherance of his plan, he became Governor of Cuzco, an Andine province, in 1814, and proceeded at once to gather and drill a large force of hardy mountaineers. In the mean time the Chilians under Manuel Rodriguez were secretly organized, and merely awaiting an opportunity to revolt against Abascal, the Spanish Viceroy, and his General Osorio, who ruled with iron hands and were generally hated.

Early in 1817 San Martin's plans were perfected, and he proceeded

to cross the mountains. He started from Mendoza on January 17, amid the indescribable enthusiasm of the populace. On February 12 he gained a brilliant victory at Chacabuco. This was followed on the 5th of April, 1818, by the decisive victory of Maypo, which may be regarded as one of the most important battles ever fought in South America. The royalist army under General Osorio had about 5500 men, and San Martin had about the same number. The armies met near a junction of roads which leads through the passes of Maypo and Santiago. There were at this point a series of white crests or ridges, on which the armies faced each other. General Osorio threw a considerable body of men to the west to protect the road to Valparaiso, and San Martin's cavalry fell on the flank of this body with terrible force, completely routing it. General Osorio lost in this battle 1000 men killed, 150 officers, and 2000 prisoners; while San Martin lost 1000 men in killed and wounded. General San Martin now returned in person to Buenos Ayres, and laid before the Dictator, Juan Martin de Pueyrredon, a plan for the liberation of Peru. The plan was accepted. He then returned to Chili, organized the government, raised a large army, and a considerable naval fleet, which was placed under the command of Lord Cochrane, a British admiral, who sailed for Lima August 21, 1820.

Lima was captured, the Spaniards were driven from the coast, the independence of Peru was proclaimed on July 28, 1821, and San Martin was designated its "Protector."

General San Martin met Bolívar in Guayaquil on July 25, 1822. They had a private interview, the tenor of which has never been published. As a result of this meeting with Bolívar, however, San Martin seems to have decided to retire forever from the tempestuous turmoil of South American politics. He called the Peruvian Congress together, and handed in his resignation in the following words:

"I have witnessed the declaration of independence of the States of Chili and Peru. I hold in my possession the standard which Pizarro brought to enslave the empire of the Incas. I have ceased to be a public man. Thus I am more than rewarded for ten years spent in revolution and warfare. My promises to the countries in which I warred are fulfilled — to make them independent and leave to their will the elections of the governments.

"The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly constituted States. I am also disgusted with hearing that I wish to make myself a sovereign. Nevertheless, I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of the country, but in the class of the private individual, and no other.

"With respect to my public conduct, my compatriots (as is generally the case) will be divided in their opinions. Their children will pronounce the true verdict.

"Peruvians! I leave your national representation established. If you repose implicit confidence in it, you will triumph. If not, anarchy will swallow you up.

"May success preside over your destinies, and may they be crowned with felicity and peace."

General San Martin now declined an offer of 10,000 ounces gold from the Peruvian Congress. With only a few thousand dollars he took with him his daughter Mercedes and went to Europe. There he lived in poverty and neglect for about thirty years, near Paris, and died at Boulogne on August 17, 1850.

His remains were afterwards taken to Argentina, where the tomb of San Martin, a magnificent mausoleum, forms part of the Cathedral of Buenos Ayres. On it is inscribed, in Spanish:

"Triumphed in San Lorenzo, 1813;
Affirmed the Independence of Argentina, 1816;
Crossed the Andes, 1817;
Carried the Banner of Emancipation to Chili,
to Peru, and to Ecuador, 1817–1822."

General San Martin may justly be regarded as the highest type of general which South America has produced. There was as much difference between San Martin and Bolívar as there was between General Grant and Quantrell. He was a man of quiet tastes, of serene and philosophical temper, simple in his manners and language, and utterly disliked the scenes of revelry, pageantry, and bacchanalry in which Bolívar delighted. He dressed neatly but plainly, was not given to extravagances of speech or action; and the hair-raising pronunciamentos and decretas of the long line of succeeding military usurpers of South America were entirely foreign to his nature.

His proclamation to the Peruvian Congress, upon resigning his power, was worthy of a greater people than that to whom it was addressed: "My promises to the countries in which I warred are fulfilled, to make them independent and leave to their will the elections of the government."

How pitiable it was to see this great man step down and out, with such ideals as these, — a man who might really have established a representative government, — to leave the erratic Bolívar to assume absolute dictatorial powers!

JOSÉ DE ANTONIO SUCRÉ

General Sucré was by far the ablest of Bolívar's lieutenants. He had not the daring and resourcefulness of his master, but he was of a more stable character. Sucré was born in Cumaná, Venezuela, February 3, 1795. At the age of eighteen he joined the insurgents, under Mariño, and in 1814 he enlisted under Bolívar. When Bolívar's troops were scattered to the winds, and he himself went into exile, Sucré fled to Trinidad; but in 1816, when Bolívar landed a second time on the shores of Venezuela, Sucré joined his forces. In 1818 he

went into the West Indies to secure arms, and, returning with 12 canon and about 10,000 stands of arms, Bolívar made him chief of his staff. Sucré led a victorious invasion into New Granada in 1819, and went south to Quito.

In 1821 he landed at Guayaquil, where there had been an almost uninterrupted insurrection against the Spanish viceroys since 1809. Upper Peru had been invaded by the patriot army from Buenos Ayres, under General Balcarce, which defeated the Spanish troops in two fierce engagements, and celebrated the first anniversary of independence near the shores of Lake Titicaca in May, 1811. In June, however, this army was attacked and seriously defeated by the Spaniards, under General Goyeneche, and driven back into Jujuy. Four years of desperate fighting ensued, ending, in 1815, with the complete rout of the patriots in the great battle of Potosi-Oruro. A powerful revolt of Indians in the southern provinces of Peru was also put down, and by 1816 the Spanish General La Serna felt strong enough to attempt to invade Argentina. He was defeated by the guacho, or cow-boy, troops of Salta and Jujuy. For the next six years a guerrilla warfare was kept up.

General Sucré now began to play a leading part in this section of the continent. On May 24, 1822, he won a great victory at Pichincha, breaking the power of Spain in Ecuador. In June, 1823, General Santa Cruz set out from Lima for Upper Peru with two divisions, and occupied a great territory between La Paz and Oruro; but he met with reverses, and retreated, arriving at Lima with only the broken remnants of his army. The star of Sucré was now in the ascendant. He was to Bolívar what Sherman or Sheridan was to Grant, and every move he made increased the fortune and fame of his chief.

On December 9, 1824, was fought the great and decisive battle of Ayacucho, in which General Sucré was the central figure. General William Miller, an Englishman, deserved great credit for his part in this fight; but the greatest burden of the battle rested on General Sucré. General La Serna, the Viceroy, commanded the royalist army, some 13,000 strong, outnumbering the forces of Sucré; but the Spaniards were driven from the field with great slaughter, losing all their artillery, with 1400 killed and 700 wounded, while General La Serna himself was wounded and made prisoner.

A universal uprising now occurred in all the provinces, and in many places the royalist garrisons went over to the revolutionists. The Spaniards were confined to the province of Potosi, with 2000 disaffected troops under General Olaneta, who in March, 1825, was killed by his own soldiers.

General Bolívar was made Perpetual Dictator by the Congress of Lima in 1825, and General Sucré was assigned to supreme command in Upper Peru. The government of Argentina now proposed to Upper Peru a question as to whether they desired to remain united with that

country or form an independent nation. Delegates representing some fifty-four provinces met at Chuquisaca, and decided in favor of separation. A declaration of independence was issued, and the name "Bolivia," in honor of Bolívar, was adopted. The provisional Congress was dissolved October 6, 1825, and a new Congress assembled at Chuquisaca on May 25, 1826. This Congress adopted the Constitution prepared by Bolívar, under which a President was to be chosen for life. General Sucré was made the first President. The general was disposed to be prudent, however, and he stipulated that he should retain 2000 Colombian troops on his staff, as a measure of precaution. Continued uprisings occurred, however, in all parts of the country, and at the end of 1827 General Sucré and his Colombian troops were driven from the country, and Marshal Santa Cruz became President. General Sucré was murdered later by his own troops. General Sucré was perhaps not so great a general nor so wise a man as San Martin, but in character and ability he was far above most of the other Latin-American Dictators.

The five greatest and most decisive battles in the wars of South American independence were Boyacá, Carabobo, Pichincha, Ayacucho, and Maypo. The battle of Boyacá, although placed to the credit of Bolívar by historians, was actually directed by Anzoategui. General Paez was the real hero of Carabobo; and General Sucré, of Pichincha and Ayacucho; while Maypo was won by San Martin, entirely independent of all other generals.

FATE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY GENERALS

We have now briefly sketched the careers of some of the principal characters in this strange and bloody drama. Hundreds of other brave and enthusiastic men — such as General Santander, Vice-President under Bolívar — we have scarcely had space to mention.

What became of them all? If republics are proverbially ungrateful, what shall we say of military dictatorships? Truly, Bolívar had "written on the sands." No wonder he and all his colleagues died broken-hearted. Their fate is thus described by General Mitré:

"The fate of the emancipators of South America is tragical. The first revolutionists of La Paz and of Quito died on the scaffold. Miranda, the apostle of liberty, betrayed by his own people to his enemies, died, alone and naked, in a dungeon. Moreno, the priest of the Argentine revolution, and the teacher of the democratic idea, died at sea, and found a grave in the ocean. Hidalgo, the first popular leader of Mexico, was executed as a criminal. Belgrano, the first champion of Argentine independence, who saved the revolution at Tucuman and Salta, died obscurely, while civil war raged around him. O'Higgins, the hero of Chili, died in exile, as Carrera, his rival, had done before him. Iturbide, the real liberator of Mexico, fell a victim to his own ambition. Montufar, the leader of the revolution in Quito, and his comrade Villavicencio, the promoter of that of Cartagena, were strangled. The first

presidents of New Granada, Lozano and Torres, fell sacrifices to the restoration of colonial terrorism. Piar, who found the true base for the insurrection in Colombia, was shot by Bolívar, to whom he had shown the way to victory. Rivadavia, the civil genius of South America, who gave form to her representative institutions, died in exile. Sucré, the conqueror of Ayacucho, was murdered by his own men on a lonely road. Bolívar and San Martin died in banishment."

CHAPTER XX

GREATEST RULERS OF LATIN AMERICA — PORFIRIO DIAZ AND DOM PEDRO II

IT is necessary to study the characteristics of typical classes of rulers who dominate Latin America if we are to be in a position to view the governments of the countries which compose them. In any country the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the chief executive are apt to be reflected to some extent in governmental functions; but under a dictatorship, where the ruler is in fact the government, a critical examination of his biography becomes necessary if we are at all correctly to apprehend political conditions. An understanding of such a government is arrived at, not so much from a comparative analysis of systems as from an observation of the temperament, moral qualities, capabilities, actions, and ambitions of the man at the head.

Many very excellent executives have been produced by Latin-American countries within the past century, and mention will be made of some of the principal of these in a subsequent chapter. Needless to say, there have been a still larger number of unprincipled military dictators whose record is disgraceful in the extreme. Among the many executives produced by the Latin countries of North as well as of South America, two names stand out conspicuous, — Porfirio Diaz and Dom Pedro II.

These two men are unquestionably the greatest rulers which Latin America has ever produced; no others are within measurable distance of them. Curiously enough, they are men of extremely different personal tastes and characteristics, indeed almost antithetical, and the wonder is that men exhibiting traits of such marked differences could arrive at substantially the same result, — that is, the organizing of really strong and efficient governments with the elements existing in Mexico and Brazil.

GENERAL PORFIRIO DIAZ

This great man, by reason of his marvellous genius and achievements, is entitled to rank at the head of all the rulers and statesmen which Latin America has ever produced. He was born at Oaxaca,

Mexico, on September 15, 1830. His father, Captain José Diaz, died from cholera when young Diaz was three years old. His mother, Doña Petrona Mory, was the offspring of an Asturian father and a Mixteca Indian mother.

Young Porfirio attended the primary and secondary schools of the neighborhood, and at the age of fourteen entered the seminary. For a time he was clerk in the store of Don Joaquin Vasconcelos, taught school, and was appointed later librarian of the local college by Benito Juarez, who was then Governor of the State of Oaxaca.

Young Diaz took a four years' course in the Institute, studied law in the office of Juarez and Perez, and became Professor of Roman Law.

In December, 1854, Diaz incurred the enmity of Dictator Santa Ana, by voting against his retention of power. An order was issued for his arrest and execution, but he escaped to the village of Ejutla, where he joined the revolutionary troops of Captain Herrera and engaged in numerous battles. At the age of twenty-five he became Jefe Politico of the district of Ixtlan, State of Oaxaca. He organized a strong force of Indians and became a military figure to be reckoned with.

He soon relinquished his office of Jefe Politico, became Captain of the Fourth Company of the Second Battalion of the National Guard, and in August, 1857, made an expedition against revolutionists in Jamiltepec, where he was severely wounded.

In January, 1858, Diaz, under General Rosas Lander, defended Oaxaca against the Spanish General José Maria Cobos, who was compelled to raise his siege. On February 25 Diaz, with two companies, attacked the enemy, numbering 2300, at Jalapa, and completely routed him. He was then made Jefe Politico and Military Commander of the District of Tehuantepec. On April 13, 1858, Diaz led a successful attack upon the forces of General José Conchado, at the hacienda of Jicaras, a victory which gained his promotion to Comandante of Battalion. On June 17, 1859, he obtained the victory, at Mixtequilla, over the forces of Lieutenant-Colonel Espinosa, and was made Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.

On November 24, 1859, Lieutenant-Colonel Diaz, with 300 men, attacked the conservatives under General Alarcon, at Tehuantepec, and routed them. Diaz was now made Colonel. At the head of 500 men he led a desperate charge against the enemy at Tlacolula, near the ruins of Mitla, and on Februray 2, 1860, again defeated the forces of Cobos at Fortin de la Soledad. Colonel Diaz acquitted himself with honor in the actions of Marquesado on March 9, and of Ixtepeji on May 15. On August 5, 1860, with 700 men, he overcame Cobo's army of 2000, and although badly wounded, pursued the enemy and took possession of the city of Oaxaca.

Diaz was compelled to retire from military life for a time because

of the severity of his wounds and an attack of typhoid fever. He became a congressman, but was called from his duties as legislator, on June 24, 1861, to defend the national capital, which was attacked by General Leonardo Marquez, one of the leaders of the church party. Diaz routed Marquez, and was rewarded by an appointment as Chief of Brigade of Oaxaca. As continual revolutions were occurring in all parts of Mexico, Diaz had every opportunity to enhance his military reputation. He moved with great rapidity, marching by night, attacking before daylight, with a fierceness which swept everything before him. During July and the early part of August Diaz was pursuing the Conservadores in Southern Mexico. On the night of August 13, 1861, he attacked Marquez, who had 4000 men and 5 pieces of artillery, at Jalatlaco. A desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which lasted all night. Diaz finally gained the plaza, seized the enemy's artillery, and put his forces to flight. For this achievement he was made Brigadier-General on August 23, 1861.

During the French invasion in 1862 General Diaz did effective work for his country. He fought a severe battle with General Lorencez, on April 28, 1862, at Acultzingo, and was largely instrumental in gaining the famous victory, "Cinco de Mayo," which was fought on the road to Amozoc.

Acting under General Zaragoza, Diaz defeated the French at La Ceiva on June 14, and in January of the following year he held one of the most important positions in defence of the city of Puebla, during the sixty-day siege established by the French.

General Diaz was now appointed Commander-in-Chief of the country to the south and east of Puebla. In October, 1863, he left Queretaro with a small body of troops, and after a severe battle at Taxto, on October 28, entered Oaxaca. Here he reorganized the army, fought the French at Huajuapan, Teotitlan, Zoyaltepec, and gained a decisive victory at San Antonio Nanahuatipan.

In January, 1865, however, General Bazaine sent 12,000 men and 40 pieces of artillery against Diaz, who had only 3000 men with which to defend Oaxaca. Diaz was forced to surrender. He was sent a prisoner to Puebla, but succeeded in effecting his escape on September 20, 1865.

With tireless energy General Diaz now threw himself into the desperate conflict which was raging with the French. He organized a small force, captured the garrison of Tehuitzingo on September 22, defeated 150 French and Imperialists at Piaxtla on September 23, gained a victory over superior forces under General Vissoso on October 1, at Jultzingo, and again defeated the enemy at Comitlipa on December 4.

After many exciting adventures, and escapes which appear miraculous, General Diaz gained a decisive victory over the Imperialists at Miahuatlan on October 13, 1866. The famous victory, "La Car-

bonera," was gained five days later, in which Diaz routed the Austrian forces, captured nearly all their infantry, 700 rifles, and much artillery and stores. He took the city of Oaxaca, on October 31, after a short siege. Diaz now made a lightning-like movement to the south, fighting battles at Chistova, Tequisistlan, Tlacolulito, and elsewhere. On March 9, with only 6 guns, he besieged Puebla, which was held by the enemy with 100 guns. General Marquez with 8000 men marched to raise the siege. Diaz feigned retreat, thereby deceiving the enemy, and then on the night of April 2 made one of the most desperate attacks of the war on the trenches of the foe. A hand-to-hand conflict raged all night, resulting in a complete victory for the forces of Diaz.

The victorious Diaz left General Diego in charge of Puebla, and pursued the forces of Marquez, who after a series of disastrous battles was compelled to take refuge in the city of Mexico.

At this time, June 19, Maximilian, who had been captured at Queretaro, was executed by order of Juarez. Two days later the city of Mexico surrendered to Diaz.

At the end of this war General Diaz returned to Oaxaca. He was married, on April 2, 1867, to Miss Delfina Ortega y Reyes, and a short time after retired to a sugar plantation near Tlacotalpam, on the Papaloapam River.

On July 18, 1872, President Juarez died, and Lerdo de Tajada assumed the rulership of Mexico. Revolutions continued in all parts of the country, and the new Dictator engaged in wholesale arrests and persecutions. Among those who had the disfavor of the President was General Diaz, who early in 1876 inaugurated a formidable revolution against the government. Diaz went to the United States and invaded Mexico via Brownsville, with only 40 men. On April 2 Diaz had 400 men, with whom he captured Matamoras. The government now sent 6000 men to oppose him. He fled to the South, disguised as a doctor. On the City of Havana, en route from Tampico to Vera Cruz, his identity was discovered by a body of troops. To escape capture he jumped overboard, for the purpose of swimming ashore, but was pursued by a boat, captured, and taken back a prisoner to the ship. The American purser, Alexander Coney, took a liking to Diaz, and concealed him in his wardrobe, at the same time throwing a life buoy overboard to give the impression that Diaz had again jumped into the sea. For several days Diaz remained in his hiding-place. On arriving at Vera Cruz, he escaped, disguised as a mariner, and was soon in his native State, organizing a strong armed force.

On November 16 General Diaz gained the battle of Tecoca, through the aid of General Gonzalez, taking 3000 prisoners. He then captured Puebla, and on November 24, 1876, took possession of the capital. War was raging in all parts of Mexico between the partisans of Lerdo and Iglesias. Diaz at once set out to pacify the country. This he did, and appointed himself Constitutional President.

In 1880 his wife died. Two years later he married Señorita Carmen Romero Rubio, the daughter of Manuel Romero Rubio, who was leader of one of the parties which had been antagonistic to him.

In 1883 General and Mrs. Diaz visited the United States, and were received with great honors. Since that date Diaz has been the actual government of Mexico.

The Character of General Porfirio Diaz

General Diaz grows on one. The oftener we see him, and the more we study his life-work, the more we become impressed by him. He is a world character; his fame is secure alongside the mightiest constructive intellects of all ages and all nations.

In a previous chapter we have described the career and character of Simon Bolívar, — a wonderful, harum-scarum, irresponsible, cruel, half-crazy dare-devil; the most notable character of his type which the world has produced; the incarnation of energy, perseverance, destruction, and self-glorification.

In Porfirio Diaz we have the very antithesis of this type, — a tremendous character devoting his vast intellectual resources to constructive and not to destructive work. A braver man personally than Bolívar, without his fanaticism; a greater general, with none of Bolívar's merciless cruelty and savagery, — Diaz has distinguished himself over and above Bolívar by his manifest good faith, and by his extraordinary talents in constructive statesmanship. Out of anarchy and desolation Diaz has evolved a mighty nation, — a nation which, if it continues to pursue the paths of peace and equity marked out for it by the real Father of his Country, Diaz, can count upon the loyal friendship and material and moral aid of the government of the United States in every emergency.

In comparison with this superb achievement the performances of all other Latin-American rulers, except Dom Pedro II, seem unworthy and unimportant.

The fundamental strength of the character of Diaz is good faith. If he enters into a contract, it is with the honest intention of living up to it. Petty prejudices have never swayed him. He has taken a broad and comprehensive view of the currents of civilization. He has bent his energies and exercised all his powers of organization to develop Mexico into a really great nation, and he has succeeded to a degree which fills every observer with admiration. Diaz can stand comparison not only with the great characters of Latin America, but with the ablest rulers of the world. He reminds one of Bismarck, welding the German Empire together; or of Peter the Great, — minus his cruelty, — the incarnation of national development and extension. Our own country has produced but one man who has exhibited the same varied aptitudes in all the vicissitudes of peace and war, —

George Washington. Lincoln is one of the world's immortal characters; he possessed all the qualities of statesmanship and patriotism in a degree never surpassed, but he did not have the pre-eminent military talents of Diaz. General Grant was a great soldier, probably greater than Hannibal, Wellington, or Lee, and equal perhaps, as regards real fighting ability, to any captain who has ever lived; but Grant was lamentably deficient in statesmanship. Porfirio Diaz, however, is soldier and statesman combined, — lawgiver, judge, and executive, — the embodiment of every virtue and capability necessary for making out the well-rounded character of a ruler worthy of being ranked with Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Frederick the Great, or Bismarck. He belongs not alone to Mexico, but to the world.

DOM PEDRO II

Close upon the heels of Porfirio Diaz as a candidate for the most exalted rank among Latin-American statesmen comes Dom Pedro II, whose personal biography for fifty years would constitute the history of Brazil. Dom Pedro II was called Emperor, but the name or title given to a ruler is of small importance; the facts of his administration constitute the real question. A First Consul or Chief Servant may be a bloody and relentless tyrant; while Czars and Sultans have been known who were mild-mannered, and really solicitous for the welfare of their people.

During the time that Dom Pedro II was Emperor of Brazil, that country came nearer being a republic than it ever did before or has since. There was more real liberty, — just as there is to-day in Mexico, — the wishes of the people were more carefully respected in matters of administration, and there were more guarantees for life and property, than under the succeeding dictatorships.

How such a character as Dom Pedro II could dominate the diversified population of such a country as Brazil for so long a time is remarkable. I am inclined to think that the really able and vigorous military commander, Luiz Lima e Silva, called Baron of Caxias, who was for so long a period the chief executive officer of Dom Pedro II, deserves an amount of credit not usually accorded him. He held in check the turbulent elements, and made it possible for the Emperor to direct the course of events along lines of material development.

Dom Pedro II became Emperor before he was of age. The people of Brazil had become tired of the regency, and that unique institution known as Congress issued a decree adding two or three years to the age of the boy Emperor. This was on July 23, 1840, and Dom Pedro II at once ascended the "throne." For the next fifty years he held his position as the central figure of the South American empire.

Dom Pedro II was a unique character — especially so in contrast with the typical buccaneering Latin-American military ruler. He

was a bookworm, an omnivorous reader, and a student of almost every subject under the sun. It may be that he was not profound in any particular branch, but his mind was filled with every sort of information, and the extent and variety of subjects to which he devoted more than passing attention was amazing. The pageantry of state functions did not interest him; adulation, so freely heaped upon other rulers, disgusted him; and he was at all times ready to end a cabinet meeting so that he might take up some new "old-book."

In his personal manners he was democratic almost to the point of eccentricity. He dressed in the simplest manner, and mingled with the common people freely. There was little or no pomp or ceremony about his government, and he never maintained what could be called a "Court."

In his private life he was a clean, moral gentleman, in marked contrast to his depraved and licentious father. The family of Dom Pedro II conducted themselves modestly, and lived simply, and a more conscientious father and husband it would be hard to find.

Dom Pedro II seemed to care nothing for power or glory. He was obstinate for what he believed to be right, but he was amenable to reason, and never hesitated to change his policy from conviction. It always seemed as though he desired to yield to the judgment of others; that he did not wish to exercise his power when he could avoid it; but when occasion required he was as firm as a rock.

Dom Pedro II treated the Church fairly but not obsequiously; he patronized art and literature, and promoted education. The desire to tyrannize over others or to make a display or to receive laudation was entirely foreign to his nature. He was a modest, honest, self-possessed, cultured gentleman; a thinker of a rather discursive type; a philosopher of rather a practical bent. He loved peace, happiness, and prosperity, — and he sincerely desired the well-being of Brazil.

In the very simplicity of his character, his manly honesty and candor, was his strength. The people laughed at many of his foibles and peculiarities, and loved him all the more because of his unquestioned honesty and no mean ability.

He foresaw the trend towards republicanism and seemed to be glad that it was coming. In the government which he conducted the people were given all the share they were qualified to exercise.

During his long rule the material and moral advancement of Brazil was very great. It enjoyed a generation of comparative peace, while the neighboring countries were ravaged by anarchy and brigandage.

At the end of his long and useful career Dom Pedro II was deposed by a *coup d'état*, devised by Deodoro da Fonseca, an unprincipled tyrant. The old Emperor, then in feeble health, was made a prisoner in his palace by the conspirators, on November 15, 1889,

and the following night, November 16, he and his family were put on board a ship, without ceremony, and sent to Lisbon.

Thus ended the only true republic, or the only government at all approaching the character of a republic, which Brazil has ever possessed. It was called an empire. Since that date they have had dictatorships and called them republics.

Dom Pedro II died in December, 1891, at which time Brazil was torn by internal dissensions, and its people subjected to the tyranny of the typical military dictator.

CHAPTER XXI

LATIN-AMERICAN RULERS OF THE BETTER TYPE

"Whoever does the best his circumstance allows
Does well, acts nobly."

JUDGED by this rational canon, there has been a considerable number of Latin-American rulers who deserve praise. With bad faith, blackmail, despotism, and disorder everywhere in evidence, many Latin-American rulers have sought honestly to administer the governments which they controlled. To place the Chief Executive in this class it is not necessary that his record as a whole should be approved. It is only needful to believe him a man of good faith and honest intentions, and that he should also be possessed of such intelligence, judgment, energy, and force of character as would reasonably qualify him to exercise the functions of his office.

DR. DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

Among the very best rulers of South America may be mentioned Sarmiento, the "Schoolmaster" President, of Argentina. This man was an enlightened, honest, scholarly, and patriotic gentleman. He gave a splendid impulse to education in his country. He was sincerely desirous of establishing a system of public education on a firm and lasting foundation, and accomplished much in this direction.

Sarmiento was born on February 15, 1811, in San Juan, Argentina, a village of about 10,000 inhabitants, located at the foot of the Andes Mountains. His father was a mule-driver, in which capacity he served in General San Martin's army. His mother was wholly illiterate.

In early childhood Sarmiento worked in a village store in extreme poverty, but he received the rudiments of instruction in Latin, and a few simple branches, at the hands of an uncle, who was a priest. In 1823 he applied for one of the six free scholarships offered by the government to pupils in the province of San Juan, but they were awarded by lot, and he failed in his application.

In the civil wars waged by the Argentine tyrant, Juan Manuel Rosas, at the head of the so-called Federalistas, Sarmiento took an active part in opposition. He served with the Unitarios until the latter

were overwhelmingly defeated, and then he escaped to Chili. In the latter country Sarmiento became a teacher in the University of Chili, and soon afterwards wrote a book, entitled "Facundo: Civilization against Barbarism." The work created a sensation throughout Europe and America. He described the chronic revolutions of Argentina, the vast pampas filled with bandits and malefactors, and showed that civilized progress was impossible under the conditions existing there.

In 1845 Sarmiento went to Europe for the purpose of studying the educational systems of the countries of that continent.

In 1853 Sarmiento returned to Buenos Ayres, upon the overthrow of Rosas by General Urquiza, and assumed the editorship of *El Nacional*, a prominent newspaper. He at once commanded national attention, as a man of scholarship and of broad and practical views. He was selected as representative in Congress, then as senator, and thus exercised on the national policy a great and beneficent influence. He advocated the encouragement of immigration, the establishment of a public school system, the development of agriculture and commerce, and the building of railways.

On the occasion of the dangerous revolution inaugurated by Chaco, the guacho Jefe, which threatened a repetition of the tyranny of Rosas, Dr. Sarmiento took the field in person at the head of a strong body of troops, and utterly destroyed the uprising, killing the leader.

In 1864 Dr. Sarmiento was appointed minister to the United States by General Mitré, the President. In 1865 he arrived in Washington, and was received by President Andrew Johnson. Dr. Sarmiento's fame had preceded him, and he was accorded many honors by scientific and other societies.

In 1868 Dr. Sarmiento was elected President of Argentina. He went at once to Buenos Ayres, and assumed the duties of his office. He gave a strong and able administration, by far the best in all respects which that country has ever enjoyed. A man of peace, devoting his time to extending the public school system, promoting education, establishing museums, libraries, and astronomical observatories, Dr. Sarmiento was nevertheless a rigid disciplinarian and stern in the suppression of disorder. Although he never had occasion to exercise the great military talents displayed by General Porfirio Diaz in Mexico, or by San Martin or Sucré, yet he had military ability of no small capacity, and the iron determination with which he suppressed revolutions and public disorders proves him to have possessed all the qualities of a ruler of the first order. Towards the end of his term an attempt was made to assassinate him, but fortunately without avail.

Dr. Sarmiento observed the provisions of the Constitution with singular care. He refused to interfere in the election of his successor, President Avellaneda, who took his seat in 1874. However, he continued to exercise great influence in public affairs. He served in the

Argentine Congress, and devoted the remaining years of his life to strengthening and upbuilding the educational system of the country. He took a conspicuous and honorable part in every notable intellectual and moral movement in Argentina during the remaining years of his life.

Dr. Sarmiento died, at the age of seventy-seven, at Asunción, Paraguay. Take him all in all, he may be regarded as the most illustrious ruler which Argentina has ever produced, and one of the greatest citizens of Latin America.

OTHER DISTINGUISHED RULERS OF LATIN AMERICA

General Bartolomé Mitré is another distinguished character in the history of Argentina who is worthy of respect. General Mitré was a military character, and as such his activities were directed strongly in favor of Buenos Ayres as against the other provinces in the long struggle between them. He was, however, a bitter partisan. He was a man of national sympathies, and his influence on Argentina was very great at an important period in its history.

General Julio A. Roca is one of Argentina's strongest characters. It is not easy in a brief space properly to criticise the career of this man. He acquired power and held it by military force, and his revolutionary deeds and misdeeds would fill an interesting volume. Many of his acts were extremely detrimental to Argentina, such as the issue of incontrovertible bank notes, and during his administration there were many and grave financial scandals. For these reasons it is questionable whether General Roca is entitled to rank among the better class of Latin-American rulers. He was a higher type of man than Guzman Blanco, but so far as honesty and efficiency of administration are concerned is not worthy of being ranked with General Mitré and Dr. Sarmiento.

Peru has produced a few rulers of the better type. Don Ramon Castilla is entitled to stand at the head of them all. He was a grizzled fighter of great force of character, generous, and moderate, and at the same time progressive. He furthered public improvements, held the elements of disorder in subjection, encouraged industry, and did what he could to place Peru on a sound footing financially. From the time he assumed office until his death, General Castilla was the foremost figure of Peru.

Chili has had several fairly good chief executives. One of the most respectable administrations of Chili was that of President José Joaquin Perez. This man ruled strictly according to the Constitution, — a thing theretofore entirely unknown in Chili. He guaranteed perfect liberty of speech and the press, and during his term of office life and property were thoroughly safeguarded. President Perez laid the foundations for the Chilian navy, which in so short a time was des-

tined to dominate the west coast of South America. He may be regarded as one of the best and ablest executives that Chili has ever had.

President Federico Errazuriz, who took office in 1896, also gave Chili on the whole a very good administration. He was confronted by many serious difficulties. Crisis followed crisis in his cabinet, and at the outset Congress was very hostile to him. Nevertheless he accomplished a great deal. During his term it seemed that war with Argentina was inevitable owing to a boundary dispute. Through his wisdom and moderation this disaster was averted.

There have been very few rulers in Venezuela who could be said to belong to the better class. Dr. Rojas Paul was probably the highest type of man who has occupied the executive chair in Venezuela. Most of their so-called Presidents were military dictators simply.

President Prudente de Moraes Barros of Brazil was one of the rulers of the better type. His administration following the despotism of Peixoto and of Fonseca formed a strange contrast. He endeavored to comply with the provisions of the Constitution, to respect the autonomy of the several States, and to give as nearly as he could an honest and decent administration. Owing to revolutions, the President was compelled to adopt some severe measures, but he did the best he could to rule Brazil justly.

With reference to Colombia, it is difficult to find a ruler who is worthy of serious consideration. I am inclined to think that here we must pick out the two men at the extremes of the line of rulers, — that is to say, the first and the last. General Santander was a remarkable man in more ways than one. He was quite a scholar, a prolific writer for the press, and a general of no mean ability. He has been severely criticised for disloyalty to Bolívar, who, in fact, at one time contemplated having Santander shot. As Bolívar was disloyal to everybody, it is not clear how disloyalty to Bolívar could be esteemed a serious fault.

General Rafael Reyes of Colombia is a man of intelligence, ability, and considerable experience. As a man he is far above the typical military Jefe. General Reyes has already granted many monopolies and promulgated many unwise measures, but there is still reason to hope that he will walk in the paths of enlightened counsel.

In Ecuador President Antonio Flores is deserving of mention. He took hold of the government in time of chaos and anarchy. He brought order out of confusion and devoted himself to the betterment of the country. He gave much attention to establishing a system of primary education. He introduced many reforms, scrupulously respected the provisions of the Constitution, and, during his term government troops were not allowed to rob or assassinate citizens. The forced loan was abolished, and there was more real liberty and guarantee for life and property than Ecuador had ever known prior to that time.

There may be other Latin-American rulers, and doubtless are, who are worthy to be classed among the men herein mentioned. Partisans of one or another may complain that their heroes have been omitted. Thus O'Higgins, the first President of Chili, many will say, should be included in this list, possibly placed at the head of it. Unfortunately there are many blots on the fame of O'Higgins. He unquestionably caused the assassination of the two brothers Carrera and of a large number of their followers. This fact could prevent his inclusion in any roll-call of fame.

CHAPTER XXII

TYPICAL LATIN-AMERICAN DICTATORS — BAD

ANTONIO GUZMAN BLANCO

GUZMAN BLANCO was born in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1829. His father was a political agitator, at one time private secretary to Bolívar, and later held many official positions. He experienced the vicissitudes common to Latin-American political adventurers generally; at one time holding great power, with the rabble at his heels shouting "*Viva*"; at other times on the under turn of the wheel, poverty-stricken and without influence.

The son served an excellent apprenticeship for his subsequent career. One revolutionary and despotic government had succeeded another. In 1858 General Julian Castro took possession of the executive power, and dictated measures of extraordinary violence; still more atrocious governments succeeded, presided over by Pedro Gual, Manuel P. de Tovar, General José A. Paez, and Pedro J. Rojas. These military Dictators committed every kind of persecution and outrage, even against private families, until finally, in 1858, the revolution called "Federal" broke out with a fierceness which even Venezuela had not witnessed up to that time. It lasted until 1863, when it was finally successful. This revolution brought to the front the most barbarous elements of Venezuela. Savages, depraved Jefes, and the whole corrupt, debauched, and ignorant military rabble, now seized the government of Venezuela by the throat — and they have not relinquished their grasp on it yet. From this revolution Juan C. Falcon became "Supreme Chief of the Republic," with Antonio Guzman Blanco as his right-hand man.

Guzman Blanco was an apt pupil. Born with talents of a high order in this peculiar class of ingenuity, and under the degrading tutelage of Falcon, Guzman Blanco soon became a more talented freebooter and debauchee than the teacher. Generals and Jefes surrounded him as with a plague of horse-flies, the most scandalous schemes of extortion were adopted, the public treasury was looted, and a reign of corruption ensued. Finally the horrible disorders, and actual anarchy under Juan C. Falcon, produced another revolution, which broke out in 1867. This continued for a year or more, and

after enormous sacrifices of life, succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorship of Falcon.

José Tadeo Monagas was then, in 1868, declared Provisional President. He exercised his power with discretion and general satisfaction. He was elected Constitutional President, but unfortunately died on November 18, 1868. In February, 1869, the Congress declared the son, General J. Ruperto Monagas, President. The administration of this man was weak and inept; he placed his power at the disposal of the old guard of reactionary generals. It is, however, but just to him to say that during his reign Venezuela was free from the persecutions and cruelties which disgraced it under Castro and Trovar, or the scandals and anarchy under Falcon. Revolution, however, is in the Venezuelan blood. In 1869 a formidable uprising occurred in all parts of the country. At first this revolution seemed to have neither head, plan, nor definite object; but as it progressed, the forceful personality of A. Guzman Blanco forged itself to the front, and after some desperate fighting succeeded in overthrowing the government in April, 1870.

Although Guzman Blanco now became the Supreme Chief of the country, and entered formally on a career which was destined to make him, apart from Bolívar, the most conspicuous character which Venezuela has produced, it was yet only after two years of the bloodiest and most tragic fighting that he finally subdued his enemies and placed himself securely in power. During this terrible epoch he had shown as bloody a hand as any tyrant who had preceded him. As Bolívar had washed his hands in the blood of General Piar, so Guzman Blanco shot his second in command, General Matias Salazar, a noted general and liberal, and let it be known once for all that from thenceforth to oppose the will of Guzman Blanco in Venezuela meant imprisonment or death.

Guzman Blanco began now a notable career, even for a Venezuelan military autocrat. He sought to satiate his thirst for vengeance against persons supposed to be enemies of himself or his father; he entered upon the most extraordinary speculations with the national finances; he surrounded himself with the same class of polluted military sycophants that surround Castro to-day; and he inaugurated a system of blackmail and extortion against business enterprises, and of persecution and tyranny towards private individuals, which has not been surpassed even in the days of the oligarchy. Nothing so tyrannical had ever been experienced under the Spanish Viceroys.

Mr. L. Level de Goda, author of *Historia Contemporanea de Venezuela*, 1858–1886, says of this period:

"This system of persecutions carried to the last extreme of rigor, and accompanied by great cruelties, gave splendid personal results to General A. Guzman Blanco: with this system of government, strictly enforced, said General succeeded in inspiring a grand terror, all the greater when he exer-

cised the Dictatorship, accentuated with extraordinary faculties, granted by his accomplices, men who reunited under the name of Congress. Guzman Blanco remembered then, perhaps, or guessed these conceptions of Benjamin Constant: 'A regimen of terror prepares peoples to suffer the yoke, to yield the neck, degrading the spirit and corrupting the heart.'"

By the end of 1873 many influential men, who had been friends and companions of Guzman Blanco, had been humiliated and made victims of his pride and treachery. A strong "Anti-Guzmanista" party developed, and fomented several revolutions against the tyrant. All the revolutions, however, bloody and fierce as they were, crumbled to pieces before the talents and energy of this remarkable man, who, after his success, inaugurated a reign of terror greater and more tyrannical than before. A prominent Venezuelan writer of this period says:

"After the famous revolution of April came a tenacious despotism; the vengeances broke out again, and terror triumphed over civilization; that which terror failed to accomplish was done with gold, which corrupted everything; liberty startled fled with all the rights of Venezuelan citizenship, and since then has groaned beneath the irons of one of the worst tyrannies which has ever scandalized America."

During this time, in the short space of six or seven years, Guzman Blanco had accumulated a fortune of millions of dollars. He had laid his hands on every man's property in Venezuela, and had looted the public treasury. With the money thus acquired he thought he could impress Paris, gay Paris, — final haven of them all. He therefore, in 1877, installed his most popular lieutenant, General Francisco Linares Alcantara, in the presidency, and visited Europe as Venezuela's diplomatic representative.

General Alcantara ruled with much more moderation and regard for the personal rights of citizens, and became not undeservedly popular with the people, who thought that through him they might effectually be released from the tyranny of Guzman Blanco. Unfortunately, General Alcantara died. A provisional government was formed, with José G. Valera at the head, and almost immediately General Gregorio Cedeño, President of the State of Carabobo, put himself at the head of an armed revolution, aided by the entire contingent of the Guzmanistas — generals, Jefes, colonels, comandantes, etc., in the service of the government, but opposed to General Valera. In the space of a month anarchy reigned in all parts of Venezuela. It was an uprising of the adherents of Guzman Blanco against an attempt to form a constitutional government. A decisive battle was fought at La Victoria in which the forces of the government were completely routed, and General Cedeño at the head of his victorious troops entered Caracas, declaring that the supreme authority which

he took he proposed to exercise until such time as Guzman Blanco should return.

Blanco returned to Venezuela at once, and entered into possession and enjoyment of all the rights, easements, emoluments, franchises, and hereditaments of the government of Venezuela, as fully and to the same extent as if he were the sole and exclusive owner thereof. His dictatorship, from 1879 to 1884, was carried on to suit himself. Several revolutions cropped up, but he suppressed them without much difficulty. To all practical intents and purposes he was, during this period, the entire government of Venezuela. His tyranny was even more stringent than ever, and his ingratitude led him to maltreat the very men who had so efficiently aided him in his last success. The prisons were filled with persons who had incurred his displeasure, and he disposed of the lives and property of men as though they were his legitimate heritage.

Guzman Blanco's vanity by this time had become inordinate. He began to plant statues of himself and tablets bearing his name over the country. These were inscribed: "The Illustrious American, Pacificator and Regenerator of Venezuela." He became ambitious to shine in the social life of the United States and Europe, so that in 1884 he had a new President elected, Joaquin Crespo, — a man in whom he could place implicit confidence. Crespo was an ignorant and utterly depraved brute-mixture of Indian, negro, and Spaniard, — a man of horrible antecedents, a species of barbarian, and of such debauched character that it seems strange that even Guzman Blanco would put him into power.

During Crespo's rule a powerful revolution was initiated by Venancio Pulgar, but it was conquered. At the end of Crespo's term Guzman Blanco became again President by acclamation. He was welcomed to Venezuela by many who had opposed him, who felt that anything was preferable to the barbarity of Crespo. Guzman Blanco arrived in Venezuela in August, 1886, and was received in the corrupt and dissolute capital of that commonwealth with a hysteria of acclaim like unto that which greeted Bolívar's triumphal entry. The town was decorated, military orders paraded, cannon boomed, and every evidence exhibited to convict the people of Venezuela of having fallen so low in the scale of civilization that they were proud of the corrupt, treacherous, vainglorious martinet who had debauched a nation with an odious and licentious reign of tyranny. By this time Guzman Blanco had become thoroughly enamoured of Paris. He had sold out every salable concession in Venezuela and pocketed the money, and had raised further millions by extortion. In 1887 he again left Venezuela, placing Hermogenes Lopez in the executive chair, and proceeded to Europe as diplomatic representative of the nation. General Joaquin Crespo, dissatisfied that he had not been designated President by Guzman Blanco, organized a revolution; but the Guz-

manistas succeeded in overcoming it, and in June, 1888, selected, by medium of a so-called Congress, Dr. J. P. Rojas Paul for President, — a result exclusively the work of Guzman Blanco. Dr. Paul was a man of high social position, but the people were at first suspicious of him. However, he gave a much better administration than his predecessors.

In November, 1888, Joaquin Crespo began a new revolution, but it was soon overcome, and he was made prisoner. Dr. Paul exhibited great generosity to the vanquished, granting them amnesty, and continued administering the government decently and with order. At the end of his term Dr. Paul fell very ill, and declined to accept another period of office. Dr. Andueza Palacio was selected in his stead, and began his rule in March, 1890. With the advent of Andueza Palacio to power, the rule and influence of Guzman Blanco ended in Venezuela forever. Dr. Palacio openly attacked Guzman Blanco and his friends, and new issues and new revolutions possessed the public mind. Palacio, however, was compelled in a short time to leave the country. Anarchy rather than order existed in most parts of Venezuela, until Crespo with his armies fought his way into Caracas, took possession of the government, and instituted a worse administration than before.

Properly to estimate the character of such a man as Guzman Blanco would be extremely difficult. He was a martinet, a tyrant, a libertine, a murderer with the manners of a gentleman, a scholar, a vain and puerile fop, a brave general, a mean and contemptible blackmailer, a man of keen and brilliant mind, a frivolous and vulgar character, — the mixture of fine enthusiasm and sordid aims which characterizes the race from which he sprang. Admirers of Guzman Blanco are in the habit of extolling his alleged enterprise in promulgating public works. Many writers of repute ascribe to him an activity in establishing needed public works which would be laudable if true. Thus a high German diplomat recently, in a magazine article on Caracas, spoke of its "excellent paved streets"; and Mr. Dawson, in his "South American Republics" (Part II, page 395), says:

> "Large sums were spent on public works and buildings; and the beautification of the city of Caracas, one of the handsomest and best-built cities in America, dates from Guzman Blanco's time."

The obvious comment on this is that the German diplomat knew nothing whatever of street pavements, and his statement was a random assertion; while Mr. Dawson had never seen Caracas, or he does not recognize a handsome and well-built city when he sees one. The streets of Caracas, with the exception of a few squares, are of cobblestone pavements. The city does not possess a well-constructed building. The more substantial of these are made mostly of mud or mortar,

small stones or broken bricks, with a curious combination of wood and reeds. They are whitewashed on the outside and inside, and roofed with tiling. They make a showy appearance in a photograph, but their construction embodies the most rudimentary ideas of architecture or masonry.

The impression that Guzman Blanco made Caracas into a magnificent capital city is encouraged by Mr. W. E. Curtis, in his "The Capitals of Spanish America," where he says (page 287):

"It is nevertheless a fact that since Guzman Blanco has been ruler over this Republic, it has prospered and had peace — something it never had before. There have been varied and extensive improvements; the people have made rapid strides in progress; they have been given free schools and released from the bondage of the Church; the credit of the government has been improved, its debts reduced, and the interest to its creditors is for the first time in history paid promptly, in full and in advance. The moral as well as the mental and commercial improvement of the people has been the result of his acts, and as long as he lives their lives and property will be safe."

Mr. Curtis, who was regarded as a good newspaper correspondent, seems to have taken Guzman Blanco seriously. Unfortunately, every statement made by him, as above quoted, is the reverse of the truth. Even a newspaper man cannot skip through South America, or anywhere else, and get at the heart of things. Guzman Blanco did not establish "varied and extensive improvements." If he did, where are they? He erected many monuments all over the country "to that illustrious American, the Pacificator and Regenerator of the United States of Venezuela, General Antonio Guzman Blanco," but apart from this, what improvements did he make? No permanent work was ever attempted; the streets were not paved; no sewer system was installed, and Caracas to-day, which ought to be the healthiest city in the world, has a death rate more than double that of Chicago.

Mr. Curtis cites other matters in favor of Guzman Blanco. He says (ibid. page 269):

"Guzman Blanco may be a tyrant, but he produced results which are blessing the people. Until he became President, the Church ruled the people as it formerly ruled in Mexico, but, like Juarez in the latter country, he went to radical and excessive measures to overthrow its tyranny. He confiscated Church property, drove out the nuns and Jesuits, seized the convents, turned them into hospitals and schools, and made the most venerable monastery a pest-house for lepers and small-pox."

In driving out the nuns Guzman Blanco showed to what monstrous depths depravity can sink and still find respectable people to praise it. In confiscating the property of the Church he merely illustrated what a highwayman could do if he were a military Dictator. For my part I cannot cite the despoliation of Church property, or the

insults and outrages committed on Church people, as a virtuous thing, because they were done by a military bandit, styled President. I cannot applaud the act of stealing other people's property, even though such property belonged to the Church. Neither have I much patience with these so-called "Liberales" in Venezuela and Colombia. A careful study of those countries will disclose the fact that the biggest rascals they have ever produced — and among them is Antonio Guzman Blanco — called themselves Liberales. I begin to suspect that these men are opposed to the Church, not on any high moral or patriotic grounds, but rather because the Church says, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not murder," "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Opposition to these commands, and a desire to appropriate the wealth of the Church for their own use, rather than any high-flown ideas of patriotism, lie, I suspect, behind the real motive of Guzman Blanco and the men of his class, who are so antagonistic against the Church and who confiscate its property.

SANTA ANNA

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was a unique specimen of the buccaneering type of military bandit-statesman, ruler, dictator, intriguer, so inseparably identified with the history, past and present, of every Latin-American country. He was born at Jalapa, Mexico, in 1795. He served as a petty officer in the Spanish army until twenty-six years of age, when he enlisted with Iturbide, who made him Governor of Vera Cruz. The promotion fired Santa Anna's ambition. He at once started a movement against Iturbide, declaring himself in favor of a Republic. Iturbide finally resigned, and was later executed. In 1828 President Pedraza gave Santa Anna another governorship, which he accepted and shortly after started another revolt, which aided in putting President Guerrero in the chair. At this period of Mexico's history the people seem to have had two or three different Presidents every year; Santa Anna had something to do with the making or unmaking of most of them. He headed a revolution against President Bustamente in 1832, defeated him, and declared himself as President. A number of revolutions being in progress in all parts of the country, he called Farias to the chair, and went out himself to subdue them. Then turning face he started a revolution against Farias, and had General Barragan elected President by the so-called Congress.

About this time General Houston and other patriotic Texans started a little revolution on their own account. Texas had been settled by Americans who had no liking for the military half-breed jumping-jack government instituted in Mexico by Santa Anna and adventurers of his type. Santa Anna with over 6000 men attacked the Texans, at the Alamo, in San Antonio, before General Houston could come to their aid. The garrison consisted of but 140 men, com-

manded by Colonel William B. Travis. Sixteen hundred Mexicans bit the dust; but Travis and his brave garrison were killed to the last man. Santa Anna then captured Goliad, and 300 Texans surrendered on promise from him that they should be treated honorably as prisoners of war. As soon as they were disarmed and at his mercy, he marched them out and shot them, every one. When Houston captured Santa Anna a month later at San Jacinto, his soldiers cried for revenge for the massacre of Goliad; but Houston prevented it. He kept Santa Anna prisoner for a year.

When Santa Anna returned to Mexico, he set out to defend Vera Cruz against the attacks of a French fleet, which was defeated. Santa Anna had his leg shot off during the battle. Shortly after, President Bustamente left the capital to quell a revolution, and Santa Anna was appointed to act in his place. He formed a conspiracy against Bustamente, and became military Dictator. A report states that "in 1842 the leg which he lost at Vera Cruz was given a military funeral and enshrined in a monument erected for the purpose. He attended the ceremonies and gravely listened while an eloquent funeral discourse was pronounced over his leg. Two years later a revolution drove him from the capital, his statue was destroyed, his portrait was publicly burned, and his leg was dragged from the monument and kicked through the streets of the City of Mexico."

When war opened with the United States in 1846, President Peralta was overthrown, and Santa Anna, who had been in exile, was recalled and made military Dictator. His armies were scattered to the winds by Generals Scott and Taylor, and at the close of the war he went to Jamaica, where he remained for five years.

Another revolution in Mexico in 1853 called Santa Anna back to public life. It was decreed that he should be military Dictator for life, with power to name his successor, and the title of "Most Serene Highness." A year or two later, however, another revolution upset his plans, and he fled to Cuba. His former countrymen showed their gratitude to him by passing on him the sentence of death and confiscating his property, on the ground of treason.

When the French invaded Mexico in 1864, Santa Anna was again ready for business. He accepted a place with the invaders, but soon issued a pronunciamento in favor of himself. The French banished him to St. Thomas. Maximilian later accepted Santa Anna's offer of services, and made him Marshal of the Empire. He was rewarded by a proclamation from Santa Anna favoring a Republic. Juarez, head of the republican armies, refused to have anything to do with Santa Anna, who was thus compelled to resort to other schemes.

In 1866 he chartered a ship in the United States and sailed for Vera Cruz with quantities of printed matter and documents, alleging that he had been sent by Secretary Seward, and that Emperor Maximilian had promised to turn the government over to him. The com-

manders of the foreign squadrons lying in the harbor escorted his ship six or eight leagues to sea, and ordered it not to come back. Santa Anna, however, sailed for another port; there he was captured and sentenced to death. President Juarez commuted his sentence to eight years' banishment on the ground that he was now a senile old man. Some years later he persuaded his son to begin a revolution in Mexico. He died at the age of eighty-one in obscurity and neglect. He had been Dictator of Mexico seven times, and had assisted in the seating or unseating of about twenty other so-called Presidents, during his stormy career.

RAFAEL NUÑEZ

"Whosoever pays a debt, unless to escape the gallows, is an idiot."

The above maxim has been attributed to Rafael Nuñez, Dictator of Colombia. Whether he originated it or not it is certain he carried its meaning into excellent practice. During his reign an era of corruption and pillage existed, such as even Colombia has seldom known. Nuñez aimed to become President in 1875, but failed. In 1880, pretending to be a liberal, he succeeded. He at once entered on a career of despotism, brutality, and spoliation, seldom surpassed by even a Latin-American Dictator. He created, by an edict, a "National Bank" with authority to issue paper currency; and by other edicts he established the paper as a legal tender, and imposed heavy punishment on those who refused to accept it or exchange their gold for it. By this Nuñez and his party made large sums. This is now the currency in circulation in Colombia.

In 1882 a liberal, President Laldna, was elected, but Nuñez had control of the army and of the so-called Congress. In 1883 President Laldna died, and Nuñez assumed dictatorial powers. A bitter revolution broke out between the liberals and the conservatives in 1885, and in this struggle Nuñez proved treacherous to his former friends, throwing his whole strength with the conservatives, the Catholic Church party. He issued a decreta, stating that "the Constitution of 1863 had ceased to exist," and such was indeed the fact. Dictator Nuñez entered into a Concordat with the Vatican, recognizing the civil as well as the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope. The liberals were exceedingly bitter, and upbraided Nuñez a renegade. A series of revolutions followed, of unparelleled atrocity, which stemmed the tide of progress in Colombia for half a century.

The revolution of 1885 was led by General Reyes and General Velez, and was of great strength in the provinces of Panama, Boyacá, Magdalena, and Cundinamarca. In the early stages it gained many victories. But Nuñez was able to raise and equip about 10,000 men, with which he gained several engagements in June and July, 1885, so that in August the revolutionary generals surrendered. Nuñez

was now absolute Dictator of Colombia, and ruled more tyrannically than ever. On August 6, 1886, he promulgated a new Constitution, abolishing the federal system of government, and making the States mere provinces, under the immediate control of the central authority. Drastic measures were also passed to punish the press for alleged libel or sedition, and freedom of speech was practically abolished. The term of the President was extended from two years to six, and on the following day, August 7, 1886, Nuñez declared himself elected President for the ensuing term of six years.

The greatest dissatisfaction spread over all parts of the country, and many local uprisings took place; but these were put down with merciless severity, and on August 7, 1892, Nuñez declared himself elected President for six years more. The Dictator had been ailing for some time, so that he could not reside at Bogotá on account of its high altitude. He ruled through a deputy at the capital, and himself lived at Cartagena until he died.

Rafael Nuñez was born on September 28, 1825, in Cartagena. He received a good education, and was a man of considerable literary ability. He wrote many poems, and some prose works of merit. His admirers heaped laudations on him. Thus the Baronesa de Wilson says: "In appearance Dr. Nuñez was the ideal sage, thinker, philosopher. His look was profound, and searching, and it reflected the fountain of ideas which in that privileged cerebro had the stamp of naturalness."

The Baronessa thinks that Dr. Nuñez' poetry had much of the extraordinary, "and from the depths of his compositions sprang ideas of the profound investigator, the illustrious literateur, and the passionate idealist." "In the Colombian President, the life was in the cerebro, which was a fecund sanctuary, where wisdom and poetry continuously elaborated their rigorous conceptions." And this is the portrait of a man who was absolutely corrupt, treacherous, unprincipled, and almost wholly devoid of moral conceptions!

Dr. Nuñez, however, deserves one kind word, — nobody ever called him the Washington of South America; and he personally made no pretensions to be named with Napoleon or Cæsar. That is surely something to his credit. He died September 18, 1894.

RUFINO BARRIOS

General Barrios was a typical Dictator of the Guzman Blanco type. He was not so mercenary nor so cruel as Blanco, but in his general characteristics, his love of display and adulation, his vanity, and his dramatic manner of doing things, he greatly resembled his Venezuelan prototype. An incident in the career of General Barrios will illustrate the man he was, and I give it in the language of Mr. W. E. Curtis, in his book, "The Spanish American Capitals":

"On the evening of Sunday, the 28th of February, 1885, the aristocracy of Guatemala were gathered as usual at the National Theatre to witness the performance of *Boccaccio* by a French opera company. In the midst of the play one of the most exciting situations was interrupted by the appearance of a uniformed officer upon the stage, who motioned the performers back from the footlights, and read the proclamation issued by Rufino Barrios, the President of Guatemala, who declared himself Dictator and Supreme Commander of all Central America, and called upon the citizens of the five Republics to acknowledge his authority and take the oath of allegiance. The people were accustomed to earthquakes, but no terrestrial commotion ever created so much excitement as the eruption of this political volcano. The actresses and ballet-dancers fled in surprise to their dressing-rooms, while the audience at once organized into an impromptu mass-meeting to ratify the audacity of their President.

"Few eyes were closed that night in Guatemala. Those who attempted to sleep were kept awake by the explosion of fireworks, the firing of cannon, the music of bands, and shouts of the populace, who, crazy with excitement, thronged the streets, and forming processions marched up and down the principal thoroughfares, rending the air with shouts of 'Long live Dictator Barrios!' '*Vive la Union!*' A people naturally enthusiastic, and as inflammable as powder, to whom excitement was recreation and repose distress, suddenly and unexpectedly confronted with the greatest sensation of their lives, became almost insane, and turned the town into a bedlam. Although every one knew that Barrios aspired to restore the old Union of the Republic, no one seemed to be prepared for the *coup-d'état*, and the announcement fell with a force that made the whole country tremble. Next morning, as if by magic, the town seemed filled with soldiers. Where they came from or how they got there so suddenly, the people did not seem to comprehend. And when the doors of great warehouses opened to disclose large supplies of ammunition and arms, the public eye was distended with amazement. All these preparations were made so silently and secretly that the surprise was complete. But for three or four years Barrios had been preparing for this day, and his plans were laid with a success that challenged even his own admiration. He ordered all the soldiers in the Republic to be at Guatemala City on the 1st of March; the commands were given secretly, and the captain of one company was not aware that another was expected. It was not done by the wand of a magician, as the superstitious people are given to believing, but was the result of a long and carefully studied plan by one who was born a dictator and knew how to perform the part.

"But the commotion was even greater in the other Republics over which Barrios had assumed uninvited control. The same night that the official announcement was made, telegrams were sent to the Presidents of Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, calling upon them to acknowledge the temporary supremacy of Dictator Barrios, and to sign articles of confederation which should form the Constitution of the Central American Union. Messengers had been sent in advance bearing printed official copies of the proclamation, in which the reasons for the step were set forth, and they were told to withhold these documents from the Presidents of the neighboring Republics until notified by telegram to present them.

"The President of Honduras accepted the dictatorship with great readiness, having been in close conference with Barrios on the subject previous to

the announcement. The President of San Salvador, Dr. Zaldivar, who was also aware of the intentions of Barrios and was expected to fall into the plan as readily as President Bogran, created some surprise by asking time to consider. As far as he was personally concerned, he said, there was nothing that would please him more than to comply with the wishes of the Dictator, but he must consult the people. He promised to call the Congress together at once, and after due consideration they would take such action as they thought proper. Nicaragua boldly and emphatically refused to recognize the authority of Barrios, and rejected the plan of the union. Costa Rica replied in the same manner. Her President telegraphed Barrios that she wanted no union with the other Central American States, was satisfied with her own independence, and recognized no Dictator. Her people would protect their soil and defend their liberty, and would appeal to the civilized world for protection against any unwarranted attack upon her freedom.

"The policy of Nicaragua was governed by the influence of a firm of British merchants in Leon with which President Cardenas has a pecuniary interest and by whom his official acts are controlled. The policy of Costa Rica was governed by a conservative sentiment that has always prevailed in that country, while the influence of Mexico was felt throughout the entire group of nations. As soon as the proclamation of Barrios was announced at the capital of the latter Republic, President Diaz ordered an army into the field, and telegraphed offers of assistance to Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Costa Rica, with threats of violence to Honduras if she yielded submission to Barrios. Mexico was always jealous of Guatemala. The boundary line between the two nations is unsettled, and a rich tract of country is in dispute. Feeling a natural distrust of the power below her, strengthened by consolidation with the other States, Mexico was prepared to resist the plans of Barrios to the last degree, and sent him a declaration of war.

"In the mean time Barrios appealed for the approval of the United States and the nations of Europe. During the brief administration of President Garfield he visited Washington, and there received assurances of encouragement from Mr. Blaine in his plan to reorganize the Central American Confederacy. Their personal interviews were followed by an extended correspondence, and no one was so fully informed of the plans of Barrios as Mr. Henry C. Hall, the United States Minister at Guatemala.

"Unfortunately the cable to Europe and the United States was under the control of San Salvador, landing at La Libertad, the principal port of that Republic. Here was the greatest obstacle in the way of Barrios's success. All his messages to foreign governments were sent by telegraph overland to La Libertad for transmission by cable from that place, but none of them reached their destination. The comandante of the port, under orders from Zaldivar, seized the office and suppressed the messages. Barrios took pains to inform the foreign powers fully of his plans and the motives which prompted them, and to each he repeated the assurance that he was not inspired by personal ambition and would accept only a temporary dictatorship. As soon as a constitutional convention of delegates from the several Republics could assemble he would retire, and permit the choice of a President of the consolidated Republics by a popular election, he himself under no circumstances to be a candidate. But these messages were never sent. In place of them Zaldivar transmitted a series of despatches misrepresenting the situation, and appealing for protection against the tyranny of Barrios. Thus the Old World

was not informed of the motives and intentions of the man and the situation of the Republics.

"The replies of foreign nations and the comments of the press, based upon the falsehoods of Zaldivar, had a very depressing effect upon the people. They were more or less doctored before publication, and bogus bulletins were posted for the purpose of deceiving the people. The inhabitants of San Salvador were led to believe that naval fleets were on their way from the United States and Europe to prevent forcibly the consolidation of the Republics, that an army was on its way from Mexico overland to attack Guatemala on the north, and that several transports loaded with troops had left New Orleans for the east coast of Nicaragua and Honduras.

"The United States Coast Survey ship Ranger, carrying four small guns, happening to enter at La Union, Nicaragua, engaged in its regular duties, was magnified into a fleet of hundreds of thousands of tons; and when the people of San Salvador and Nicaragua were convinced that submission to Barrios would require them to engage the combined forces of Europe and the United States, they rose in resistance and supported Zaldivar in his treachery.

"The effect in Guatemala was similar, although not so pronounced. There was a reversion of feeling against the government. The moneyed men, who in their original enthusiasm tendered their funds to the President, withdrew their promises; the common people were nervous, and lost their confidence in their hero; while the Diplomatic Corps, representing every nation of importance on the globe, were in a state of panic because they received no instructions from home. The German and French ministers, like the minister from the United States, were favorable to the plans of Barrios; the Spanish minister was outspoken in opposition; the English and Italian ministers non-committal; but none of them knew what to say or how to act in the absence of instructions. They telegraphed to their home governments repeatedly, but could obtain no replies, and suspected that the troubles might be in San Salvador. Mr. Hall, the American minister, transmitted a full description of the situation every evening, and begged for instructions, but did not receive a word.

"The government at Washington had informed Mr. Hall by mail that its policy in relation to the plan to reunite the Republics was one of non-interference, but advised that the spirit of the century was contrary to the use of force to accomplish such an end; and acting upon this information, Mr. Hall had frequent and cordial conferences with the President, and received from him a promise that he would not invade either of the neighboring Republics with an army unless required to do so. If Guatemala was invaded he would retaliate, but otherwise would not cross the border. In the mean time the forces of Guatemala, forty thousand strong, were massed at the capital, the streets were full of marching soldiers, and the air was filled with martial music, while Zaldivar was raising an army by conscription in San Salvador, and money by forced loans. His government daily announced the arrival of so many 'volunteers' at the capital, but the volunteering was a very transparent myth. A current anecdote was of a conscript officer who wrote to the Secretary of War from the Interior: 'I send you forty more volunteers. Please return me the ropes with which their hands and legs are tied, as I shall need to bind the quota from the next town.'

"In the city of San Salvador many of the merchants closed their stores, and concealed themselves to avoid the payment of forced loans. The govern-

ment called a junta, or meeting of the wealthy residents, each one being personally notified by an officer that his attendance was required, and there the Secretary of War announced that a million dollars for the equipment of troops must be raised instantly. The government, he said, was assured of the aid of foreign powers to defeat the plans of Barrios, but until the armies and navies of Europe and the United States could reach the coast the Republic must protect itself. Each merchant and *estancianado* was assessed a certain amount, to make the total required, and was required to pay it into the treasury within twenty-four hours. Some responded promptly, others procrastinated, and a few flatly refused. The latter were thrust into jail, and the confiscation of their property threatened unless they paid. In one or two cases the threat was executed; but, with cold sarcasm, the day after the meeting the Official Gazette announced that the patriotic citizens of San Salvador had voluntarily come to the assistance of the government with their arms and means, and had tendered financial aid to the amount of one million dollars, the acceptance of which the President was now considering.

"Barrios, knowing that the army of Salvador would invade Guatemala and commence an offensive campaign, so as to occupy the attention of the people, ordered a detachment of troops to the frontier, and decided to accompany them. The evening before he started there was what is called 'a grand funcion' at the National Theatre. All of the military bands assembled at the capital — a dozen or more — were consolidated for the occasion, and between the acts performed a march composed by a local musician in honor of the Union of Central America, and dedicated to General Barrios. A large screen of sheeting was elaborately painted with the inscription,

'All hail the Union of the Republic!
Long live the Dictator and the Generalissimo,
J. Rufino Barrios!'

This was attached to heavy rollers, to be dropped in front of the stage instead of the regular curtain at the end of the second act of the play, for the purpose of creating a sensation; and a sensation it did create — an unexpected and frightful one.

"As the orchestra commenced to play the new march, the curtain was lowered slowly, and the audience greeted it with tremendous applause, rising to their feet, shouting, and waving their hats and handkerchiefs. But through the blunder of the stage carpenter the weights were too heavy for the cotton sheeting; the banner split, and the heavy rollers at the bottom fell over into the orchestra, severely wounding several of the musicians. As fate would have it, the rent was directly through the name of Barrios. The people, naturally superstitious, were horrified, and stood aghast at this omen of disaster. The cheering ceased instantly, and a dead silence prevailed, broken only by the noise of the musicians under the wreck struggling to recover their feet. A few of the more courageous friends of the President attempted to revive the applause, but met with a miserable failure. Strong men shuddered, women fainted, and Mrs. Barrios left the theatre, unable to control her emotion. The play was suspended; the audience departed to discuss the omen, and everybody agreed that Barrios's *coup-d'état* would fail.

"The President left the city at the head of his army for the frontier of San Salvador, his wife accompanying him a few miles on the way. A few days

later a small detachment of the Guatemala army, commanded by a son of Barrios, started out on a scouting expedition, and were attacked by an overwhelming force of Salvadoreans. The young captain was killed by the first volley, and his company was stampeded. Leaving his body on the field, they retreated in confusion to headquarters. When Barrios heard of the disaster, he leaped upon his horse, called upon his men to follow him, and started in pursuit of the men who had killed his son. The Salvadoreans, expecting to be pursued, lay in ambush, and the Dictator, while galloping down the road at the head of a squadron of cavalry, was picked off by a sharp-shooter and died instantly. His men took his body and that of his son, which was found by the roadside, and carried them back to camp. A courier was despatched to the nearest telegraph station with a message to the capital conveying the sad news. It was not unexpected; since the omen at the theatre, no one supposed the Dictator would return alive. All but himself had lost confidence, and it transpired that even he went to the front with a presentiment of disaster, for among his papers was found his will, written by himself a few moments before his departure."

JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA

José Manuel Balmaceda was born in 1838, and was educated under the influence of the clergy. He wished to become a priest; but his father was prominent in politics, an adherent of President Manuel Montt, and through his influence the young man was appointed a member of a South American Congress which met at Lima in 1864 to discuss Spain's attitude towards the Chincha Islands. This marked his entrance into active politics. Shortly after, he married Señorita Emilia Toro Herrera, of a prominent Chilian family residing in Santiago. In 1870 Balmaceda, who had gained quite a reputation as an advanced Republican, became a member of the Chamber of Deputies, from the Department of Carelmapu. Balmaceda now became the leader of the Reformistas, an advanced party which on September 26, 1875, at his instance, adopted a platform calling for the free exercise of the suffrage, non-interference of the military with the judiciary, and, in short, a constitutional program. In 1879 Señor Balmaceda was appointed special diplomatic representative to Argentina, with a view to preserve the neutrality of that country in the war between Chili and Peru-Bolivia, a mission in which he was successful.

At the next presidential election Balmaceda was spoken of for the office, but he threw his influence in favor of Santa Maria, who was successful, and Balmaceda was given a place in the cabinet, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1882 Señor Balmaceda became Prime Minister, owing to the resignation of José Francisco Vergara, the outcome of a cabinet crisis.

When a young man, Balmaceda had strongly protested against government interference in elections; he now forgot his professions, and seconded Santa Maria in all the schemes of governmental fraud and coercion. In the congressional elections of 1885 Balmaceda

actively, as Minister of the Interior, used all the power of the government to secure the return of the official candidates, and of course with success.

In 1886 Balmaceda resigned his portfolio, and became a candidate for the presidency. President Santa Maria had selected Balmaceda as his successor, and his opponents, the conservatives, seeing that the election was fixed, and opposition therefore useless, withdrew their candidate, and refused to take any part in the affair. Balmaceda was, under these circumstances, declared elected, on June 25, 1886, and Congress ratified this on August 30.

From the outset of his administration Balmaceda faced a hostile Congress, — intrigues and treachery everywhere. There were dissensions in his cabinets, and one ministry after another resigned. Between April, 1888, and October, 1890, he had ten different cabinets.

Balmaceda advocated many wise measures for the public welfare, but the legislative department opposed him at every step, until he realized that he must control Congress, or ultimately fall. At the same time he became autocratic and dictatorial in his relations with the other departments of the government. By the end of 1890 constitutional forms were almost entirely disregarded, and Balmaceda assumed practically a dictatorship. He determined to select Señor Claudio Vicuna as his successor in the presidency, and the latter was nominated on March 8, 1891, for that office. In the mean time his relations with all the leading authorities of Chili became more strained as his acts became more arbitrary.

On January 5, 1891, Balmaceda issued a decree saying that as Congress had not despatched the Law of Estimates for the current year, and as it would be impossible to suspend the public services without endangering internal order and external security, he therefore decreed that until the Law of Estimates for 1891 should be passed, that approved on December 31, 1889, should be in force.

The Signal for Armed Revolt

Immediately following this decree, the senior naval officer at Valparaiso, Captain Jorje Montt, Vice-President of the Senate, Waldo Silva, and President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ramón Barros Suco, instituted a revolt in the navy. The vessels which immediately joined the movement were the Blanco Encalada, the Esmeralda, the O'Higgins, the Cochrane, and the Magallanes. After numerous encounters with land batteries, this fleet succeeded in establishing blockades along practically the whole coast. A brief outline of this bloody war is given in our chapter on the History of Chili, in Part I.

In passing we may note that the same disregard of civilized warfare was shown in this revolution as in the other internecine strifes

of Latin America. Thus Balmaceda, in August, 1891, gave orders that no mercy should be shown to insurgents who were captured, and under this order fearful atrocities were committed. On August 19 the government troops surrounded a house at 'Lo Cañas' where some fifty young men of the best families of Santiago were holding a meeting. These young men were massacred without mercy, although they were wholly unarmed. Only fifteen of them escaped. Balmaceda's adherents alleged that they were plotting a revolution, which was doubtless true; but the assassination of unarmed men was not calculated to make Balmaceda popular, even in Chili. As the war progressed, Balmaceda became more bloodthirsty and cruel; prisoners were flogged, or tortured to death, inconceivable outrages were practised upon helpless men, and a reign of terror ensued. No man's life was safe; pillage and devastation ruined the land; the foreign legations were filled with political refugees, and the cruel, vindictive, merciless Latin-American character asserted itself unrestrained.

Balmaceda commits Suicide

On August 29, 1891, President Balmaceda saw his army defeated at all points. He resigned, and turned the government over to General Baquedano. On the day preceding, the government troops, 9000 men, were overwhelmingly defeated at Palcillas, near Valparaiso and Vina del Mar, suffering a loss of 2000 men, while the revolutionists lost only 600.

Immediately upon the resignation of Balmaceda bedlam broke loose in Santiago; desperate mobs looted all the finest houses in town, murdering the inhabitants and destroying furniture, pictures, libraries, etc., valued at more than $5,000,000. Extreme hostility was shown towards the American minister, Mr. Egan, which resulted, six weeks later, in the cowardly murder of the unarmed sailors of the Baltimore in Valparaiso.

After abdicating, Balmaceda sought refuge in the Argentine Legation, where he remained concealed for twenty days, his family being in the American legation. Finally, convinced that his place of concealment could not be indefinitely kept secret, and fearing a harsh sentence should he fall into the hands of his enemies, he decided that he had "borne the whips and scorns of time" long enough. At about 8 A. M. on September 19, 1891, Balmaceda shot himself in the right breast, and expired instantly.

In his last letter, to his friends Claudio Vicuna and Julio Banados Espinosa, Balmaceda said: "The parliamentary system has triumphed on the field of battle, but this victory will not prevail. Either investigation, convenience, or patriotism will open a reasonable way to reform, and the organization of a representative government, or fresh disturbances and painful occurrences, will happen among the

same people who united for the revolution, and who remained united to assure the result, but who will end by divisions and conflict."

Character of Balmaceda

Balmaceda was by no means the worst man of the type in which I have classified him. He was a proud, high-strung, sensitive man, who dreaded insult and feared ridicule. He brooded over his troubles until he became morose. Evidently there was some latent weakness in his character. Had he not given such bloody orders for the killing of insurgent prisoners, his name would have been fairer. While not a great ruler, or even a character to be imitated, he was, on the whole, much superior in intellectual and moral qualities to the typical military President of the average Latin-American country.

CHAPTER XXIII

TYPICAL LATIN-AMERICAN DICTATORS — VERY BAD

DR. JOSÉ RODRIGUEZ GASPAR FRANCIA

DR. FRANCIA was born, probably, in Asunción, the date of his birth being given by some historians as 1757 and by others as 1761. His father, Garcia Rodriguez Francia, was a native of S. Paulo, in Brazil, but moved to Paraguay to take charge of a tobacco plantation. The son, José Rodriguez Gasper Francia, studied theology at Cordova de Tucuman, and later turned his attention to law at Asunción. He made quite a reputation as a lawyer under the Spanish régime, and when the Paraguayan declaration of independence was made, in 1811, Dr. Francia was appointed Secretary to the Revolutionary Junta. In this position he exercised great influence, because of his better education, his dominating personality, and his resourcefulness. The Congress, or Junta, was composed mostly of ignorant men who were wholly incompetent to govern, so that Dr. Francia's influence was all-powerful when, in 1813, they named a diumvirate to govern the country. This was composed of Dr. Francia and General Fulgencio Yegros, — the latter an ignorant soldier, but popular with the army. In 1814 Dr. Francia was designated as Dictator, and in 1816 declared perpetual and Supreme Dictator. From this date until his death, on September 20, 1840, he was the government of Paraguay, absolutely controlling with iron hand every part and function of the administration. The record of this period is a story of blood, torture, cruelty, and terror, never surpassed in South America except by Quiroga, Rosas, and Lopez. He was superior to these latter men in many respects; he did not utterly destroy and stamp out civilization, but he paralyzed all progress, and imbued the whole community with dread and terror.

Dr. Francia heaped intolerable indignities upon the priesthood. He hated foreigners and was an implacable foe to the white people and all the better classes of his own country. His great power was based on the unswerving loyalty of his army of Indians, who looked upon him with superstitious awe and committed the most unexampled atrocities at his command. If he conceived the slightest dislike towards any person, it was equivalent to a sentence of death or of imprisonment, — a fate still more terrible. His appearance on the street

was sufficient to make every one fly in terror, for he was always preceded and followed by Indian troops, who sabred any person whom fancy might inspire them to kill. People were even afraid to pronounce his name, for fear some spy would place a false construction on the remark. He was usually referred to as "El Supremo," — the Supreme.

Dr. Francia never married. He was strongly opposed to the marriage institution, but he left a brood of illegitimate offspring in utter abandonment. He kept no records of his office or acts. When he gave an order, it was always returned to him with the word "Executed" endorsed upon it; he would then destroy the record. He was a solitary, misanthropic tyrant, wholly devoid of the milk of human kindness. How many persons he caused to be assassinated will never be known; there are authentic reports of more than forty such victims, but there are no official records. Thousands of persons had been imprisoned by his orders upon the slightest suspicion of their disloyalty to him, and after his death about seven hundred of these unfortunates were liberated. It is related, as showing Dr. Francia's relentless vindictiveness, that he quarrelled with his father, and they were estranged for several years. The old man on his deathbed wished to be reconciled to his son, and sent a message asking him to come. Dr. Francia returned the message with the reply that it was of no use, for he was busy and could not come. A second and more urgent message was sent to the Dictator: "Your father says he dares not die unless he sees his son; he fears he will never enter heaven unless you be reconciled." "Then let him enter hell," said Dr. Francia; "I will not come."

In the latter part of Dr. Francia's life his deeds were so atrocious that many persons believe they can only be accounted for on the theory of insanity. He died in a peculiar manner. He was being treated for some slight indisposition, when his doctor offended him in some manner. Dr. Francia seized a sabre to kill the medical attendant, but at that instant he was taken with a fit, and soon after passed away. He was a strange man, — morose, gloomy, cruel, austere, suspicious, treacherous, revengeful, murderous. He had no pity in his being. During his rule foreigners could not enter Paraguay without special permit, and once there, that was usually the last of them. There were certain elements in his character, however, which appealed strongly to the imagination of men of a peculiar type, and there have not been wanting distinguished writers who have thought to make a kind of hero of Dr. Francia. Needless to say, these optimistic opinions were expressed by men at long range, — men who never had occasion personally to experience the venom of his curse. Thomas Carlyle wrote a brilliant article defending Dr. Francia, which was printed in the "Foreign Quarterly Review" for 1843, and reprinted in his "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays." Carlyle spoke

of Francia "as a man or sovereign of iron energy and industry, of great and severe labor." He ended his curious essay with the following sympathetic utterance: "Oh, Francia, though thou hadst to execute forty persons, I am not without some pity for thee!" Curiously enough, Mr. Dawson, in his "South American Republics" (Vol. I, p. 191) says: "After reading all that has been written about this singular character, my mind inclines more to the judgment of Carlyle. I feel that the imagination of the great Scotchman has pierced the clouds which enshrouded the spirit of a great and lonely man, and has seen the soul of Francia as he was."

Carlyle and Dawson have for company Captain Richard F. Burton, whose "Letters from the Battlefields of Paraguay" (1870) is animated by a similar favorable opinion. My comment would be a paraphrase of Lincoln's recommendation of a certain politician, "Mr. —— is a very good sort of man for people who like the sort of man that Mr. —— is."

In studying Dr. Francia, however, we are less interested in him personally than in the development of Paraguay under his rule. Summed up in a sentence, his reign was reactionary, despotic, destructive to all enterprise. He did not exhibit the abandon of criminality of Lopez; he did not wholly obliterate and destroy civilization; but he repressed it, retarded it, and rendered all progress impossible. In a single year Dr. Francia would not commit as much deviltry as would some of the other men treated in this chapter; but the sum total of his achievements is a blot on the history of the world's advancement. The fullest account published in the English language of Dr. Francia's performances will be found in Charles A. Washburn's "History of Paraguay."

CIPRIANO CASTRO

Cipriano Castro was a cattleman of the Andes Mountains, in the Tachira district, prior to 1898. He figured in many episodes — running cattle from Venezuela to Colombia, or *vice versa*, during periods of revolutions. This brought him to be regarded by the local military rabble as a leader who was not afraid to undertake feats calling for daring, and who also was not afflicted with a conscience too tender.

Castro's revolution against Andrade's government, and his entrance into Caracas in virtue of a "transaction" with the faithless cabinet of the latter, are detailed in the official reports quoted in the chapter on "Presidential Elections."

After entering Caracas and obtaining a firm hold on the army, Castro inaugurated a reign of extortion, terror, and vandalism, to make us feel hopeless and pessimistic as to the ultimate fate of these Latin-American countries. His outrages on Americans, English, French, Germans, Italians, and other foreigners finally led to the blockade

of 1903, while powerful revolutions devastated the interior. The situation at this time was graphically described by Mr. Stephen Bonsal, in the "North American Review" (May, 1903):

"Many men, with whose views I am generally in agreement, have stated that in South America they never heard a word of praise of the Monroe Doctrine, whether from native-born or immigrant. This was also my own experience except on one occasion, and I do not care to accept the responsibility of suppressing either the names or the circumstances connected with the incident. After years of patient diplomacy, finding all their efforts to obtain justice and reparation for wrongs done their nationals of no avail, when I reached Venezuela, stern measures of coercion had been adopted by three of the leading World Powers. The coast was blockaded; and in the port towns, fifty per cent of the improvident population was already face to face with starvation. In Caracas, generally so rich and opulent, there was also suffering. The capital was not only cut off from the outside world by the foreign squadrons, but the rich back-country, whence provisions are drawn in ordinary times, was in the hands of the Revolution. The diplomatic problem that confronted Venezuela was involved, the domestic situation was simply appalling. 'And where is Castro?' I asked, 'that sturdy American who would not bend the knee to European oppression, as the papers say.' Well, he was away on a 'picnic,' I learned, at La Victoria. He would spend a week there, in debauchery, the tongue of scandal (as I then thought) whispered. Only half believing, I followed the trail of the Dictator down to the orange groves on the border of the *tierra caliente*. There I found him guarded by his soldiers, surrounded by the Yellow House gang composed of debauched and dishonored men and outcast women, — his only willing associates. It was a sharp transition. I had come from where thousands were starving to a camp where champagne was flowing like water, where the extravagant saturnalia continued day and night, though only a few yards away lay the unburied bodies of the stolid, ignorant Andinos who had died but a few weeks before to keep the Dictator on his throne.

"I did not succeed in concealing, nor did I very much try to conceal, my astonishment at the scenes which met my eye. I had certainly thought to find our ally otherwise engaged. 'But why should you wonder?' said Castro, noting my surprise. 'Our part is played. We have picked the quarrel, and now, blessed be the Monroe Doctrine, our rôle is finished and the fighting must be done by *el tio Samuel*. All the papers in the case I have given to your minister, who goes to Washington as my attorney.' 'Yes, *viva la Doctrina Monroey!*' exclaimed Tello Mendoza, the witty muleteer whom Castro has made Secretary of the Treasury. 'It spares us sleepless nights and gives us time for *bailes*.'

"Well may they call it blessed, the Monroe Doctrine! It is better for them than an army with banners, because it never requires either black beans or straw shoes, and it is more serviceable than a squadron of battle-ships because it never gets out of repair."

When the blockade of 1903 was ended by the intervention of the United States, it was hoped that Castro would mend his ways, but his record becomes blacker and blacker as the years go by.

Men in Venezuela fear and dread Castro much as they did Dr. Francia in Paraguay. He has imprisoned hundreds, perhaps thousands, of men without cause, and left them to die, loaded with heavy irons and suffering unspeakable tortures. Although almost penniless when he entered Caracas in 1898, he is to-day a millionnaire, — his wealth acquired by extortion.

A recent writer in the "New York Herald" says:

"Castro, convinced that he is heartily hated in Venezuela and abroad, has resolved on a policy of revenge on all classes, from the wealthy foreign merchant to the poor laborer. He has expelled from Venezuela, Americans, French, Germans, Italians, etc., under the slightest or most futile pretences. After having been helped by Mr. Bowen, the then American Minister to Venezuela, to stop the blockade of ports by Germany, England, and Italy, obtaining in time the release of his navy to prevent the almost victorious revolutionists from receiving the shipment of ammunition that would have brought them to the capital in triumph, he turned on the Americans with unusual fury. He seized the asphalt mines owned by an American company, he stopped and reversed the decision of the Supreme Court in behalf of an American claimant, Mr. Rudloff, and he changed the then existing mining laws because many Americans owned rich mine concessions throughout the country.

"He has lately seized the Vela and Coro Railway, partly owned by Americans; he has unjustly expelled from the country Mr. Jaurett, editor of the 'Venezuelan Herald,' an American commercial paper, and finally he has made it hard for Mr. Bowen, the American Minister, to hold his position there.

"In fact, Castro has made life in Venezuela unbearable to all foreigners. He made a law regulating their admission into the country by asking them to present a passport from the Venezuela consuls, and even then refusing them permission to land at his whimsical will.

"His home policy is yet worse and more tyrannical. He has ruined industries by establishing government monopolies of sugar-cane, of rum, tobacco, of coal-mining, of matches, and forming private monopolies of the cattle business (one of the richest of the country), of the export of rubber, tonka beans, balata, the principal products of our rich Guayana, giving these monopolies in partnership to Juan V. Gomes, Corao, Semidey, and others of his helpers in the gigantic work of the despoiling of the country.

"Now, in regard to the internal affairs, things are yet worse. The Venezuelans have no country; the United States and Europe are full of those exiles, voluntary and forced, who can live in those countries; others, more unfortunate, linger and suffer in the near coasts of Curaçao, Trinidad, and Colombia. In Venezuela the poor classes perish from want of the necessaries of life; the industries are ruined either by the monopolies or the exorbitant taxes; the commerce is nearly bankrupt for lack of sales, and the stores have reduced the number of clerks.

"The rich cannot live on their incomes, as the house and land tenants cannot pay their rents. Money is lent on mortgages and back sales at two and three per cent a month. Small loans on personal property are made at

five and six per cent with brokerage. These loans are made and these mortgages and back sales are taken up by Castro himself and his partners in the work of spoil.

"I cannot speak, for morality's sake, of the life led by Castro and his fellow executioners. The reader of Roman history conversant with the Neronian vices and orgies may have an idea of the private and secret life of these men who have caused honorable society to close its doors and windows, to keep aloof from the lawless soldiery, broken loose from all family and social ties."

The writers above quoted might have added that General Castro is a man utterly without good faith; that his most solemn contract or promise is not worth the paper it is written on; that he is as vainglorious as Guzman Blanco, as ignorant and brutal as Crespo, as venomous as Francia; that civilization is impossible under his debauched and cruel tyranny, and that notwithstanding all this, a gang of maudlin, fawning sycophants and disordered man-worshippers surround him with the same vile laudation which a similar coterie heaped upon the monster Lopez, and which in greater or less degree is displayed in many other Latin-American countries. Venezuela is not yet so bad as Paraguay was under Lopez; but it contains all the diseased elements which made that reign of terror memorable. However, we must face the fact that a decent man, with the elements at his command, cannot hold Venezuela in subjection and rule it. Unless he robbed property owners and divided up with his military chiefs, there would be dissatisfaction and revolution in a short time. Castro is a product of his time and environment. He was born and reared in a corrupt and semi-savage community. He is typical of his race.

OTHER MILITARY DICTATORS OF THIS CLASS

Most of the Latin-American rulers may be called "very bad." It is unnecessary to mention them by name, because it would be almost equivalent to calling the roll of the Dictators and Jefe Supremos of Central America and the northern part of South America.

In Venezuela we have, belonging to the same class, Crespo, Falcon, Monagas, both father and son, Paez, and most of the rest who have ruled there. In San Domingo we find General Heureaux shooting prominent citizens because they refused to accept worthless paper money in exchange for their gold. Castro would not shoot men under such circumstances, — he would merely incarcerate them in jail and let them lie there and rot. Nevertheless the two generals unquestionably belong to the same class. Hyppolite and practically all the rulers of Hayti are in the same category. José Maria Medina, who kept Honduras in an uproar for many years and was finally assassinated, was a stronger specimen of the same type. In Bolivia one military chief after another of this type has exercised power almost since the

date of independence. Among the more noted of these despots were Ballivian, Belzu, Acha, and Melgarejo. Of the latter Dawson in his "South American Republics" says:

"Melgarejo frankly abandoned all pretence of governing by any sanction except that of brute force and terror. He kept a great army of spies, and the conspiracies which they reported were ruthlessly crushed by the well-paid ruffians who composed his army and blindly obeyed his capricious commands. One day the Dictator, drunk as was his habit, called the guard and ordered them to jump out of the windows in order to show a visiting foreigner the superior discipline of the Bolivian soldier. Several had broken their arms or legs, but he did not even look to see, but continued his demonstration by ordering his aide-de-camp to 'lie dead' like a poodle dog.

"Taxes were arbitrarily levied; peaceable citizens were exiled and shot; around him circulated a crowd of parasitic functionaries. But in spite of his extravagances and cruelties Melgarejo gave some solidity and consistence to the governmental structure."

People in the United States and Europe often ask how it is possible that men of this type can become rulers of nations and hold their power. The answer is simple. They do it through the terror inspired by a brutal, savage army, which is loyal to them on the principle that makes savages loyal to their chiefs. If Castro should order his army to destroy a given town and kill every man, woman, and child in it, there would be no hesitation on the part of the "generales," colonels, and the black beetle-browed savages comprising the army. They would enjoy the butchery; they would consider the execution of these helpless people as rare sport; the slaughter would in their opinion add to the glory of the Jefe Supremo. The fear of assassination — that is the motive which inspires men to remain dumb, or give themselves up to vile adulation, disgraceful alike to him who gives and him who receives, in the face of the Dictator and his army of desperate criminals.

CHAPTER XXIV

TYPICAL LATIN-AMERICAN DICTATORS—THE WORST

JUAN MANUEL ROSAS

FROM 1812 to 1862 a continuous war, a war without rhyme or reason, without cause or pretext, raged in Argentina. The several provinces dissolved and recombined; there were conflicts with Brazil and with Uruguay, which at times was "independent" and at other times considered as a portion of Brazil or of Argentina.

In 1825 the provinces held a provisional Congress in Buenos Ayres, and selected Rivadavia as Executive. Each province was at that time ruled by a Caudillo, and many of these chiefs refused to recognize the government. At this time Uruguay rebelled against Brazil, and the Buenos Ayres Congress declared that Uruguay was reunited to the confederation. This promptly produced a declaration of war from Brazil. Peace was patched up, on terms which the Argentine people did not like. They therefore overthrew Rivadavia and made Dorrego President. Buenos Ayres really exercised little authority over the country at this time. It was ruled for a short time by Dorrego; the province of Santa Fé by Lopez; Santiago by Ibarra; Cordoba by Bustos, and Cuyo by Quiroga. Dorrego was overthrown by General Lavalle, and in trying to escape was captured and assassinated by Lavalle's personal order.

Civil war, or rather anarchy, now broke out in all parts of Argentina; every man's knife was against every other man's throat; scenes of horror and bloodshed were so common as to lead one to believe the whole nation had become insane. The war lasted two years, led by Lavalle on one side, and by Lopez, Quiroga, and Rosas on the other. In December, 1829, Lavalle was defeated by Rosas in conjunction with Lopez.

John Manuel Rosas now became the most conspicuous figure in Buenos Ayres, while Quiroga occupied a scarcely less exalted position in the outer provinces.

Juan Manuel de Rosas was a guacho, — that is, a cow-boy. His parents were wealthy, and lived in Buenos Ayres. They possessed vast cattle ranches in Southern Argentina, and from his childhood Rosas had lived among the cattlemen. He was a splendid horseman,

fearless and reckless, with a brutal disregard for human life and with great personal force of character and organizing ability. When he had reached the age of twenty-five, he was the recognized leader of large numbers of the semi-savage desperadoes of that part of Argentina. In 1820 the cavalry cow-boy troop of Rosas had been chiefly instrumental in placing General Rodriguez in power at Buenos Ayres.

When Rosas defeated Lavalle in 1829, he became nominally the Dictator of Argentina; but Quiroga, no less terrible than himself, withstood him for a long time in Cuyo and other outlying provinces. Rosas, in a grasp of iron, held Buenos Ayres and the vast outlying districts for twenty-two years. Quiroga's grasp was on the remainder of the country for much of that period. The reign of terror which endured for this period has never been known in any other country, except in Paraguay under the bloody Lopez. Thousands of murders, betrayals, and intrigues took place; twenty-five or thirty thousand men were slaughtered in useless battles between themselves. The combatants usually fought under the black flag, and all prisoners taken were massacred. At Tucuman five hundred prisoners were murdered, after they had laid down their arms.

Rosas maintained his authority through the terror inspired by his desperate guachos. He organized a secret society of assassins, called the Massorca, the members of which handed in lists of names for assassination, — of those alleged to be disaffected or suspected of hostility to Rosas. Women, as well as men, were subject to assassination at his will, and in all that part of the country in which he had authority a paralyzing fear filled the people. No man's life was safe. As the bloodthirstiness of Rosas increased, his exceeding vanity grew, until he began to believe himself to be greater than mere man. At his order the coins of the country were stamped with his image, underneath which was printed "Eternal Rosas." Hordes of flatterers followed him, and newspapers lauded him as they have since praised Lopez, Guzman Blanco, Cipriano Castro, and the rest. Rosas assassinated his oldest friend, the man who had been as a father to him. If a man should wear a blue ribbon in Buenos Ayres, he was a marked man, for red was the color of the faction of Rosas, and blue was held to be the sign of treason. How many thousands of people he and his tools destroyed, of which no record was ever made, is impossible to guess; but there are official reports of the following assassinations: poisoned, 4; killed with swords, 3765; shot, 1393; throats cut, 722. It is also estimated that more than 23,000 men, on behalf of Rosas, fell in the continuous battles and skirmishes with Quiroga and other Jefes.

Rosas was, like most of the other military Dictators, bitterly opposed to foreigners. He committed numberless outrages against them, and France and Great Britain were compelled to blockade Buenos Ayres in 1835. Finally, all the elements opposed to Rosas made a

great effort, under General Urquiza, who had been one of his chief lieutenants. Urquiza had defeated the enemies of Rosas, the Unitarians and Colorados in 1842, and been appointed Governor of Entre Rios. He, however, was not an insane despot, and he ruled his district decently, cultivating the friendship of Uruguay, Brazil, and Paraguay.

The bloody Rosas came to distrust Urquiza and attempted to oust him. The inevitable rupture came in 1846. Thenceforth bloody war raged. In 1851 Brazil joined with Urquiza, and the Colorado faction of Uruguay came to his support. After many battles General Urquiza completely overthrew Rosas at Caseros, near Buenos Ayres, on February 3, 1852. The army of Rosas had proved treacherous. Of 20,000 men which he had, more than 10,000 turned against him. Rosas sought refuge at the British legation, was placed on an English man-of-war, and thus escaped. He died, March 14, 1877, on a farm near Southampton, England.

JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA

Juan Facundo Quiroga was born in 1790, of poor parents, in the province of Rioja, Argentina. In early youth he was regarded as a desperado, and soon became leader of a band of robbers. With these robbers, or "revolutionists," which increased in number the farther he went, he raided cities, overthrew the local "governments," and as Argentina was at that time practically in a state of anarchy, he had no great difficulty in seizing Jujuy, Rioja, San Juan, Mendoza, Catamarca, Tucuman, and other places. On February 20, 1827, the Argentines under Alvear defeated the Brazilians at Ituzaingo, and as a result of that victory a peace was declared, which was unpopular in Buenos Ayres and led to the overthrow of Rivadavia, — an upheaval in which Dorrego became temporarily Dictator of Buenos Ayres, only to be overthrown and assassinated by Lavalle. Quiroga had established himself securely as Caudillo, or ruler, of Cuyo, and aided Juan Manuel Rosas in the revolution against Lavalle.

Meanwhile Quiroga was practising the most inconceivable atrocities on his own account. Sarmiento says of him:

> "He did not believe in God, in any morality or virtue. He had a magnetic will, and to exercise this thrilled him. He was like a hawk when the bush-bird comes before him. In the line of battle his soldiers trembled with terror, not of the enemy, but of their own chief, who strode behind them brandishing his lance. They fell upon the enemy merely to put something between their eyes and the figure of Quiroga, which haunted them like a phantom."

Many of his acts were brutal in the extreme. It is said that he caused men to be assassinated merely because he fancied they had

laughed at him. He murdered a girl whom he had promised to marry. At Mendoza he caused twenty-six of his own officers to be shot. He murdered his own son, with his own hand, in cold blood.

In 1834 Quiroga and Rosas became bitter enemies and fought each other to the death. Quiroga had gone to Buenos Ayres, where he soon had a great following. While there, a great revolt occurred in Quiroga's provinces — those of the North — and he returned to settle it. But he had made an enemy of Rosas, and of every human being in his district, except the cut-throats in his band, most of whom were treacherous. He soon found himself hunted like a wild beast. He might possibly have escaped, had it not been for his insane frenzy, which seemed to make him think that he could not be killed. He was accompanied by Dr. Ortez, whom he desired to make President. A friend of Dr. Ortez warned them that a company was stationed at Barranca-Yacco with the intention of murdering them; but Quiroga paid no heed. He drove like a madman right into the jaws of certain death. His driver was stabbed, and Quiroga, leaning out of the coach to know what was the trouble, was shot through the head, and his body pierced with a sword.

FRANCISCO SOLANO LOPEZ

In 1862 Francisco Solano Lopez declared himself elected President of Paraguay. From that date until March 1, 1870, when he was killed, his career surpasses that of any other tyrant who has ever ruled in the Western hemisphere. Descriptions of these eight years of destruction and desolation will be found in other chapters of this work, a record of the practical annihilation of a nation. The reader interested in the details of this black period is referred to the "History of Paraguay" by Charles A. Washburn. It is unnecessary here to attempt even to describe the ferocity and malignity of Lopez. The bare recital of his deeds would horrify the reader. He tortured his own mother and murdered his brother. Innocent people were either tortured or assassinated in thousands to gratify his thirst for blood.

The Hon. Charles A. Washburn, commissioner and minister resident of the United States at Asunción from 1861 to 1868, thus pictures this tyrant:

"In person he was short and stout. His height was about five feet four, and, though always inclining to corpulency, his figure in his younger days was very good. He dressed with great care and precision, and endeavored to give himself a smart and natty appearance. His hands and feet were very small, indicating his Indian origin. His complexion was dark, and gave evidence of a strong taint of Guarany blood. He was proud of his Indian descent, and frequently used to boast of it. As he could not pretend to be of pure Spanish blood, he would rather ascribe his swarthy color to a mixture with the Indian than the negro race. Hence he was as prone to talk of his

Indian ancestry as ever were the descendants of Pocahontas. He also had many of the tastes peculiar to the savage. Before going to Europe he dressed grotesquely, but his costume was always expensive and elaborately finished. He wore enormous silver spurs, such as would have been the envy of a guacho, and the trappings of his horse were so completely covered with silver as almost to form a coat of mail. After his return from abroad he adopted a more civilized costume, but always indulged in a gorgeous display of gold lace and bright buttons. He conversed with fluency and had a good command of language, and when in good humor his manners were courteous and agreeable. His eyes, when he was pleased, had a mild and amiable expression; but when he was enraged the pupil seemed to dilate till it included the whole iris, and the eye did not appear to be that of a human being, but rather of a wild beast goaded to madness. He had, however, a gross animal look that was repulsive when his face was in repose. His forehead was narrow and his head small, with the rear organs largely developed. He was an inveterate smoker of the strongest kind of Paraguayan cigars. His face was rather flat, and his nose and hair indicated more of the negro than of the Indian. His cheeks had a fulness that extended to the jowl, giving him a sort of bulldog expression. In his later years he grew enormously fat, so much so that few would believe that a photograph of his figure was not a caricature. He was very irregular in his hours of eating, but when he did eat, the quantity consumed was enormous. He was a gourmand, but not an epicure. His drinking was in keeping with his eating. He always kept a large stock of foreign wines, liquors, and ale, but he had little discrimination in the use of them. . . . Though he habitually drank largely, yet he often exceeded his own free limits, and on such occasions he was liable to break out in the most furious abuse of all who were about him. He would then indulge in the most revolting obscenity, and would sometimes give orders for the most barbarous acts. When he had recovered from such debauches, he would stay the execution of his orders if they had not already been enforced. . . . It would generally be too late, the victims having already been executed.

"Of the three most noted tyrants of South America, Francia, Rosas, and the second Lopez, all have been distinguished for one quality, — that is, personal cowardice. Francia was in such perpetual fear of his life that he kept himself constantly surrounded by a guard, and imagined that an assassin lurked behind every bush or wall or building he passed. Rosas was a notorious coward. Many instances in which he showed the most craven fear are well known to the older residents of the Plata. But the cowardly nature of Lopez was so apparent, he scarcely took pains to conceal it. He never exposed himself to the least danger when he could possibly avoid it. He usually had his headquarters so far in the rear that a shot from the enemy could never reach him. Nevertheless, such a thing was possible, and he therefore had another house built close adjoining the one in which he lived, surrounded on all sides with walls of earth at least twenty feet thick, and with a roof of the same material, so thick that no shot or shell that might light upon it could ever penetrate deep enough to do any damage. While all was still along the enemy's lines, Lopez would bravely remain in the adjoining house; but so surely as any firing was heard in the direction of the enemy's nearest batteries, he would instantly saunter out in feigned carelessness, trying hard to disguise his fear, and slink into his hole, and not show his face again outside until the firing had ceased. . . . At the very

time he was thus hid away from danger he had his correspondents for the *Semanario* around him, writing the most extravagant articles in praise of his valor, his sacrifices, and his generalship. The people of Paraguay could never pay the debt they owed him, who, while they were living in security and abundance, was daily leading his legions to battle."

Colonel George Thompson, in his history of this dark period, draws a like picture. He writes:

"One evening I was waiting to see Lopez, as were also several officers, and a sergeant of the guard entered into conversation with me. After a short time there was a great stir, officers going in and out of Lopez's room, the guard relieved, and the other officers who were waiting all arrested. One of Lopez's aides-de-camp came and said to me: 'His Excellency sends word to you to write down all the conversation you have had with the sergeant of the guard and bring it to-morrow morning.' I went away, not expecting to be able to remember a twentieth part of the silly talk of the sergeant; but as things looked serious, I tried, and probably remembered it all. It filled a whole sheet of paper, and was all of it somewhat in this style: 'The sergeant asked me if Queen Victoria always wore her crown when she went out to walk. The sergeant asked me if I should wear the Paraguayan uniform when I went to England.' It was sealed and taken next morning to Lopez, about 7 A. M. He was not up yet, but the sergeant was already shot, and all the soldiers of the guard had received one hundred lashes each."

As this man continued in his career, the atrocities committed by him were so inhuman as to be unbelievable. He compelled the priests to betray the secrets of the confessional to him; he had his own sister dragged by brutal soldiers naked through the woods and left there to die. He imprisoned and tortured members of the United States legation, and had spies and well-paid assassins around him. His career, in short, has had no parallel since Nero. And yet the man has had his defenders among writers, diplomats, and others.

PART III—THE DICTATORSHIP AS A KIND OF GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XXV

CLASSIFICATION OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

FOR the purposes of discussion Latin-American countries may be divided into three groups, as follows:

1st Group: Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Chili;

2d Group: Costa Rica, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay;

3d Group: Santo Domingo and Hayti, Nicaragua, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia.

I. The First Group

The material prosperity of Mexico within the past twenty-five years, the radical advancement which it has made along the path of civilization, is one of the marvels of the world. Not that Mexico is to-day to be compared, either in its political or social systems, with truly enlightened countries, or that it is in any sense of the term a republic, but that it has in so brief a time made such a wonderful step in advance of its previous condition of anarchy, revolution, and brigandage, entitles it to be considered as almost unique among nations.

The real progress of Mexico commenced with the advent of Porfirio Diaz as Chief Executive. He fought his way into power, just as preceding Presidents, and at the commencement of his reign was surrounded by the old elements of lawlessness and destruction which abound so plentifully in all Latin-American countries.

But Diaz did not follow in the beaten tracks of other Dictators. A man of vast intellect, of great force of character one of the tremendous personalities of the world, he soon grasped firmly the reins of government, and from that day to this he has been *the* government of Mexico. He is not merely Chief Executive; his great personality, his unapproachable power of organization, his tremendous will power, his unflinching courage, his broad and enlightened statesmanship, have permeated, dominated, and controlled every artery and nerve of Mexico. He has added honesty, love of justice, and noble ambitions, with a sincere love of his country and people, to his other great characteristics, and he is unquestionably fairly entitled to be regarded as one of the world's greatest characters. In his personal character, no less than in those qualities which have secured him such conspicuous fame as a Chief Executive, Porfirio Diaz is justly entitled to the love, admiration, and veneration of mankind.

With this great character not only at the head of affairs, but completely dominating every department, as effectually as if it were his own private property, the history of Mexico during the only period in which its doings have been of the slightest importance to the world is in fact the personal biography of Porfirio Diaz.

He was wise enough at the very outset of his administration to see that the true greatness of his country lay in the direction of material progress, and he has used his most strenuous endeavors not alone in attracting foreign capital to his country, but in affording it ample guarantees when once there. The influx of foreigners, particularly Americans, into Mexico during this period has been amazing, the great majority of them men of resolution, resources, and enterprise. The statistics prepared by U. S. Consul General Barlow in the city of Mexico show that no less than five hundred millions of dollars of American capital are invested in that country at the present time. Most of this capital is profitably invested. The Americans in Mexico are generally well treated by the government, and although there are many things in Mexico which fall short of the high plane reached in our country, many mediæval laws and customs still survive, which I shall duly criticise, yet, on the whole, the progress of Mexico has been so marvellous, and the government so admirably adapted to the people who inhabit the country, that usually nothing but words of praise will be heard from the foreigner, and a profound wish that the Great Ruler of Mexico may yet enjoy many years of health and strength.

The system of government in Mexico is different from that in any South American country, or perhaps any other country of the world, and it is worth while to note briefly the peculiar features which make it such a compact organization.

The government professes to be modelled on the form of that of the United States, and in so far as words go to make a government, the pretence is made good. The national government has its executive, legislative, and judiciary departments, and the federal union is composed of States, each with its governor, legislature, and courts. The State is divided into cantons, each with its Jefe Politico, an executive officer corresponding to the governor of a State, and the canton is subdivided into municipios, or municipalities.

Mexico has a Constitution much the same as the United States, and so has each State. These Constitutions provide for the complete separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, and prescribe the times and manner of holding elections. Theoretically the elections for President, Governors, etc., should be held in Mexico in the same manner as they are held in the United States.

The real government of Mexico is, and has been, Diaz; its organization is perfect, absolute, autocratic; the Czar of Russia has never been able to exercise the same unbridled power in his domains. Every

Jefe Politico in Mexico reports daily to the Governor of the State; every Governor reports fully to the city of Mexico. No boat can sail up a river, no movement of a body of men, however small, can occur without it being immediately known in the proper department of the central government. The Jefe Politico is at once sheriff, military commander, and chief of all departments in his canton. No judge would order a decision of any importance without consulting him. The Jefe Politico is, in more senses than one, a powerful man.

The land of Mexico is divided mainly into great tracts, called "haciendas," usually consisting of many thousands of acres. The owner of this land is called a "haciendado." He is usually a Spaniard, and his family is a part of the country aristocracy. Each hacienda has its complement of peons and their families, the numbers often running into the hundreds. These peons own their horses and cultivate farms or gardens in the hacienda, paying a small rent usually for the ground. They are under obligation to work for the hacienda at a certain wage rate, usually very small, for a certain number of days in the year. The relations of the peons to the hacienda are defined in their most general aspect by the law, but their several and particular duties are prescribed by the rules of the hacienda, which must always be approved in each individual case by the Jefe Politico. It will be seen that his relations, not only to the hacienda, but also to the peons, is very close, and that his word is all-powerful. To discuss in detail the peon system of Mexico is foreign to our purpose here, but it may be remarked in passing that the peon is by no means a slave, but, on the contrary, is entirely free; that the system gives him the benefit of the protection and help of a more intelligent man; that his direct responsibility to the owner of the hacienda tends to create habits of industry and to restrain him in the commission of crimes, although unfortunately drunkenness is universal rather than otherwise, for each hacienda has its store where liquor is sold.

What the Jefe Politico is to his canton, the Governor is in a higher degree to the State. No laws are passed except such as he approves, no members of the legislature are elected except such as are satisfactory to the executive department and completely under its control. The judges are in no less a degree the absolute creatures of the executive department, and must be in perfect working harmony with it. Nor do the technicalities of judicial procedure interfere with the executive department in matters conflicting with its policy. It is unquestionably true that thousands of men in the past have been shot in Mexico by executive order, without trial and without reference to the law; and it may be added, with equal candor, that in nearly every case they ought to have been shot. The power thus held by the executive, although great and dangerous in the extreme, has been their salvation and has seldom been abused. It is a species of the same power which in early days in the United States lynchers were com-

pelled to adopt, in order to rid the country of dangerous characters, and which, although occasionally abused, generally was salutary. In recent years these occurrences have been reduced almost to a minimum, and it may also be said that the federal courts of Mexico are now in all ordinary litigation left unhampered by the executive, and the Federal Supreme Court is a body of really able jurists.

Although this outline is necessarily brief and imperfect, it is sufficiently succinct to enable one to see that it is a personal following rather than that vital organization which really constitutes a permanent government. It pretends to be a republic, but it is not in any sense of the term, nor is there any considerable body of men in Mexico who have a definite or approximately correct notion as to what in fact constitutes a republic.

If Mexico were a monarchy, with the definite law of succession which that implies, and if the people were as loyal to the reigning house as they are to Diaz personally, every element and condition in Mexico would indicate stability and permanency. But such is not the case.

The vital defect of the Diaz government is that there is no method for selecting his successor. There are the Constitution and the laws, and they say that elections shall be held. The language used by them would convey to the people of the United States a definite idea as to just what should be done in order to select the next President when the day comes for the retirement of Diaz. But it conveys no such meaning to the people of Mexico. It is all right to re-elect Diaz by such pretended elections, for he has the army and all the machinery of the government with him, but will such an election suffice to seat the successor of Diaz? And, if seated, will the personal organization of Diaz keep him there and support him? These are important questions difficult to answer. Reflections similar to these lead to the question everywhere asked, "*Despues Diaz que?*" "After Diaz what?" It seems that the logic of the situation is, after Diaz another Diaz, or Uncle Sam. Anything else means grave upheavals, with a backward swing of the pendulum.

Fortunately the United States is close at hand, — a government which does not depend upon any man or any combination of men, but an organization as vital and self-existent as the solar system. Whether or not Mexico remains under exactly its present form of government is immaterial. Its future is reasonably secure. Foreign interests are now so vast in Mexico that if a bad government should succeed the present, precisely the same questions would arise which led to the Boer war, and the same result would inevitably ensue as in that case.

The governments of Chili and Argentina are fully as absolute as that of Mexico, and resemble anything rather than republics, but they are not personal organizations to the same degree as is the govern-

ment of Diaz. True, the Presidents have dictatorial powers, and the legislature and judicial departments are under complete subjection to the executive, but the strength of the latter does not consist in his personal following so much as in the fact that he has been put forward as the executive officer by the powerful clique which controls affairs. This clique of generals and politicians constitutes the real government of the country. It is the exact counterpart of the Tammany organization, with all its corruption and its lawless exercise of power, with this distinction, that Tammany owes its lease of life to the fact that it does control a majority of the voters, however ignorant and irresponsible the majority of them may be, while the machines in Buenos Ayres and Santiago are never occupied with such trivial and unimportant things as elections or the will of the majority.

It must be admitted, however, that this form of government, *de facto*, however indefensible it may be in other respects, contains more of the elements of stability than one which depends for its executive solely upon one man. So long as this clique of politicians and generals do not quarrel among themselves, so long as they have the army with them, so long as no man of extraordinary ability and strength appears to upset their calculations, they will maintain things in comparative equilibrium.

Given the one simple element of peace, and countries so abundantly rich and fertile must make some progress, however bad the government. Although there have been many and vicious wars and revolutions among them, these disturbances have not been perennial, as in many other South American countries. The climate of Chili and Argentina is, in the main, splendid, and large numbers of foreigners have settled there. The presence of so many English and Germans in those countries, with a heavy sprinkling of Swiss and other European nations, unquestionably exercises a wholesome influence on all departments of the government, just as do the Americans in Mexico. Chili and Argentina are so far away from the United States, and the interests of England and Germany are so great there, while American interests are so small, that the ruling clique realizes that it could not very well appeal to the Monroe Doctrine to defend it, if it should seriously threaten foreign interests. There is a measure of progress in these countries, and the standard of civilization is becoming gradually higher, and the path of progress, though slow and painful, is reasonably secure.

THE DICTATORSHIPS OF ARGENTINA AND CHILI, AS VIEWED BY THEODORE CHILD'S "SPANISH AMERICAN REPUBLICS"

"Whether we examine the Republic from the political, the social, or the commercial point of view, we are equally astounded by its blatant and obtrusive immorality.

"The Argentine is a republic in name only; in reality it is an oligarchy composed of men who make of politics a commerce. In the old days the sole object of the Conquistadores was to acquire wealth rapidly, and such remains the ideal of the Argentines of to-day. In the colonial days the Spanish or creole population of the towns lived as functionaries and parasites, profiting by the labor of slaves and subdued Indian tribes, and their aim was wealth and never civilization. Hence we look in vain in the old provincial capitals for traces of past splendor or for monuments such as testify to the collective civic care of the common weal. In the provincial capitals we find the offices of the representatives of the authority of Spain and a Church on which no superfluous adornment has been wasted; but we see no beneficent or educational foundations, and no evidences of unselfish social sentiments. After the Declaration of Independence the intestine strife which for years agitated the country had rarely other than motives of selfish ambition, for to hold power in Spanish America has always signified to possess the means of rapidly acquiring wealth.

"After the cessation of the wars of Federalists and Unitarians, and the formation of the actual republic, with its Constitution *soi-disant* on the model of that of the United States, the race for wealth became all the more furious as the development of the commercial relations of the country helped to create the great fortunes of the creole *estancieros*, or cattle-breeders. Piqued by jealousy, other creoles threw themselves into politics, and became venal functionaries, the aim being always personal enrichment at the expense of the nation. Nowadays the Argentine political men, with very few notable exceptions that might be counted on the fingers of one hand, from the President down to the humblest local leader, are venal without concealment and without shame. They are rapacious parasities, like the Conquistadores, like the colonial functionaries, and like the ambitious adventurers who furnished the dictators and tyrants of the first half of the present century. Only at rare intervals does a good, patriotic man spring up and do something for the country, which, in the normal and iniquitous state of things, prospers not on account of its government, but in spite of it. The citizens are always crying out against their rulers, but they take no means to change their condition. Why do they not act instead of talking? This question is natural. The answer is not easy to give in a few words. Briefly, we may say that the citizens do nothing, and can do nothing, against their parasitical rulers, because they are not organized and not prepared or educated for republican institutions. In the political struggles there are rarely questions of principles, but always questions of persons. President succeeds President, but the aim of all is equally selfish, and even if the Opposition were transformed into the Government, the whole result would be that one set of parasites would take the place of another. In the Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chili, and Peru, the political conditions are

more or less the same; they are ruled by presidents who are as absolute autocrats as the Czar of Russia, and even more so, because they are safe from the intrusion or influence of European criticism. The President of the Argentine or the President of Chili is master of the whole administrative organization of the country so completely that no legal and constitutional means can be brought to bear efficaciously against his personal will or caprice. He not only disposes of the armed force of the country, but the entire administrative personnel is his creature and at his devotion. Thus the manipulation of the whole electoral machinery is under his control, and the citizens enjoy in consequence a right of voting that is purely platonic. They may vote, it is true in many cases, as much as they please, but no account is taken of their suffrages. The whole apparatus of republicanism in these countries is a farce, and in spite of the sonorous speeches of after-dinner orators, they have not yet begun to enjoy even the most elementary political liberty."

II. The Second Group

The governments of group two are vastly inferior to those of group one, yet they are not wholly and completely bad, as are those of group three. They are, each of them, dictatorships, of course, yet less vicious and corrupt, less intolerable and depraved than those of group three. That it would be an inestimable blessing to them and to the world if they were placed under the control of the United States needs no argument. Yet, owing to their vast extent and largely to the immature state of public opinion in our own country, I would recommend a provisional suzerainty over them rather than taking them completely under our control. It may be that in some manner the countries of group two will yet work out their own salvation; it may be that some enlightened Dictator, like Porfirio Diaz, may arise in some of them to impress progress upon them, or it may be that by the adoption of the policy which I recommend in reference to them, foreign capital and immigration would become safeguarded to such an extent that they would flow in that direction, and, in the course of time, bring about substantial progress. Costa Rica for example, shows many signs of betterment, and is incomparably better than its surrounding neighbors. Uruguay and Paraguay are bad; perhaps I should have classified them in group three, but we will give them the benefit of the doubt. Brazil is in territory a mighty empire, but in real progress only an infant. The northern portions are mostly populated by Indians, with here and there a few trading-posts. The eastern portion contains large numbers of negroes and mixed breeds. The southern part of the country contains nearly all the foreigners, and is that portion which more nearly approaches civilization. There are many German colonies in this portion of the country, peaceful,

industrious, — splendid concrete examples to the rest of the country of the blessings derived from industry and order. If the remainder of Brazil were equally highly developed, it could take high rank among the nations. The government of Brazil was a monarchy until 1889, when a revolution headed by General Fonseca overthrew Dom Pedro II and established a dictatorship. Each of the States of Brazil has its own dictator, some comparatively honest, some wholly bad, and so remote are many of their States and so inadequate the lines of communication, that the central government in Rio de Janeiro exercises but little supervision over affairs.

III. The Third Group

The governments of group three are wholly bad, without any redeeming feature, and, so far as I can see, without a ray of hope for the future. They are lacking in even the most rudimentary elements which have been influential in raising the governments of group one, or even of group two, above the level of semi-barbarism. The condition of the governments of group three is fully described in the successive chapters of this work, with the remark that very similar conditions, though in a less hopeless and intolerable form, are to be found in all the countries of group two.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DICTATORSHIP AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENT

THE dictatorship is a South American product, which, when viewed as a form of government, deserves either ridicule or contempt. If everything else in South America indicates lightning changes bordering on anarchy, the military dictatorship may at least be considered as perennial. It has become there a permanent institution. A military dictatorship as thus understood differs from all other forms, or pretended forms, of government in this, that it more nearly approaches an ideal condition for anarchy and crime. There have been tyranny and oppression where there were no dictatorships; but outrage in its lowest and most revolting forms is only possible under a dictatorship of the Latin-American type. The Czar is always a tyrant, if not actually, at least potentially; but custom, the public sentiment of the nobility, the great restraining influence of foreign powers, with which he is in intimate relation, tend to act as a powerful restraint, even on a Czar of a vicious character. Furthermore, he is surrounded by a great council of the nobles of the empire, who actually shape the destinies and policies of the government, and even the Czar would find himself impotent to resist the firm conviction of these strong and determined men. It often happens that the Czar himself is a kind-hearted and respectable gentleman, having a sincere desire for the welfare of his subjects. The civilization of China, mediæval though it be, with its absolute government, affords an example of stability, even if at the expense of progress. The laws, however, are more or less uniform, the customs and institutions are established, and a citizen knows or can easily ascertain just what is expected of him under given conditions. If he complies with these requirements, he is secure in his life and property, and the government becomes a mighty engine to defend him within the limited rights which it grants him. A uniform law, executed impartially and surely, however unfounded it may be in reason for the public good, gives at least this benefit, that the transgressor is forewarned, and any penalty which may be visited upon him for its violation may be viewed in the same light as suffering caused by natural forces wherein no moral question is involved, but merely a conflict with the superior powers. If the law compelled one to kneel before a cap placed upon a pole, repugnant to all principles of liberty as such may be, the tyranny is

less unendurable if applicable to all persons, and not employed as a means for personal humiliation. But the tyrant who would shoot or imprison a man because he failed to kneel before the cap, although he had had no previous notice that such act would be required of him, is the most intolerable of all. And to this class belong the Dictators of South America. The specific act of kneeling to a cap may not have been required, but thousands of other forms and acts of tyranny have been practised more revolting and no less capricious.

One of Daniel Webster's famous speeches was on the subject of "Restraints on Executive Power." "Mr. President," he said, in that speech, "the contest for ages has been to rescue Liberty from the grasp of executive power." But if the executive power has been a constant menace to liberty, even in those great nations where the ruler acquired his position by inheritance, and was not therefore obliged to fight his way into power; where he was born rich beyond his possible needs, with unlimited power by orderly process to acquire additional wealth to his heart's content, and therefore not subject to overweening ambition and lust of money; where he was accustomed to the marks and signs of power from childhood, and hence was unlikely to become debauched in the dizzy maze of ostentation which, when experienced for the first time, is so certain to turn the head of a shallow, corrupt, brutal, or ignorant man; in short, if the executive power has always been regarded with suspicion even in those great communities where powerful public sentiment and long-established customs exercise so great a controlling influence, then what must we say of that unbridled and irresponsible power which for the first time comes into the hands of a military dictator supported by an ignorant, licentious, and semi-criminal army?

It is scarcely needful to say that a change from one dictator to another is nothing more or less than a change in the phases of anarchy. In such a country the favor of the ruling military Jefe is the only security, and even that is fickle; for suspicion and intrigue, unrealizable illusions and extravagant pretensions, are not the atmosphere in which firm and lasting friendships are cultivated. True friendship can be based only on mutual esteem, and no unswerving loyalty to party or government can be exacted from those who do not admire and fervently believe in the principles for which such party or government stands. When alliances are formed for mercenary purposes, even the parties to them must secretly despise each other; and the more vociferous they are in their praises of the chief, the more likely are they to stab him in the back whenever it may appear advantageous to do so.

In South America dictatorships may be divided into two types, of which Venezuela and Colombia respectively furnish excellent examples.

Venezuela is a one-man government. The military "boss" there

is absolutely supreme. The members of the cabinet, although ostensibly government officials of a certain distinction, with definite powers and functions, are in fact nothing more nor less than messenger boys of the Boss Dictator. The simplest and most trivial thing in the government must have his approval, or it is not valid. It is he who decides upon the appointment of a janitor at a police station, and the signing of an international treaty; and it may be that he will devote as much time and thought to one as to the other. In most cases the members of the cabinet, or the Presidents of the respective States, will not even dare to recommend a thing to the man who is called President, or Supreme Chief, or any other name. If a "concession" is being considered, the limit of the authority of these functionaries seems to be to inform him of how much there is in it, and he must decide. When business has to be done before one of these so-called governments, it is a question of months to procure even the slightest consideration. Even when the "rake-off" is large, nothing can be done for months, since the Dictator always has some hireling trying to find out if it cannot be increased.

When an ignorant and brutal man, whose entire knowledge of the world is confined to a few Indian villages, and whose total experience has been gained in the raising of cattle, doffs his *alpagartes*, and, with his machete in hand, cuts his way into power in a few weeks, with a savage horde at his back who know nothing of the amenities of civilization and care less than they know, — when such a man comes to power, evil and evil only can result. Even if the new Dictator were well intentioned, his entire ignorance of law and constitutional forms, of commercial processes and manufacturing arts, and of the fundamental and necessary principles underlying all stable and free governments, would render a successful administration by him extremely difficult, if not impossible. But he is surrounded by all the elements of vice and flattery, and he is imbued with that vain and absurd egotism which makes men of small calibre imagine themselves to be Napoleons or Cæsars. Thus do petty despotisms, unrestrained by constitutional provisions or by anything like a virile public opinion, lead from absurdity to outrage and crime.

The second form of dictatorship, as exemplified in Colombia, substitutes uncontrolled "ring-power" for the changing chimeras of one man. The "ring" is made up of military Jefes and semi-bandits, who "elect" one of their number President, and when he does not do just what they desire, or fails to divide up fairly, there is "*un golpe de cuartel*," and presto, another Constitutional President is elected. The tyranny of the "ring" in Colombia is greater than that of the single military "boss" in Venezuela, for the malevolent powers of one man are limited by physical causes, while that of a ring is great in proportion to the number of men who constitute it, and their tenacity in holding together for purposes of plunder.

But whether the dictatorship is of the Venezuelan or of the Colombian type, its practical results are the same. It is the consolidation of legislative, judicial, and executive powers in the hands of one man, who exercises them in obedience to his own unrestrained will or in response to the demands of a clique. The result is always the same, — anarchy, desolation, and crime; while industry, education, and justice are sacrificed.

A South American dictatorship is not a government; it is a travesty on government, an outrage on decency, a fungus in the garden of progress, a blot on the page of history. It can readily be seen that in such countries rights of person or property are entirely unprotected. The right of habeas corpus, that bulwark of American and English liberty, is unknown. As we have shown in the chapter on the judiciary, such a thing as a free and independent judiciary does not and cannot exist. In civilized countries the encroachments of an executive would be met by the fearless decisions of an incorruptible tribunal; a man put in jail unjustly would be liberated by habeas corpus, and just damages awarded him, without any reference to the political power of his persecutors. But in a country where the judges are not only named by the military "boss," but where they must serve and obey his decrees whether they will or no, their only recourse being revolution, no man can rely upon his rights. Those elementary rights which every civilized man is accustomed from childhood to regard as unalienable are conceded to him, if at all, by such a government, as a great and special privilege, for which he should yield the most extravagant thanks and flattery to the chief. Every man must receive the simplest and most trivial concession from the public authorities in a spirit of servility, although he may not have obtained the tenth part of what simple justice would vouchsafe him.

The blight of these dictatorships is so deep that no amount of writing will ever cure it. It cannot be remedied from within; the vital organs are too far consumed.

La Recluta

Every dictatorship is based upon the power of an unbridled army, the nucleus or heart of which is composed of criminal elements, but the body of which is usually made up, in war times, of raw soldiers obtained by the "recluta." That the reader may form some definite idea of what "la recluta" means, I will describe one exactly as it occurred in my presence.

I was building an asphalt refinery and some other buildings on the banks of the Rio Limon in Venezuela in the summer of 1901; also a railroad from that point to an asphalt deposit in the interior, a distance of twenty-seven miles. Some 400 or 500 men were at work at the grounds on the bank of the river. These consisted of carpenters,

blacksmiths, workmen, peons, etc., mostly Venezuelans, but including also quite a large proportion of Colombians, Curaçoans, and other nationalities. On the railroad, about ten to twenty kilometres from the Rio Limon, were about 1000 additional men, divided up into squads of 20 or 30, each with its foreman, cook, tent, etc. Many of these squads were cutting the right of way through the dense tropical forest; others were throwing up the embankment or cutting through the hills, building bridges and culverts, cutting ties, laying track, etc. The tents of these men were formed into encampments covering a space of, say, ten kilometres along the right of way.

One night, a little before dark, a steamboat came up the river. It tied up at our landing-place. In a few moments our grounds, comprising about twenty acres, were surrounded by soldiers. The men working in the grounds were caught in a trap. They were completely unarmed and defenceless, while the soldiers had orders to shoot any one making the slightest sign of an effort to resist or escape. These men were driven like cattle on board the steamboat and held there all night. Women and children were shrieking and crying, and a scene of indescribable confusion prevailed. In the mean time several squads of soldiers had been sent out along the line of the railroad track to capture and bring in the laborers there. Arriving before daylight, while the men were asleep, small bodies of soldiers surrounded the tents, with their Mausers cocked; the men were then awakened, and under cover of the Mausers, made to march like so many cattle down to the Rio Limon. Along the railroad track, however, the recluta had not been so successful, for hundreds of the peons had sprung from their hammocks and fled into the woods like startled deer. Mauser shots were sent after them, but, owing to the density of the forests and the darkness of the early hour, they usually went wide of the mark. One thing a fleeing peon never forgets to take, and that is his trusty machete. He might not have time to put on his pants or his hat, but the machete is never forgotten. All these machetes were the property of the company. They were worth about $2 apiece. In this raid more than a thousand machetes were stolen, either by the fleeing peons or by the soldiers. None of them was ever recovered, and the manager of the company was wise enough to know that the least said about it, the soonest mended.

As misfortunes never come singly, so the poor peons fared doubly ill on this occasion. The only practical way in which payment could be made to the peons was to give their wages to their foremen, or caporals. Payment was made in this manner so that the caporal could settle the provision accounts of his gang of men and adjust their other innumerable debts, the residue being divided among the peons according to what was due them. The company had found by experience that it was impracticable to make direct settlement with the peons individually; so that all the peons of a gang gave the caporal full

authority to collect and receipt for them and pay their just debts. In normal times this system worked well; but on the day in question the caporals had all just received their money from the company, but had not yet had time to settle up with the individual peons of their respective gangs. When the recluta came, every man who could do so took to his heels, the caporals first of all, carrying the money of the peons with them. As payday was only once every two weeks, the caporals had quite large sums with them. It is hardly necessary to add that many of them were never heard of again.

The men were now herded on the boat like cattle, with nothing to eat or drink, for at least two days, until they should reach Maracaibo. Many of them attempted to escape by jumping overboard, but they were promptly shot. Dead bodies were washed ashore for weeks afterward. Once in the army these poor fellows are nothing more than hogs in the shute of an Armour's slaughter-house. Their food is obtained principally by robbing the small farmers of the country through which they pass. During the terrible rainy reason, oftener than otherwise they have no tents or covering of any kind, but sleep on the ground or on a few pieces of wood under a tree, soaking wet half of the time. Naturally their ranks are decimated by fevers, and the terrible scourge of dysentery thins them out worse than the battle's blast. These are the men who are put in the van of a battle. There are always a few trusty troops in the rear, so that if they start to run they are between two fires. Generally speaking, these recruits do not know what they are fighting for and do not care. They obey orders in the stubborn spirit of a mule; they may resent, but they are compelled to yield without stopping to argue. The recluta takes many forms. A peon may start to market with his burro, when he will be seized by soldiers, and without one word hurried into the army. His provisions will be confiscated, for they are always needed, and so will his burro if they require it, otherwise it will be turned loose. When the peon fails to return home, his family will learn the facts of his impressment from some one who witnessed the affair. In tens of thousands of cases this is all that is ever known of the poor fellow, for the government which has seized him takes no further interest in the matter. Whether fevers, dysentery, or the enemy's bullets lay him low, is never known. The wife and children weep for a time, the old mother's gray hair becomes whiter still, and the eternal hopelessness which envelops all South America hovers a little closer over them.

One strange thing about these reclutas, noted by every observant foreigner, is the fact that it is the honest, working peons, who are engaged in some occupation, who are always caught. The drunkards, the loafers, the gamblers, the semi-criminals, always seem to escape. The government always has its attention directed to any enterprise where men are employed, and when soldiers are needed, that is the first place to be raided. A saloon or a gambling hell may be filled with

peons a street distant, but it will not be molested. It is literally true that all conditions in South America tend to stultify ambition to work or own property, and the recluta is no exception to the rule.

Nearly all administrations in the respective South American countries promise reform in this particular, but no promise is ever kept. The next monthly revolution witnesses the same reclutas and sees thousands of boys who can scarcely lift a Mauser forced into the ranks. When the "generales" meet on the field, they settle it sometimes with the machete and Mauser, at other times one buys the other out. The army of the bought general serves with equal fidelity in the ranks of the other. And he is the greatest general who by reclutas, purchased or otherwise, can get the biggest army together. For all that, many of their battles are sanguinary enough. "Why don't all these peons become outlaws when they are turned loose?" I cannot say. "Why is a mule a mule?" Because it is a mule, I suppose.

Into whatever classification the political student may divide governmental states, whether these be monarchies, aristocracies, plutocracies, hierarchies, republics, or democracies, he certainly can find no place for the dictatorship as seen in Latin America. The dictatorship there is no form of government at all; it is a caricature on government, and were it represented on the stage, would be accounted a burlesque.

CHAPTER XXVII

SEMI-DEIFICATION OF THE DICTATORS

"Mr. President, what is an individual man? An atom, almost invisible without a magnifying glass, a mere speck upon the surface of the immense universe; not a second in time, compared to immeasurable, never-beginning, and never-ending eternity; a drop of water in the great deep, which evaporates and is borne off by the winds; a grain of sand, which is soon gathered to the dust from which it sprung. Shall a being so small, so petty, so fleeting, so evanescent, oppose itself to the moral march of a great nation, which is to subsist for ages and ages to come?" — HENRY CLAY.

EACH succeeding Dictator or Military Jefe in Latin America is greeted with rapturous and vociferous acclaim; he is hailed as the Great Deliverer for which the world has been long waiting. It matters not that the same pæans have been sung a thousand times before; it matters not that the vile objects of the adulation have proved a disgrace to the nation and humanity, nor does it matter particularly that the new-comer has waded through blood and pillage to his post; a concourse of sycophants is always ready to receive him with flattery and adoration. Naturally as extravagant and ornate in speech as a newly rich negro is in clothing and personal decoration, the Latin-American is apt to describe an ordinary ball as a function which would fill European monarchs with amazement, or an edict by some half-breed chief as the mightiest bulwark of democracy on the earth. When it comes to painting word pictures of the immaculate and incomparable hero, who has recently thrown off his *alpagartes* and cut his way to power, no other language than the Spanish, and no other people than a mixture of Spaniard, Indian, and Negro, would be equal to the task.

I

For the purpose of studying this peculiar phase of Latin-American character I shall give here a few examples, none of them by any means exaggerated.

(From EDUARDO O'BRIEN in *El Combate*, Caracas, December 4, 1903.)

The last revolution, if we be permitted to qualify it as such, was a bloody test for Castro and his men. It was the ultimate proof to which was submitted the work of the Restoration in the presence of the entire country, and from which General Castro emerged victorious, as Hercules in his battle with Antonio, and as Jupiter in his campaign against Cyclops. Castro vanquished

the giants who believed themselves to be arbitrators of the Republic and proprietors of the steeds of Mars, and from the blood which flowed out of the arteries of the monsters were born the public liberties which will illuminate the pages of our history, and the military esteem which will elevate discipline to a practical and sacred dogma.

New men require grand convulsions in their vicinity in order to make them known. The lightning, in order to illuminate the twilight, must shock the clouds, and it produces the thunder which terrorizes and intimidates. The flakes of foam which poetize the beach need the tempests of the ocean to raise the waves and break them upon the rocks. And great men, to command with imperial grandeur the national conscience, need the boisterous deeds of arms to cover themselves with an immortal fame, and the Homeric triumphs which give them glory and renown.

Aristides was thrown down by Atenos, and afterwards saved his country, being acclaimed as the most virtuous citizen of the Republic.

Napoleon before Marengo, Wagram, and Austerlitz was considered as a simple official, obscure and humble.

Bolívar was poorly spoken of by his countrymen, and foreigners referred to him as an insurgent, and his friends doubted the soundness of his judgment. Who then is surprised that General Castro was not considered as he really is prior to the rout of Victoria, and his resolute and patriotic attitude in front of the international emergency?

It is true that his campaign from the Andes to Caracas had a colossal success. But this campaign was a lightning flash, and because lightning is so rapid it astounds but does not convince.

Castro has triumphed, and citizens and strangers, friends and enemies, everybody without distinction of politics or social hierarchy, bow before him as the most majestic figure — and why not say it? — as the only majestic figure which the country possesses.

II

A stranger who may at first think these eulogies fit for ridicule would, after he had read a hundred columns of such ecstasies, probably think them only mildly amusing. Here is another sample from *El Constitucional*, Caracas, August 18, 1904.

Everybody Applauds

Since the early hours of yesterday a sympathetic agitation of public enthusiasm has dominated all opinions. Every one has bursted forth in explosions of applause and in commentaries about the character and energies of General Castro.

These applauses and these manifestations are condensed in a popular shout which may be translated thus:

Down with the Monopolies!

Happy the Magistrate who, interpreting the sentiment of the people deeply embedded in their own proper feelings, can say, with the unimpeachable authority of the high individual honor of General Castro:

DOWN WITH THE MONOPOLIES!

This ingenious protest of the Chief of the Country signifies subjection and destruction, which is a sacred cry, and whose echoes revive hope in the industries to a life of activity; invigorates labor in its efficient action; creates the grandest progress of the associations, and vivifies in the national spirit the love of peace and liberty, in the defence and protection of labor, production, and regeneration.

This telegram of General Castro demonstrates the disposition of the character of our citizenship, its love and enthusiasm for the normal in our institutions, which represent the highest attributes of justice and equity.

Since the national peace has been restored for the benefit of the Republic, there does not pass a day but what General Castro surprises and gratifies public opinion with measures filled with equity, and inspiration, in the august Empire of Labor.

It is explained, then, perfectly, without the enthusiasm of partisan boasting, the creation of this immense popularity which lives palpitatingly in the sphere of the Great Chief.

It could not be otherwise. The Venezuelan people who have been until yesterday the victims of the lying promises of Power, see to-day a Hero, victorious and acclaimed by the multitude, speaking the truth in the language of candor and simplicity, awaking the people from the immense sleep of pessimism which weighed down upon them, in order to give them the fruition of a flattering future in the realities of a political and social regeneration.

For this the work of the Restoration and its Conductor have experienced extraordinary events, which have animated the soul of the Commonwealth, making it vibrate in austere tones in unison and in patriotism.

General Castro continues in this pathway, destroying the sad heritage of monopoly which has come to us from the tyranny of preceding regimens, in which the statue of the law, and the grandest energies, remained with hands tied at the post of secular conventionalities.

Forward! Grand Chief of the Restoration! Those of us who know you have full conviction that you will not recede in the road you have commenced. Forward! The future does not and cannot belong to those who vacillate in supreme decisions which they owe to the public, in the exercise of the supreme authority attained by them.

Whatever may be thought of General Castro, "surprising and gratifying public opinion with the measures filled with equity and inspiration in the august Empire of Labor," we know that he has practically destroyed the last vestige of industry and civilization in Venezuela.

III

Here is a biographical sketch, quite picturesque in its narrative, by ANDRES MATA, in *La Revista Telegrafica*, Caracas, January, 1904.

CASTRO

Year, 1886; location, a city of the Occident, at the foot of the mother Cordilleras. The afternoon fell over the mountain city, and an animated group of political personages conversed familiarly in the office of the Comandante of Arms.

One of them, the Comandante, son of Caracas, accentuated the interest of the dialogue in terms which piqued the Andine pride. "I observe," said the Comandante, "that the principal regions of the country have invaded martially Caracas, and impressed upon the Federal Capital the most distinguished of their Chieftains. All the principal regions can record one or more irruptions towards the capital, except the Andine provinces."

"I will be the one that will invade it," answered arrogantly a youth of lustrous and pallid countenance, touching with his right hand the left side of his belt, in the erroneous belief that even now he carried the sword with which he was soon to distinguish himself in the local revolts.

Who was that youth who expressed himself so arrogantly, leaving his hearers transfixed with admiration?

That young official, of pallid, lustrous countenance, ample forehead, delicate appearance and Napoleonic stature, — aspects which might have been observed in conjunction after his unexpected "I will be the one to invade it," — governed civilly for a short time his province; was elected legislator of the Republic; commanded armies; was never defeated in the field of battle; exiled himself voluntarily; fortified his spirit in exile; nourished his cerebro in solitude, beneficent friend of grand souls; and when our institutions were endangered and the Republic clamored for a Savior, he passed the San Antonio as Cæsar the Rubicon, and from combat to combat, victory to victory, opened with the edge of his sword the doors of Caracas, and ascended with pomp the grand stairway of the Federal Capitol, escorted by a group of heroes, whom on the banks of the San Antonio he had rendered fanatical in former days by the eloquence of his inspired word and the expressive candor of a never defeated combatant.

That young official of 1886 personified character. To-day Castro is more than a character or a man of reputation. To-day he is the country's glory, because that character has been refined in the crucible of the most complex obstacles, and this exalted character is ennobled and developed and logically fortified in the national conscience.

It is the glory of the country, because that youth with his unexpected "I will be he who will invade it," has known how to fraternize in his being the virtue of valor with the virtue of intellectualism. It is finally a glory for the country because he with his own proper resources has carved his statue, and with his own heroic deeds raised it to its pedestal.

Above this pedestal Justice will tell to future generations that that pallid youth saved our institutions, conquered the greatest of all revolutions, which had enveloped the country in blood, purified the political atmosphere, gave a mighty impulse to the upward movement of the country, raised the national honor to the highest apex of glory, silencing the warlike insolence of three powerful European nations, without soliciting the aid of any people on the earth.

Castro, the Savior, crossing the San Antonio as Cæsar did the Rubicon! Upon such stuff is the Latin-American mind fed.

IV

The final test of all things is the truth. If Castro were in fact a well-meaning or honest man, though ignorant, we might overlook the exaggerated praises of his personal friends. But the facts are that Castro is one of the most brutal, depraved, vicious, and wholly corrupt men that ever assumed the reins of power. The same laudatory language has been written, printed, and spoken thousands of times, of Marroquin, Nuñez, Morales, Barrios, Balmeceda, Rojos, Gil y Wos, Reyes, Guzman Blanco, Crespo, and most of the other Latin-American Dictators.

Those who have doubted the transcendent virtue of Castro should read the following:

PARALLELS—GUZMAN AND CASTRO

(*El Combate*, July 25, 1904)

Guzman and Castro are two parallel lines, in that no difference how long their extremities may be prolonged, they never meet. Guzman Blanco was the legitimate heir of an old servant of the country, whose name became illustrious as Secretary of Bolívar and Paez, and gained laurels in the fields of journalism. Guzman harvested what was sown by the author of his days, and entered the political stage enveloped in an aureole of a popular man. Meanwhile Castro owed everything to himself, to his personal bravery and discernment, having assistants like planets, who seconded his gigantic work, it is true, but only as the sun has in its majestic career, shining when the stars are not present.

Guzman was acclaimed by a party. Castro formed it, he made it, he brought it forth from nothingness, and it carried him to the Capitol.

Guzman owed everything to the Liberals. The Liberals owe everything, to-day, to Castro.

When Guzman Blanco gave a sumptuous ball, the rabble whistled at the doors of his house. Meanwhile they carry Castro with enthusiasm from his home in order to decorate it with unheard-of munificence and splendid entertainment.

Guzman arrived in power, crossing an immense field of cadavers. Castro ascended the grand stairway of the Yellow House beneath triumphal arches, the testimony of his former enemies.

The day following Guzman's taking of Caracas by fire and blood, there were in the rotunda eight hundred prisoners of war. And twenty-four hours after the flaunting of the banner of Castro from the Capitol, there were put in liberty the same prisoners, which political convenience and the spirit of conservativeness would have demanded to keep well guarded.

Guzman gave commands to fight, but he did no fighting. Castro commanded and fought with the sword and Mauser.

Guzman disembarked in Curamichate with vast quantities of munitions and arrived in the environs of Caracas with six thousand men. Castro invaded the territory of Tachira with seventy-four friends, badly armed, and when he gave the immortal battle of Tocuyito, he had scarcely three thousand men.

Guzman bought men in order to overcome the revolutions. Castro castigates traitors so that they may not sell men.

The Hero of April divided the Fatherland among buccaneers in order to sell it afterwards at auction to the foreigners. And Castro gathers with pious hands the bonds of the Fatherland, so that the foreign creditors may not soil even one of them.

Guzman descended on occasion between burlesque and infamy, after having erected statues to glorify his life. Meanwhile Castro ascends to the zenith amid applause and joyous acclaims, throwing down the idols of flesh so that to-morrow they cannot make out of them idols of bronze.

Guzman and Castro!

Castro and Guzman!

Parallel lines which will not encounter each other — never!

V. The Pathway of the Great Chief

(*El Constitucional*, Caracas, December 28, 1904)

We all know General Castro will arrive wherever his duties lead him, because he has conscientious regard for his obligations before the Country and the Cause.

He has triumphed until to-day, and he will triumph to-morrow also. There exists in his disposition such wisdom of doctrine, proposals so noble for good and the well-being of all, that the efficiency of these dispositions is the voice of permanent hope, which conducts us forward victoriously. This attitude creates in those who surround him, not only persevering faith and enthusiasm, but the stimulus which agitates groups of individuals to the compliance of duty and of obligations. . . . No one, then, is called to equivocation, nor venal deception, nor temporizing, with the Great Chief, in his pathway, which is already perfectly outlined.

Castro commands: then nothing which is not of Honor can hope his favorable decisions, which are inspired always in the Saintly Cause of Justice, and shielded by the Sacred Emblem which Right has consecrated in all its formulas.

With the vision directed to the Capitol, and the thought to the destinies of Venezuela in the future, nothing will carry him in a wrong direction. . . .

Faith and Forward!

The Great Chief has already fixed the direction for the triumphal march of future progress.

The President of the State of Carabobo to the President of the State of Aragua:

Upon congratulating you upon the transcendental act in the life of Democracy, it gives me extreme pleasure to signify to you that the people of Carabobo abound also in the same patriotic proposals, . . . because the designation

of General Castro to preside over the destinies of Venezuela is a universal aspiration of the Republic.

The people of Bermudez proclaim unanimously, in the form of a plebiscite, your magical name, which synthesizes peace, order, and grandeur of the country. . . . It is the most eloquent proof that the Liberal Restoration continues to go by tranquil waters to the realization of its grand ideals."

P. HERMOSO TELLERIA.

CUMANÁ, September 26, 1904.

With indescribable enthusiasm, presage of greater glories for the country, the people of Penalves have pronounced in favor of the candidacy of the Savior of the National Honor, the Illustrious General Cipriano Castro. . . . For this manifestation of justice and admiration towards the grand virtues of our Invincible Chief, we have the patriotic satisfaction to present to you, Gallant King of Arms of the triumphs of the Cause of Restoration, our most sincere congratulations.

Signed by a Committee,

DE PIRUTU.

September 26, 1904.

VI. THE FOUNDER OF PEACE

(*El Ciudadano*, Maracaibo, August, 1904)

Castro burned the black flag of the disturbances on the pyre raised by victory. . . . There is a heroism of the battlefield and a heroism of the Cabinet: Castro possesses both. Here is the supreme will which the Republic needs! He does not belong to the class of military braves who become enervated beneath the dome of the royal palace, and are guilty of weakness before the indifference of vulgar illusions. He did not come to seat himself as a blind man in the Supreme Chair in order to serve the pusillanimous factions, fluttering with pride, and threatening; he did not come to submit to halfway methods, but to subdue, to direct, to determine their location and direct them along the path of order and regeneration. To this aspiration of spirit we owe the resurrection of confidence which has extended far beyond the horizon of the Commonwealth; to it we owe the luminous flashes of hope, which, as a happy augury, spring forth beneath the ashes of the hecatomb.

Destiny charged him to give a deadly blow to chronic anarchy, dishonoring the revolutionary tumults, burning with dark ambitions. Anarchy dishonored cannot raise its face for shame. Castro has conquered the spirit of disorder, and is therefore the Founder of Peace. This title expresses his decisive influence in the life of the Republic. The Great Chief can accept it. Simple in form, it does not wound the modesty, nor provoke the laughter of the envious. . . .

The Roman soldiers, in the apogee of the Republic, saluted their victorious generals with the title of Imperial Majesty, inclining before them the golden eagles of the ensigns of the legions. . . .

Castro is Castro . . . and the Honorable Title, Founder of Peace, is simply a translation of a fact, the formula of a Herculean enterprise, the synthesis of the work of a man who, dominating his epoch, has been able to

establish himself solid as the eternal bronze, strangling the fabulous monster of Venezuela with "the hands of his energy."

Founder of Peace! Conqueror of Anarchy!

VII

It would seem as if this peerless, immaculate, "invicto" Jefe Supremo is to be seen in his most sacred light when he is destroying monopoly, — by which is meant the few foreign enterprises which are left in Venezuela; while at the same time he is granting concessions to his generals for speculative purposes only, monopolizing every department of industry, and utterly destroying everything in the nature of free enterprise, thereby throwing out of employment practically all laborers in his own country, and reducing them to a condition of poverty worse than any system of peonage or serfdom ever witnessed in any other country. And yet his satellites have proclaimed his crimes as virtues, and attempted to justify his gigantic system for the levy of blackmail as a patriotic policy. The following is one of numerous similar examples:

Down with the Monopolies

(*Don Timoteo*, Valencia, August, 1904)

The voice of the Chief of the Nation has been heard in solemn occasion, as he treats of nothing less than the welfare of the public, for which General Castro has always had an abundance of sympathy. Those who oppress the people, those who try to infringe their sacred rights, those who squeeze out the blood of the people by means of shameless monopolies, cannot be friends of General Castro, nor good co-workers in his administration, because the most anxious solicitude, like a torrent, of General Castro, is to correspond to the love which the people profess for him; and his administration is one of public liberty, of absolute guarantees, and of veneration for the laws which rule the Republic. The most glorious pedestal of the Restoration, which the blind, the vainglorious, and the evil-intentioned have not cared to comprehend, is that which is founded in respect for alien property, and in the guarantees of industry which can only prosper under the protection of a government equitable and truly liberal.

These monopolies, . . . these whose vehement desire had been to despoil the people, contravening in this manner the luminous program of the Revolution of the Restoration, — these have no applause for the Chief of the Country in the present moments; but the people, highly gratified, acclaim the Magistrate, enemy of the monopolies.

Nothing is so gratifying as the applause and blessings of the people.

VIII

These extracts are but a few examples selected at random from the press of Venezuela. They indicate very inadequately the low

stage of public morality to which Latin-America has sunk. The very atmosphere surrounding the Dictators is filled with debauchery and indecency. An ignorant man, of a naturally unstable mental equilibrium, arrives at the capital at the head of a victorious army, or in virtue of a bargain with the faithless cabinet of the previous Dictator; such a man suddenly finds himself surrounded with all the paraphernalia of corruption and the polluted but enticing blandishments of the unscrupulous or the fanatical — is it any wonder that he loses his head and becomes a leader of a rabble of madmen?

Day after day, in unending phrase, streams of such vile adulation are poured out by the press, in the public circles, in the Capitol and the halls of the government. Thousands of newspaper columns are filled with this kind of rubbish; so that wherever one travels there is no escaping the sight and sound of fawning and maudlin man-worship.

What at first was laughed at as a joke, and later tolerated as a national idiosyncrasy, finally becomes an intolerable nuisance, more disgusting than the stenches which arise from the sewage flowing in the streets, or the carrions disporting themselves in the garbage boxes on the sidewalks. Any man may be gratified by judicious commendation of friends, and insensibility to praise or blame is by no means a distinguishing mark of an exalted character. But commendation and condemnation alike must be submitted to the canons of truth, and be within the bounds of reason. There is neither sense nor decency in the incoherent laudation which greets the oncoming of a Latin-American Dictator whose star is just then in the ascendant. Men who have the appearance of rational human beings, with some education and dignity of character, disgracefully debase themselves before the new "hero"; others follow suit, and the new arrival soon believes himself to be a Napoleon, a Cæsar, and an Alexander all in one.

No American can understand this mercurial, volatile, hysterical, vociferous, erratic, unconstrained temperament; extreme in everything, — in politeness, in cruelty, in revenge; almost totally devoid of stability, solidity, or rationality; in fine, that strange commingling of excitability, hospitality, superstition, absurdity, impracticability, subserviency, which is at all times ready, in the better as well as the lower classes, to greet each successive vagabond military chief as the Savior of Society.

IX. Father Fidel Maiz Praises Lopez

The greater the tyrant in Latin America, the more the people praise him — to his face. This fulsome flattery is as difficult to analyze as it is disgusting. At times the adultation is sincere; at other times it is hypocritical, designed to curry favor with the Dictator; and still again, it is the result of torture, the child of fear, written or spoken to relieve one's self of present dangers or future torments.

To the latter class probably belongs the eulogy pronounced upon Lopez by Father Fidel Maiz, a priest who fell under the displeasure of the tyrant and was imprisoned. To reinstate himself with Lopez and reduce the tortures practised upon him, he wrote a letter at Paso Pucu, on November 17, 1866, confessing the commission of grave crimes, — although as to the nature of those crimes the letter is very vague, because, in fact, the priest had done nothing wrong.[1] This letter was very grateful to Lopez. It was in part as follows:

Who could bring me forth from such a deplorable state? How could a stop be put to those indefinable aspirations of my heart, and cut short my wild chase after the madness of the age? None but the very God of Heaven, none but Francisco Solano Lopez, who occupies His place upon earth. . . . Only He was able to call to me with his Sovereign voice, as to another Lazarus: Come forth! . . . only he (Lopez) has known how not to break the bruised reed and not to quench the smoking flax: . . . only He has been able, finally, to convert me from the error of my way, to save my soul from death, and cover the multitude of my transgressions.

Who but a Francisco Solano Lopez, full of mildness and suavity, and employing with the most surprising skill all the resources of the most intimate knowledge of the human heart, — of the most consummate knowledge in all branches of science, whether religious and moral, historic and social, philosophical and juridical, canonical and civil, sacred and profane, — could cause that where sin abounded grace should much more abound, that as sin reigned to death, so also may grace reign through justice to eternal life?

O the grace! the ineffable grace of my pardon and liberation! How can I esteem it, or even admire it sufficiently? . . . There are no examples in history, there are no images in nature, there are no colors in art, there are no figures nor flowers in rhetoric, adequate to describe and appreciate this most singular grace as it really is, and its reality can only be believed by considering the amazing magnanimity of soul, and the actions, all of them so rarely and wonderfully glorious and noble, of him who has granted that pardon. . . . Let us pray continually that his precious and never-to-be-replaced existence may be spared for ages and cycles of ages. Let his immortal name resound unceasingly from our lips; let his glorious image abide forever at the bottom of our hearts; let his august Person be the entire object of our contemplations; let us think in Him, think with Him, think by Him, let us not sleep, let us not wake, but under the sweet and vivifying influence and under the beneficent and refreshing shade of Francisco Solano Lopez, who is so justly the glory, the honor, and the joy of his country, its only and entire hope.

Full of gratitude, of respect and love, let us venerate, applaud, and exalt this prodigiously Divine Being, this Guardian Angel, this Anointed of our people whom the Lord has given us in pledge of his divine paternal protection, and of that adorable Supreme Providence which watches ever for the preservation of innocent and inoffensive nations like Paraguay, to insure their happiness. . . .

[1] See Washburn's History of Paraguay, vol. ii. pp. 61–62.

Saint Bernard used to say he had no pleasure in reading or in conversation unless the name of Jesus were perpetually used; that Jesus is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, and joy in the heart. I do not hesitate to say as much, for my own part, concerning him who holds His place among our people.

Ah! Francisco Solano Lopez is for me more than for any other Paraguayan a true Father and Savior; and for the same reason his is also for me very especially the only object of the new affections of my converted heart. May He deign to look ever propitiously upon his prodigal son prostrate at his feet.

FIDEL MAIZ.

ENCAMPMENT OF PASO PUCU, November 17, 1866.

What madness could have seized the priest that he should have thus indited such a blasphemous laudation of one of the most inhuman monsters of history? That it was not wholly the exhalation of fear is seen in the fact that after writing this letter, and continuing in his attitude of indecent sycophancy, Padre Maiz became the favorite of Lopez, and supplanted Bishop Palacios, the representative of the Pope in Paraguay, who was soon afterwards taken out and shot, utterly without cause, by orders of Lopez. Padre Maiz continued to be Lopez' spiritual adviser, and remained with him to the end, being taken prisoner when Lopez was slain, in the battle which ended the war.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ALLEGED ELECTIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

TO speak of Spanish-American elections is like talking of snakes in Ireland — there are none. There is this difference, however: in Ireland there is tradition to the effect that snakes did at one time exist there, but that they were banished by Saint Patrick; in Spanish America there never has been anything resembling an election. It is true they speak and write there of elections; the newspapers print reports of them in Mexico or Colombia or Argentina; and it is probable that ninety-five Americans out of a hundred suppose that they have elections in those countries similar to those they have at home or in England. The United States government, however, is better informed; and every American consul or minister in Spanish America realizes that an election is a ridiculous farce and pretence. These authorities, however, have never taken the trouble to lay the facts before the American people.

I. How Elections are held in Mexico

It is difficult to say whether the authorities of Mexico are themselves ignorant of the meaning of the word "election," or whether they go through their quadrennial farce with the intention of deceiving the masses of the people, who have no more knowledge of the Australian ballot system than they have of the precession of the equinoxes. Certain it is that occasionally a pretended election is held in which the candidates desired by Diaz are unanimously elected, and just as certain is it that the "elected" candidates are the only ones nominated.

Elections are held in the following manner: The judges of election, designated by the Jefe Politico, sit, on election day, out in the plaza, or in some other public place, with a big show of books, papers, pens, ink, etc. As the citizens pass along, these judges ask them for whom they wish to vote. A man who votes for the government candidate is certain to get his vote counted, and a man who is foolish enough to oppose the government candidate will have no attention paid to his vote. If he becomes obstreperous, he will be locked up in jail. No serious indiscretion on his part would be tolerated, and

the time is not remote when he would have been shot as an enemy of his country for such an offence. It is needless to say there is no campaigning, speech-making, or any of the red-fire accessories which render a political contest so picturesque in the United States; in fact, the elections pass off without one person in fifty knowing that there was even a pretence of such a thing going on. Just what the object is for holding these "elections," I have never fully understood, unless it be a desire to comply with the letter of the Constitution. At the same time I would add that had the elections been conducted to really express the choice of the voters, Porfirio Diaz would have been overwhelmingly elected every time. He is looked upon by the people of all classes in Mexico with a respect and veneration seldom accorded a ruler. Truth also requires me to add my opinion that at no time within the past twenty-five years could an active, open candidate for the presidency against Diaz have lived in Mexico for six months without being either imprisoned or banished.

II. Elections in our Sister Republic Argentina

Elections in Argentina are thus described by Frank G. Carpenter, in his work on South America:

"During my stay in Argentina a new President was elected. General Julio A. Roca, the Ulysses S. Grant of the Argentine Republic, was again chosen as the head of the government. His election did not mean that he was the choice of a majority of the Argentines, but merely that he was the strongest man in the small coterie that governs the country. South American elections are not like those of the United States; each nation is only nominally a Republic, and the people have only a nominal right to vote. A few persons in each country really control everything political, and the ballot boxes are stuffed to suit their designs and conspiracies. In Buenos Ayres the elections are held on Sundays in the porches of the churches. Outside the church doors are tables, around which sit several seedy-looking men, the receivers of the election. The ballots are of paper, and are dropped through slits in the boxes. Many voters hand their ballots to the receivers and ask them to vote for them. One man often repeats his votes, giving another name at each repetition. The receivers recognize the fraud, and are a party to it; at least they do not object. The better class of the people realize the impossibility of a fair election, and refrain from voting. As an instance of how things are done, take the last election for Senator in Buenos Ayres. The city has a population of 800,000. At the election there were only 2000 votes cast, whereas reckoning one vote to each family of five, there must have been 160,000 possible votes. The election lists are scanned by the candidates beforehand, and added to or taken from as desired. . . . This corruption in politics extends to every part of the Republic."

III. Elections in our Sister Republics Chili and Peru

Elections in Chili, like those in Mexico and Argentina, are simply humbug. A pretended party division exists of Conservadores and

Liberales; but the real power in Chili rests in the hands of about two hundred families. The really active members of this political ring are very much fewer, and it is this ring which decides who shall be President. The people have nothing to say about it; indeed, the only way in which they could obtain the right to vote and have their votes counted would be through a revolution. Even this method would prove of little avail, since the masses are not competent to vote, had they the right.

Notwithstanding these undoubted facts, writers on Latin America continue to assert that genuine elections and republics exist there. These statements are made so often, and by men of such high standing, that they are apt to pass unquestioned by people who do not know the facts. Marrion Wilcox, in the "North American Review" (June, 1903), quotes Señor Calderon, the Peruvian minister, who states that "the majority of the Republics of South America live in peace"; and as for his own country, he was able to say that "revolutions belong to the past," that "order is an accomplished fact, the Presidents being legally elected, and succeeding each other with the regularity ordained by the Constitution."

That most of the South American countries live in peace is, I fear, too good to be true. But when Señor Calderon speaks of elections, it is evident he has no conception of the meaning of the word as understood in the United States.

On this point I shall quote again from Frank G. Carpenter, one of the keenest and most trustworthy observers, whose book, published in 1901, was written after more than a year's constant travel and study in nearly every Spanish-American country:

"It was in company with the secretary of the American legation that I called upon Nicolas de Pierola, the President of Peru. His Excellency had appointed two P. M. for my audience, and at that hour we entered the long one-story building which forms the White House and the government offices of the Republic. Soldiers in uniforms of white duck were at the door, and as we passed in we went by a company of infantry ready for immediate action in case of revolution. Additional rifles stood along the walls in racks, and we seemed to be in a fortress rather than in the capitol building of a country supposed to be ruled by the people. Peru is a land of revolutions. Its present Executive is a revolutionist, who gained his position after months of hard fighting. In the houses and churches of Lima you may still see the holes where the cannon balls of his soldiers went crashing through. He besieged the city, and for days his army fought with that of the former President in the heart of Lima. They had Gatling guns trained upon one another, and swept the streets with them. The dead were carried out each morning by the cartload, and there were so many dead horses that they could not be buried, but were sprinkled with coal tar and burned. The end of the revolution was the deposition of the old President Caceres, and the election of the present Executive. President Pierola's career is a typical one. It illustrates the ups and downs of South American politics, and shows us how Republics

are managed below the Caribbean Sea. Nicolas de Pierola is the son of a Peruvian scientist, his father having been a co-worker with Alexander von Humboldt, Sir Humphry Davy, and Von Tschudi, the noted Austrian philosopher and traveller. Pierola was born in Southern Peru. He was educated in Paris, where he married the granddaughter of Iturbide, the unfortunate Emperor of Mexico. On returning to Peru at the end of his school days, he began his life work as editor, supporting the President. A revolution overturned the administration, and Pierola was banished. This revolution was succeeded by another, with one of Pierola's friends at its head, and the young man was brought back to the capital, and made Secretary of the Treasury. He had hardly received his seal before the President who had been last driven out appeared before Lima with another army, and again Pierola and the executive he had been supporting had to leave. Then the war with Chili came on, and Pierola was called back to be one of the generals in the Peruvian army. His soldiers were defeated, but, the President having fled the country, he became Dictator. After a short time, however, the Chilians conquered, and deposed Pierola. He was ordered to leave the country, and fled to France. Later on Caceres, who had been elected President, became very unpopular, and Pierola returned to raise a revolution against him. Caceres accused him of treason; he concealed some guns on Pierola's estate, and based his charge on their discovery by the soldiers sent to find them. Pierola was arrested, brought to Lima, and confined in the palace. One day a French lady called to see him. She was admitted, and the two were left alone awhile in Pierola's cell. During this time they had changed clothes, and an hour or so after it was supposed the lady had departed, the guards found that Pierola had passed out instead, and that all that was left of him was his brown whiskers, which he shaved off in order to perfect his disguise. Pierola fled to the mountains, raised an army, and declared war. He skirmished about the country for some time, and then attacked Lima. After three days' fighting President Caceres was forced out of office, and a provisional governor was appointed until an election could be held. At the election Pierola was chosen President by an overwhelming majority. Thus trained in revolutions, the President is too good a soldier to sleep upon his arms. He does not go about without guards, and during our visit to his residence we found soldiers everywhere present. As we went on through the palace, going through one room after another, we passed many officers in uniform, until we met the President's private secretary, who told us that the palace, the President, and himself were at my disposal."

The statements made by Mr. Carpenter are accepted by every one familiar with Peruvian affairs. When Simon Bolívar said "Our elections are combats," he stated the truth; and they remain combats to this day.

IV. Not even the Rudiments of Real Elections in Latin America

Elections in Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Argentina, being of the character which has been described, it may readily be inferred that they are even less dignified, if that were possible, in the other countries of

Latin America. In Santo Domingo, Colombia, and Venezuela revolutions and anarchy take their place. The vast majority of the inhabitants of those countries are no better acquainted with the ballot than a Hottentot. The highest and most intelligent classes have no real idea of what is meant by an election, and it would be difficult to explain it to them; with the peons, any word to represent the fact would be as intelligent as another, since it would assure no corresponding idea. In Russia, even, there is at least the primary symptoms of democracy, for in the village communities the majority rules, in all affairs affecting community interests, by means of a sort of town meeting, where the affairs of the community are discussed and decided. But in Latin America there is not even this attempt to arrive at an expression of popular opinion. In no function of government, by no method or manner, is the voice of the people or of any portion of the people of the slightest weight, influence, or consequence. And yet prominent writers would have us believe that elections of some sort really exist in those countries. Among this class it is worth while to call attention to statements made by Mr. W. L. Scruggs, in his book entitled "The Venezuelan and Colombian Republics":

"South American revolutions are either local or general. They are said to be local when the state or provincial offices are in dispute, and to be general when the federal offices are involved. In both cases the pretext is usually some real or fancied irregularities at the polls, or some alleged failure of the federal administration to redeem its party pledges. In neither case are the masses in the slightest interested, for, as a rule, they care little or nothing about politics. They generally vote as they are directed by the bosses, and are quite indifferent as to who shall fill the little offices. The commercial and financial classes are almost equally derelict. They seldom attend a primary, and rarely vote at a popular election. The whole machinery of government is abandoned to the professional politicians. The party managers, or bosses, usually get together and 'fix up a slate,' as we would say; a packed primary ratifies the arrangement, and this, in turn, is ratified by the form of an election at which perhaps less than ten per cent of the property owners ever attend or vote. Even on extraordinary occasions when there is something like a full vote, there is rarely a fair count. The result is that the defeated candidate seldom acquiesces in the result."

So peculiar a mixture of half-truths and falsehoods, containing as it does so much that is absurd, it would be difficult to compress into so small a space. Mr. Scruggs undoubtedly intends his brief description of an "election" in South America to apply to Venezuela and Colombia, since it is of those countries his book purports to treat. Let us for a moment examine his statements.

When he says that "their pretext is usually some real or fancied irregularity at the polls," the logical inference would be that "polls" of some kind really exist. As a matter of fact there are not, nor

have there ever been, any polls in Venezuela or Colombia, irregular or otherwise, and Mr. Scruggs, who has been American minister to both of these countries, ought to have known this. The Presidents of those countries are "elected" with the machete; no ruling Dictator is ever defeated except by a revolution; every official of the government is appointed by the Dictator in Caracas or in Bogotá, and holds his office at the will of the latter. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the President of the Senate, is as liable to be deprived of his position and thrown into jail at the whim of the ruling military "boss" as is the janitor of a police station.

Mr. Scruggs says, "The commercial and financial classes are almost equally derelict; they seldom attend a primary and rarely vote at a popular election." We are to infer from this that these classes are in some manner to blame for neglecting their political duties; that the primaries and elections exist, and that all that is needed is to attend them and vote.

The falsity of Mr. Scruggs' statements lies rather in the inferences which they involve than in any direct or positive statement; and for this reason they are calculated to foster grave misunderstandings. The fact is that there are not nor have ever been any "primaries" or "popular elections" in either Venezuela or Colombia, or in San Domingo and Central America; while the "elections" in the four most advanced countries are of the nondescript variety already described, — in fact, they are not elections at all. In reading Mr. Scruggs' article, the mental processes of the writer remind us of the operations of the toreado worm, which twists as it enters the wood, so that it is difficult to tell where it entered or where it came out, if it ever got out. If any financial or commercial man in either of those countries should make any effort to "attend a primary" or take any other part in government affairs, he would be locked up in jail, his property confiscated or destroyed, or perhaps he would be banished by an edict of the Dictator. It is hardly possible that Mr. Scruggs can be ignorant of these facts.

V. Popular Elections are entirely Impossible in Latin America

It must not be inferred from the above statement of facts that I believe elections ought to be held in Spanish-American countries, or even that it is practical or possible to hold them. I simply record the facts. Being averse to humbug, I wish people to understand and know the truth; and the truth is that there are no such things as real elections in Spanish-America, nor in any part of it. To my mind the important thing is to maintain a good government, law, and order. If these can be brought about by popular elections, well and good; but if not, then let them be brought about in some other manner;

since the maintenance of law and order and the protection of life and property are the very indispensable and prime functions of a government. Until these are established, theoretical discussions as to the form of government are a waste of time. It suffices to know that a discussion of the question of suffrage in connection with the people of Latin America would be absurd. Popular elections would be simply impossible. Dr. S. Ponce de Leon, a distinguished Latin-American scholar, from whom I have frequently quoted, shows a just appreciation of this view in his *Estudio Social:*

"The Colonial System of Spain, which was founded principally on ignorance and oppression, could only produce weak and abject people; in them it was impossible to have either virile intelligence or exalted character. There could be no virile intelligence where books, pamphlets, and newspapers were proscribed and consequently thought enchained; where there did not exist academies, nor lyceums, nor literary nor political forums, establishments which are intellectual gymnasiums; where they impeded the flight of the spirit, thinking in this manner to drown the aspirations of liberty. There could be no nobility nor elevation of character where terror forever reigned; where a systematic oppression accustomed the subjects to a blind and humiliating obedience to one arbitrary and despotic will; where the most trivial actions of life were supervised by a gendarme or soldier; where a man habitually saw on all sides violences and revenges, and if, perhaps, sometimes there arose within him against these outrages the natural sentiment of manly dignity, a still greater violence proved that self-respect is not permitted to men who live under the colonial yoke, to men who live the shameful life of slaves.

"Very little adapted was the Spanish colonial education to qualify these South American people to govern themselves, and much less in order to constitute themselves under a Republican form. What idea did these people have of the suffrage? What of the freedom of the press and speech? Could they in any manner comprehend citizenship? When the privileged classes scarcely knew how to read and write; when the masses were born in the most profound ignorance; when the idea of a republic, as grasped by the people, was an impracticable Utopia, a monstrosity, fitted only to produce anarchy and disorder, — how could they have correct notions of the duties and rights of citizenship? The colonial education of Spain never in the world could form republics; and when we obtained our national sovereignty, we had made only the first step, done only half the day's work; then there should have been commenced by every man who felt in his heart the sacred fire of patriotism, the further crusade to instruct the people in the mode of using the liberty which they had gained and give each individual the consciousness of his personal responsibility. But nothing of this was done. After the war of independence surged the disastrous civil wars, and with them came anarchy, disorder, ruin, the discredit of our nations, and disdain for the form of government we had constituted.

"Every time a revolution triumphs in these countries, there is a large part of the inhabitants who thinks that now society is saved and they therefore look into the future without fear; they have absolute faith that the intellectual capacities, the pecuniary resources, the civic virtues, and other qualities of the men who constitute the new government are sufficient elements to solve

the exceedingly difficult problem of social reconstruction. This is because the great majority of the inhabitants only see the surface of things; they do not examine the depth; they do not touch the social ulcers nor study their nature; they have no consciousness of the gravity of the evil, and think its cure is easy. This is all the more lamentable because if all should study the structure of the social body, if they should dedicate themselves to an examination of the few good elements that can be opposed to an evil which has arrived to acquire a horrible intensity, they would not harbor illusions in regard to the actual state of society, nor fail to lend their patriotic services to those to whom is confided the delicate task of saving this society without possessing, however, the indispensable elements.

"Moral and religious education, which is the most solid foundation of society, does not exist, speaking in general terms. . . . The father of a family to-day exhibits towards the education of his sons the same carelessness which his father did with him. It inspires ingratitude and sorrow to see how this generation is developing without a single notion of morality; without knowledge of their most commonplace duties; without any respect for man or for society; without instruction; without application to labor; wanting a profession or employment; filling the gambling-houses and public places; displaying always and in every place an insolent and cynical disregard. And this child of to-day will be to-morrow the father of a family; this boy, ignorant and corrupt, will be in a short time a citizen, to whom will be entrusted the salvation of society in the legislator's chair or bench of a magistrate. Can the question of to-day, in these deplorable conditions, be the hope of to-morrow? By no means. How can he educate who has received no education? How can he be a good citizen who does n't know the duties of such? How can one respect the individual or the society which has never learned self-respect? How can one give examples of order and morality who has developed in an atmosphere of corruption and idleness?"

What this distinguished scholar and thinker says as to the colonial system of Spain is true; unhappily, the conditions are still worse under the dictatorships. The throwing off the yoke of Spain, intolerable as it was, made matters worse instead of better. The worst of civilizations is better than the best barbarism; almost any kind of government is preferable to anarchy.

That the reader may clearly apprehend the absurdity of even discussing "elections" in Latin America, authentic reports are given in the following chapters of recent "Presidential Elections" in those countries, as reported to the State Department by the minister of the United States, and published in our Foreign Relations for the corresponding years.

CHAPTER XXIX

HOW THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM WORKS BELOW THE CARIBBEAN SEA

WHEN the Hon. Lewis Baker, with his two daughters, the Misses Anna and Virginia, left New York on April 29, 1893, for Managua, as the accredited United States Minister to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Salvador, he probably did not realize just what a hornets' nest he was running into. The ship in which he sailed, the Costa Rica, was bombarded at Amapala, and when he reached Managua, on May 12, he found the legation barricaded with sacks of coffee and filled with American and other foreign refugees. Mr. Richard C. Shannon, his predecessor, had left about fifteen days previously, at about the time a formidable revolution had broken out which finally resulted in the election of a president. Mr. Baker shall narrate the facts leading up to this interesting and important event.

On May 23, 1893, Mr. Baker reported to Secretary Gresham as follows:

"I have to report to you a very sad condition of affairs in this Republic. For some months a conspiracy had been forming for the avowed purpose of overturning the established government and installing the members of the conspiracy in control. The fact was no secret, only the acts were hidden so far as possible. It was well known that the 4th of May had been agreed upon as the day for the outbreak; but at what points the blows were to be struck, and who were to lead in the revolution were unknown. But some of the details of the proposed *émeute* in the army becoming prematurely public, the blow was struck on the 28th of April by the delivery to the enemy of the military garrisons at Granada, San Juan del Sur, Rivas, San Carlos, and other points in the east and southern portion of the Republic, while the soldiers at Managua, Leon, and the masses of the people inhabiting the more westerly departments remained loyal to the government. Five of the twelve departments, which embrace in large part the wealthiest and most intelligent sections of the Republic, are in rebellion. . . . Several skirmishes have been fought at a barranca about two miles from Masaya, a deep cut in the railroad leading to Managua, which the revolutionists have fortified with four cannon behind earthen breastworks. On the 19th instant the government attempted to capture this important position, but after a brisk fight lasting several hours, and the loss on the side of the government of many killed and wounded, the attacking party withdrew."

Mr. Baker, like most other gringos, was of course very anxious to throw himself into the breach to stop this bloodshed. He therefore wrote to President Sacasa, offering his services to "find a basis for an honorable settlement without further bloodshed and devastation." President Sacasa was of course willing that Mr. Baker should "start work conducive to the establishment of peace, harmonized with the legitimate respect due to the authority and to the dignity of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic."

The ladies of the foreign residents also organized a "Red Cross" Society, and set out to take care of the wounded soldiers of both sides. Mr. Baker procured for their use a locomotive, and placed it at the disposition of Mr. Frederick K. Morris, for the Red Cross. When, however, the locomotive got into the lines of the revolutionists, the engineer deserted it, and the revolutionists seized it for military uses, leaving the wounded soldiers to dress their own wounds. A hue and cry was immediately set up that Mr. Baker and the Red Cross were aiding the revolutionists, and the locomotive incident was cited as proof. President Sacasa, however, hastened to assure Mr. Baker that he had not doubted their good faith and integrity.

On May 31, 1893, Mr. Baker reported to Secretary Gresham all the preliminaries of peace. He had gone to Granada, the capital of the revolutionists, and had held protracted interviews with them, in which they claimed they had stronger armies than the government, etc.

Mr. Baker finally got the government and the revolutionists to appoint three commissioners each, who met and agreed upon a basis for peace, by which the President, Dr. Roberto Sacasa, agreed to place the executive power in the hands of Senator Salvador Machado at twelve o'clock, noon, on June 1, 1893; a constitutional convention was to be called within four months; the President and his secretary were both to be ineligible for election during the first constitutional period; the troops were to be disarmed; expenses of the war on both sides were to be paid upon an equal footing; military titles of each side to be equally recognized; and mutual amnesty and unconditional guarantee for everybody.

On June 1, 1893, Mr. Baker wrote:

"To-day at twelve o'clock I was a witness to the change in the presidency of this Republic by the resignation of Dr. Roberto Sacasa, and the inauguration of Salvador Machado. . . . All parties to the agreement seem to be actuated by high motives and are performing their respective duties in perfect good faith."

We must at least score one for the gringo, — he had brought about peace. But let us see; what is the old saying — "Don't whistle till you're out of the woods"? However, Mr. Baker was happy, and he wrote:

"The people of Nicaragua are naturally a peace-loving, well-meaning people. They are neither turbulent nor restless."

Mr. Baker had now been in Nicaragua exactly nineteen days, having arrived on May 12, and the letter from which we quote was written on May 31; so that there could be no doubt about his knowing the people. A minister who is not able to understand the character of the people of Nicaragua in nineteen days would surely be unfit for his post.

Pointing Guns at American Ships

Other events occurred, however, which seemed to throw some doubts on the accuracy of Mr. Baker's hasty generalization.

A typical incident is disclosed in the following report from Henry Palazio, United States Consular Agent, Corinto, on May 11, 1893, to Captain Johnson:

"In compliance with your request that I should give you an official report with regard to the steps taken by this government to protect itself against the revolutionists from approach by sea, I beg to state that a Krupp breech-loading gun carrying a fifty-pound shell was pointed against the San José yesterday, and against your ship this morning, and pivoted on both ships from the time of rounding Icacos Point until anchorage. An officer held the firing-lanyard in his hand, and the slightest accident would have caused its discharge, and the possible sinking of either ship, especially at such close range. They probably thought that both ships had called at San Juan del Sur, supposed to be held by revolutionary troops, although I had officially advised Governor A. L. Rivas that the 'City of New York' was due this morning with the new American minister, the Hon. Lewis Baker, on board, and coming direct from Panama."

How pleasant it must be to sail on a passenger ship carrying ladies and children, and realize that the guns of a fort are pointed at you, the firing-lanyard being in the hands of some ignorant black brute who would rather blow you to Kingdom Come than not!

The Forced Loans

Mr. Baker was so much occupied at the outset with his peace negotiations that there were other matters which had to be held in abeyance. The "government" of Nicaragua — that is, the Dictator — issued a decree, on April 29, 1893, for the collection of a "forced loan" of $600,000, which would fall, of course, almost entirely upon the foreigners. The details of this forced loan were most systematically arranged, each department being levied upon, and the army directed to collect.

To discuss "forced loans," firing upon passenger steamers, and other small matters hardly deserves consideration while noble efforts

towards peace and enduring affection are being negotiated. Let us return to the thread of our narrative.

On July 17, 1893, Mr. Baker wrote to Secretary Gresham:

"After the peace of Sabana Grande the whole country apparently not only acquiesced but applauded. . . . But this naturally peace-loving people has again been plunged into another unfortunate internecine struggle. The president of the Republic, Señor Machado, and his chief cabinet minister Señor Sanchez, both citizens of the Leon country and sympathizers with that political and local sentiment, had, in company with General Avilez, the general of the army, made a visit to Leon. As they were about to depart from the city, an attempt was made to capture and imprison these gentlemen. Machado and Sanchez were quite easily captured, but General Avilez eluded arrest, and arrived in Managua some three days later. This rebellion was headed by Colonel Anastacio J. Ortiz, who had been placed in command at Leon as Military Governor on the recommendation of General Zavala. By depriving the Republic of its President and chief minister, as well as its commanding general, they hoped to throw the government into anarchy. And in this they subsequently succeeded. Business is paralyzed, the farms are again robbed of the labor necessary to make crops, communication with the sea-coast by rail is cut off, prices of all commodities have extravagantly increased, and Americans and other foreigners doing business in this country are disappointed and disheartened. . . . On yesterday, Sunday, the 16th, the three remaining members of the Cabinet, viz. Vigil, Gomez, and Castillo, called a meeting of the citizens of Managua, Masaya, Granada, Jinotepe, Leon, and Rivas, for consultation. . . . It was proposed that the power be placed in the hands of General Joaquín Zavala, an ex-President and distinguished citizen of Nicaragua. The suggestion was received with cheers, and a motion to that effect was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted. Thereupon a decree issued to that effect."

Mr. Baker had now been in Nicaragua for two months and five days. He had already known three different Presidents, and is destined to know more. Mr. Baker now became rather less exuberant in the exercise of his prime function as a peace-maker.

"While I shall hold myself in readiness to aid by patient counsel and friendly offices in the establishment of peace again, I shall not be forward in offering my services."

Mr. Baker had done well; it takes most gringo ministers longer than two months and five days to get an infiltration of common sense into their craniums.

On July 24 Mr. Baker cabled:

"Revolutionists cannonaded Managua from steamers this morning without warning, killing one woman near legation, wounding several persons."

On July 25, 1893, Mr. Adee, Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, cabled Mr. Baker to

"present, either jointly with the other diplomatic representatives, or in a separate note to the titular government, a protest against the waging of hostilities without warning, whereby foreigners are endangered."

Protest! Protest to whom and against what? What right have foreigners to live in Nicaragua, especially when we have an administration like that which we then had in Washington?

In view of this bombardment, Mr. A. H. Rivas, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Zavala, suggested to Mr. Baker that he would do well to move his legation to Granada, where the cannon balls could not reach. Mr. Baker heroically declined, saying:

"It seems to me that my official duty requires my presence, in these times of trouble, at the seat of the American legation, located at the capital of the country."

Moreover, he thought the government, in such "able hands," ought to be able to put down the uprising.

On July 31, 1893, Mr. Baker wrote of the bombardment of the 24th:

"Two steamboats well armed with cannon in possession of the Leoneses came over from Mototombo between five and six o'clock on the morning referred to. They commenced throwing shells promiscuously into the city, without any notice whatever. Each steamer had aboard one modern Krupp gun of six and a half calibre. Fifty-two shells were fired into the city. . . . Ten shells passed over or very close to the legation, one of them killing a woman and wounding a man in a house still farther back from the lake."

Evidently Mr. Baker had no liking for bombardment, since on July 24, 1893, he addressed a "protest" to General J. S. Zelaya and the revolutionary junta, saying that he had

"noticed with pain and humiliation an act of barbarism, at an early hour this morning, committed by officers and men, presumably acting under your authority and direction. I refer to the bombardment, with death-dealing missiles, of this city, without previous notice, thus jeopardizing the lives of American citizens, the citizens of other foreign governments, women, children, and other non-combatants. I need scarcely call your attention to the fact that such proceedings are condemned by civilized nations throughout the world, and in the name of the civilized sentiments of this age, in the name of a common humanity, in the name of the government which I represent, I enter this my firm and solemn protest."

Indeed, and yet these are the people who are well-meaning and by no means turbulent!

The Junta de Gobierno — that is, the revolutionary body headed by General J. S. Zelaya — now retorted on Mr. Baker:

MATEARE, July 25, 1893.

The Junta de Gobierno, for which I speak in this instance, has been very much surprised at the harsh and insulting language used by the American Minister in his said communication, in appealing to the humanitarian sentiments of said junta, a language which the junta attributes to the unpleasant impression created, as you say, by the act of war against the enemy, which is fortified in that capital, and not to any premeditated intention of offending, in the name of the government of the United States, a friendly nation like Nicaragua. . . . Nobody called us barbarians or savages because we made use of the artillery of the steamers and on land against the besieged place. There were numerous families there, who retired prudently when they saw us arriving with warlike purposes. . . . As the American minister is pleased to believe that the revolution of Nicaragua must give him previous notice of its war operations against the enemy in the capital, I will make it a duty of courtesy to gratify him, and to give him notice by these presents that so soon as our land forces occupy certain positions, the artillery at its command on land and water will fire without interruption until it achieves victory or suffers defeat.

JOSÉ D. GAMEZ.

It will be seen these wretches had not the slightest objection to be savages; what they objected to was to be called savages.

On August 5, 1893, Mr. Baker reported that the warring factions had again met, on July 30, at Managua, through commissioners, and signed a treaty of peace, which declared peace and amity between the parties, reciprocal forgetfulness of their dissensions, and ample and unconditional guarantees for all.

A new *Constituyente* Assembly was to meet, on September 15, to frame a new Constitution — "The principle of direct and secret suffrage is recognized," etc.; the troops were to be disbanded, debts of both belligerents to be paid, etc.

As a result of all this, General José Santos Zelaya, the head of the revolution, became President, an election which was on September 15 ratified by the "Assembly." Before his formal election General Zelaya had of course to "resign" as Dictator. Mr. Baker naïvely remarks:

"The Assembly accepted the resignation, and afterwards elected General José Santos Zelaya as President of the Republic. This election is for a term the length of which shall be fixed in the Constitution which the Assembly has been chosen to frame."

With all due deference to Mr. Baker, I affirm that General Zelaya was "elected President" for such length of term as the army would stand back of him, and overcome the armies which any "rival candidate" might be able to raise.

A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ECUADOR

Under date, "Quito, September 1, 1895," James D. Tillman, American Minister, wrote to the Secretary of State as follows:

"On the 13th and 14th of August General Savasti, Minister of War, in command of the government forces near Riobamba, was defeated, and his army, composed mainly of conscripts, was completely disorganized, and went some to Alfaro, many to their homes, and a few returned to the capital, where after a week of unsuccessful efforts to reorganize and increase the fighting force, the struggle was given up, and the chief actor for the government, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor A. Rivadeneira, left for Colombia, with his family, on the morning of the 19th, carrying with him, it is said, about one hundred thousand sucres, which had been raised by the priests a few days previously for the purpose of organizing a force, and preparing for the resistance of Alfaro at the gates of the city. The Vice-President, the Minister of Finance, and other members of the Cabinet remained in the city, some of them being in foreign legations and others in their own homes. The wife and daughters of General Savasti came to the house occupied by me on the night of the 17th of August, and are still here with my consent.

"Since the flight of Mr. Rivadeneira, and the abandonment of the public offices by other members of the Cabinet, all the legations have been filled with women and children, especially during the 18th and 19th of August, when there was no government, either municipal, provincial, or national, and when the streets were filled with men and boys firing the abandoned rifles of the dispersed troops of the government."

On August 29, 1895, Mr. Tillman was officially informed by Señor Louis F. Carbo that

"On the 5th of August of the present year the people of Guayaquil proclaimed General Aloy Alfaro Jefe Supremo of the Republic of Ecuador and General-in-Chief of the army. This popular proclamation was immediately seconded by all the provinces of the coast, and by some of the interior," etc.

The rest of the screed need not interest us. General Alfaro had been elected President, or what not; he would play the game for a space until some other general dispossessed him; and the merry-go-round would keep on going around.

A Presidential Election in our Sister Republic Brazil, in which the Official Candidate is counted in, with Nobody to go behind the Returns

On April 3, 1893, United States Minister E. H. Conger, at Petropolis, Brazil, wrote the State Department:

"With reference to the revolution now in progress in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, I have the honor to report that absolutely accurate information is impossible to be obtained here, since the federal government controls the telegraph lines and refuses to give out detailed information; but as correctly as can be obtained, this is the situation: There exists in the State two rival factions, the one headed by Julio de Castilhos, the present Governor, and the other by Gaspar Silveira Martins. The struggle is on the part of the

latter and his followers to depose the former, and a majority of the people of the State are in sympathy with the Silveira Martins party. But the national government supports Castilhos, and has sent large bodies of troops from this and other parts of the Republic to uphold him. . . . There has already been severe fighting, with considerable loss of life."

On May 3, 1893, Minister Conger advised our government of a rupture in the Brazilian cabinet. Dr. Innocencio Serzedello Correa had tendered his resignation as Minister of Finance, and Admiral Custodio José de Mello had surrendered the portfolio of Marine.

Señor Correa resigned because of a general disagreement with the Vice-President, then Acting President, Peixoto. Admiral de Mello set forth as his grievance "the refusal of the Vice-President to adopt his views for a settlement of the civil war now in progress in Rio Grande do Sul." Mr. Conger thought this to be a very serious rupture, "Admiral de Mello having been the chief organizer and leader of the movement of November 23, 1891, which deposed Marshal Deodora from his assumed dictatorship, and restored the legal government with Vice-President Peixoto at its head."

On May 26, 1893, Mr. Conger informed the State Department that charges had been formulated in the House of Deputies against Vice-President Peixoto, demanding his impeachment. They charged him with "numerous violations of the Constitution and laws, to wit, declaring martial law without warrant, improperly interfering in state affairs, carrying on unnecessary war, squandering the public funds, compulsory recruiting for the army and navy, chartering banks of emission, ignoring legal tribunals," etc.

On June 9, 1893, Mr. Conger wrote that the House of Deputies, by a vote of 93 to 52, had refused to present articles of impeachment against Vice-President Peixoto.

On July 24 Mr. Conger wrote Secretary Gresham that the struggle in Rio Grande do Sul was progressing without any material change in the situation.

"Several battles have been fought with varying success on each side, no important advantage, however, having been gained by either. On the 6th instant Admiral Wandenkolk, one of the foremost officers of the Brazilian Navy, now retired and a member of the National Senate from the federal district . . . took possession, either by previous purchase or seizure, at Montevideo of a Brazilian merchant vessel, the Jupiter, embarked thereon several hundred pretended emigrants, with a full equipment of fire-arms, including small artillery and ammunition, and proceeded at once to Rio Grande do Sul, in front of which city he arrived on the 9th. There he took possession of a couple of small Brazilian war-vessels and several merchant ships, issued a proclamation to his comrades in the navy, inviting them to join, and in the name of 'liberty' urging them to support him, and prepared to attack the city. The authorities there, however, immediately trained the land batteries on the fleet with such effect that it was compelled, after three days of manœu-

vring, to withdraw, the Jupiter sailing north towards Desterro. There is no doubt that a simultaneous attack by the revolutionary land forces, under General Gumerscindo Saraiva, had been agreed upon, but a failure on their part to reach the coast and co-operate in the attack rendered Wandenkolk's efforts fruitless. In the mean time the national government had despatched the cruiser Republica and the steamer Santos from Rio de Janerio, with instructions to capture or sink the Jupiter. The Republica came up with her, on the 15th, near Canavieras, on the coast of Santa Catherina, where she immediately surrendered. . . . Admiral Wandenkolk was at once confined in Fort Santa Cruz."

On September 6, 1893, Mr. Conger cabled the State Department that

"the navy of Brazil has revolted, assumed complete control over the harbors, and seized all the war-vessels. It has made no attack, but threatens, unless the Vice-President resigns, to bombard Rio de Janeiro. . . . " Admiral José Custodio de Mello, of the Brazilian navy, is commander of the revolting squadron. He has possession of the Brazilian warships Aquidaban, Jupiter, and Republica, and a number of merchant vessels which have been seized in the harbor of Rio. The government has possession of the fort Santa Cruz, which commands the entrance of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and the army is apparently loyal to the legally constituted authorities. . . . Foreign commerce has been entirely suspended until to-day, when restrictions on telegraphic communications were partly removed. One French ship commenced to discharge cargo to-day. No shipments to foreign ports have been made since the revolt commenced. Desultory firing has been kept up between the opposing naval and land forces, resulting in some deaths and considerable damage to property."

On September 8, 1893, Thomas L. Thompson, of the United States legation at Petropolis, Brazil, cabled the State Department that the Brazilian Congress had declared martial law, and he requested the presence of an American war-ship. He was informed by cable that the U. S. S. Detroit had been ordered to Rio de Janeiro, and that the Charleston was then due to arrive there.

On September 11 Mr. Thompson sent to the State Department a copy of the proclamation of Admiral Custodio José de Mello, leader of the revolutionary movement.

This outburst of Admiral de Mello's secretary was a typical specimen of Latin-American *bombastes furioses*. It commenced:

"The revolutionary movement of the 23d of November had no other object than the restoration of constitutional government, and the free action of the constituted powers which the *coup d'état* of the 3d of November destroyed, to the general consternation of the nation, and especially of all those who were responsible for the establishment of the republican government. The dictatorship of the 3d of November seemed to be utterly irresponsible in the administration of the finances of the Republic," etc.

Admiral de Mello continued:

"Bankruptcy already beats at our door with all its train of horrors and miseries. In the fatal decline of power that loses itself, the republican administration descends to every abuse. Mutilated and wounded innumerable times, the Constitution of the 24th of February has no longer any form by which it may be recognized as the supreme law of public liberties and the guarantee of citizens. Self-willed power reigns everywhere."

Then followed the grand peroration, — the one on which the changes have been rung so many, many times.

"In the life of nations, as in that of individuals, there are moments for decisive action. . . . No suggestion of power, no wish for government, no aspiration to obtaining control by the exercise of violent efforts on my own part, induce me to enter upon this revolution. That the Brazilian nation may assume possession of its sovereignty and know how to direct it within the limits of the Republic, is my desideratum, this my supreme purpose. Long live the Brazilian nation! Long live the Republic! Long live the Constitution!"

There have been so many of this type of pronunciamento written by Dictators, Jefes, Generals, Doctors, and other ambitious patriots, that it would seem unnecessary to comment upon this. The salient fact is that although every charge made by De Mello may have been true, there would have been no improvement by putting a new gang of freebooters at the public crib. Revolutionists and government are all of the same class; it is merely a question of grades and degrees of badness.

On September 14, 1893, Mr. Thompson cabled the State Department that "the fort commanding the entrance of the harbor and the arsenal situated on a wharf in the centre of the city were bombarded at eleven o'clock in the morning by the revolting squadron, which also fired a few shells into the city."

On September 28, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported by cable that the repeated firing on Rio de Janeiro has resulted in the death of many non-combatants and the destruction of property; "that the further bombardment of the city is a danger to American life and property."

On October 2, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that "upon the announcement made by the admiral commanding the revolting warvessels of his intention to bombard Rio de Janeiro, the French, English, Portuguese, Italian, and United States ministers held on this day a conference, and advised the commanders of the foreign vessels, who agreed to do so, to take measures to prevent such bombardment in case of necessity. He reports that on the previous day the forts in the harbor were bombarded without results."

On October 12, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that "the previously neutral fort of Villegaignon has declared for the revolutionary

cause, and participated in the general but fruitless bombardment on Tuesday last between the revolting vessels and the three loyal forts. . . . The revolutionists seized an English barge."

On October 13, 1893, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"It is difficult under present conditions to fix the legal status of Admiral de Mello and the revolting squadron. No favorable demonstration has been made for them on shore. Almost a constant bombardment of Nictheroy opposite Rio has been kept up, and though the place is poorly provided with means of defence the insurgents have not succeeded in getting a foothold there."

On October 13, 1893, Mr. Thompson wrote to Secretary Gresham:

"On the 21st ult. definite news was received of the appearance of the Republica at Santos, and a detachment of soldiers was despatched to Sao Paolo to reinforce that point. The 22d was full of excitement. The insurgents captured four merchant steamers belonging to national companies, together with a quantity of provisions. At 3 P. M. heavy fire opened between Santa Cruz and the Aquidaban, Trajano, and Guanabara, and one of the torpedo boats, which lasted until 6 P. M. Owing to the remarkably bad gunnery, neither side suffered much from the firing. One shot entered the city and killed two persons. On the 23d a bombardment between Santa Cruz and the fleet lasted from 6 to 9 A. M., during which the Guanabara was struck by a shell. There was more or less firing all day on the 24th between Santa Cruz and the fleet. On the 25th about five hundred government troops concentrated at the custom-house for embarking and crossing the channel to the island of Ilha das Cobras occupied by the marine hospital, and guarded by cadets of the Naval School, thus far neutral. Admiral Saldana da Gama had raised the 'red cross' flag over the hospital. As the island with good artillery would endanger the fleet, it was decided by the government to occupy it. The insurgents, however, discovered the movement, and the Aquidaban threatened the first barge-load of soldiers that disembarked. At 4 P. M. firing began, and there was a rain of shot and shell over the business part of the city. The batteries on Sao Bento and Castle Hills were also bombarded, and the shots fell in various parts of the city, as far away as Rua Princeza Imperial. The troops at the custom house soon retreated, and the engagement came to an end. On the 26th the attempt was renewed, and Henry T. Watmough, a London and Brazilian bank clerk, while eating his lunch, was struck by a piece of shell and killed. The whistle of the shot was heard on the Rua do Ouvidor, and several shells burst directly over the city. The people fled in every direction. Many buildings were struck and damaged, though the actual loss of life was not very great. The government having relinquished the idea of capturing Ilha das Cobras, there was a lull in hostilities on the 27th. Business, however, was wholly suspended in the city. The situation was made more critical by an order from the Marechal to the shore batteries to fire on every vessel coming in range. . . . On the 28th a sharp engagement occurred at the Ponta do Caja, S. Christovao, which was visited by steamers and launches of the squadron for the purpose of obtaining coal. The insurgents captured six lighters of coal belonging to the Brazilian Coal Company, the representatives of Corey Bros. & Co. of Cardiff. . . . On the 29th . . . a

boat being seen at the customary anchorage of the Aquidaban flying the British flag, a launch was sent from the British cruiser to investigate, with the result of finding that it contained a torpedo and was preparing to blow up the revolting ironclad. Two well-known Brazilian officers were of the party, an American named Boynton, an Englishman, and others. They were taken aboard the British cruiser, charged with illegally flying the British flag, and subsequently Boynton was turned over to the commander of the Charleston, and is still in his custody. It is also reported that Boynton openly talked of his intention to blow up the Aquidaban, and of the large sum he was to receive for the service. . . . On the 30th . . . firing was commenced on Santa Cruz at 2 P. M. It is estimated that 196 shots were fired by the fleet and about double that number from the forts in the two hours during which the engagement lasted."

On October 13 Mr. Thompson wrote Secretary Gresham that Admiral de Mello had given notice that he proposed to bombard Rio de Janeiro, but the commanders of the foreign war-ships intervened and declared that they would not permit this. At the same time the government of Brazil was asked to remove all pretext for hostile action by substantially disarming the forts.

On October 14 Mr. Thompson forwarded to the State Department a decree of the Brazilian government declaring that the revolting squadron and forts were placed outside the protection of the national flag. Admiral de Mello promptly came to the front with another proclamation, in which he accused the Executive of resorting to lying, bribery, cunning, and even crime, in his efforts to put down the revolution.

On October 21, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported failures of the insurgents in their attempts to disembark forces, and the daily continuance of bombardment between the forts. The U. S. S. Newark arrived on that day.

On October 24, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported the "receipt, through the officer commanding the United States naval forces, of a communication from Admiral de Mello announcing that a Provisional Government of the United States of Brazil was established on October 14 at Desterro, the capital of Santa Catharina, and requesting recognition by the United States."

On November 7, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that "the daily fighting in the bay and along the shore is attended with no important results, that the government fire had destroyed two powder magazines on islands held by the insurgents, killing some English officers and sailors," and added:

"A government force of fifteen hundred men is now advancing from Paranagua, where ammunitions and supplies have been sent by Vice-President Peixoto, for the purpose of driving the insurgents from Catharina Island, which they hold."

On November 8, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported the killing, from the machine-gun firing on the previous day in Rio de Janeiro, of several non-combatants, and of a young woman who was standing in front of the consulate of the United States.

Insurgents charge the Government with Bad Faith

To prevent the bombardment of Rio de Janeiro by the revolutionists, the diplomatic corps and commanders of foreign war-ships had obtained an understanding with the government that it would not establish further military works there, or enlarge or strengthen those already in existence; that it would, in short, remove all pretext for bombardment by rendering Rio de Janeiro an unfortified town in the usual sense of the term. Thereupon Admiral de Mello was informed by the commanders that they would not permit him to bombard, and he agreed not to attempt it. This led to numerous acts of bad faith and breaches of the agreement, both by the government and the insurgents, and much correspondence on the part of the assembled ministers and admirals.

On November 15, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that the State of Pernambuco had been placed under martial law.

On November 23, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that a shell fired from one of the Nictheroy batteries had sunk the insurgent monitor Javary.

On November 29, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that the attack of the insurgents on Nictheroy and Santa Catharine had been repulsed, the Pallas wrecked, and the Madeira burned. He said the situation looked favorable to the government.

On November 30, 1893, Mr. Thompson transmitted a decree continuing the Federal District and the States of Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul under martial law.

On December 4, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that on the first instant Admiral de Mello had sailed out of the bay, in face of a heavy fire from the forts, on his flag-ship Aquidaban, accompanied by the Esperanza, the fire being answered by the vessels and the insurgent fort Villegaignon.

On December 5 Mr. Thompson cabled:

"Fifteen leading American merchants in Rio de Janeiro send this message: 'The city fired into daily with small shot and shell without any notice. A number of foreigners have been killed. We ask that our squadron be instructed to prevent firing into the city until proper notice is given, and to keep constantly a line of communication with the consulate.'"

On December 5, 1893, Mr. Thompson cabled that the insurgent vessels were in a very bad condition; that Mello had sailed in a

southerly direction from the quarantine station at Ilha Grande, which he pillaged.

On December 5, 1893, Mr. Thompson wrote that the Diplomatic Corps was having great difficulty in dealing with the matter of the bombardment:

"When launches or torpedo boats approach the shore, they are fired upon by the government troops stationed on the water front, and this is made a pretext for indiscriminate firing on all parts of the city with machine guns stationed at fort Villegaignon and on the war-ships of the insurgents. No regular bombardment with large guns has taken place, but many men, women, and children have been killed at points far removed from the location of the infantry on the city front, and the commanders of the foreign naval forces declined to interfere to prevent the indiscriminate firing."

Naval Commanders refuse to act

The Diplomatic Corps repeatedly called the attention of the foreign naval commanders to this firing, and requested them to put an end to it. The commanders, perfectly safe in their own snug cabins, refused to interfere. The following letter explains their attitude:

Rio de Janeiro, Nov. 17, 1893.

Naval Commanders to the Diplomatic Corps:

The commanding officers of the naval forces, as a sequel to their telegrams of the 9th instant, have the honor to add that in their opinion the cannon firing that the Brazilian government reproaches the Aquidaban and Villegaignon with having directed against the city is not of a different nature from that which passes incessantly between the insurgents and the government troops along the quays, in the fusillades to which the government itself does not seem to attach much importance. . . . Indeed the shots from the Aquidaban and Villegaignon in the direction of the city were evidently fired with mitrailleuse and other arms of small calibre, to reply to the fire of the land troops against the insurgent boats and the garrison of Villegaignon. The commanding officers have several times had to recognize that the insurgent forces could not always be accused of having provoked these little fights. They have probably been frequently brought about by the inexperience of the troops stationed along the quays, — an inexperience which is proven by the fact that these troops fired upon a Portuguese boat carrying its war-flag. On this occasion the government excused itself, by saying that the troops had not recognized the flag and thought they were firing upon an insurgent boat. In this state of affairs the commanding officers think there is not sufficient reason to address a collective note to Admiral de Mello in order to remind him of this agreement.

Signed by
Augusto de Castilho (Portuguese).
Hoffman (Dutch).
Henry F. Picking (American).
N. M. Lang (English).
A. de Libran (French).
G. B. Magnaghi (Italian).

The very comforting and reassuring views of the naval commanders, most of whom appear to have been great warriors in times of peace and great diplomats in times of war, did not seem to put a quietus on Mr. Thompson, who actually had the temerity to write:

"I am still of the opinion that the indiscriminate firing upon innocent people should stop, or at least timely notice be given of the bombardment to enable non-combatants to place themselves beyond the reach of the fire."

The American merchants in Rio de Janeiro also seem to have had a disregard for the opinions of the naval commanders almost amounting to contempt of court; for on November 29, 1893, a most vigorous protest was signed, in which the signatories stated that their lives were daily endangered without notice by the small shot and shells fired into the city. The following were the signers:

James B. Kennedy,
Louis R. Gray,
Wm. T. Anderson,
Wm. J. Erving,
Frank Norton,
E. T. Lawrence, Jr.
Wm. H. Lawrence,
J. S. Keogh,
S. T. Stratton,
J. V. Bechtinger,
A. C. Hill.

On December 9, 1893, Mr. Thompson cabled that Admiral da Gama had declared in favor of the restoration of the government as it had existed before the Republic was established. He had joined the insurgent cause. Admiral Saldanha da Gama, an avowed monarchist, had command of the naval school and arsenal situated upon the Ilha das Cobras.

On December 17, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that the foreign naval commanders had ceased protecting the commerce of their respective countries; that it was reported that Captain Picking, the senior officer of the United States forces, had withdrawn intervention, but that it had not been possible to verify this, as Captain Picking did not communicate with the land.

On December 18, 1893, Mr. Thompson enclosed to his department a manifesto issued by Admiral Luiz Felippe Saldanha da Gama, in which that worthy declared that the present government was but a continuation of the military insurrection of November 15, 1889; that the "historic crisis" had arrived for "political redemption," and that he was ready to sacrifice his life, etc.

On December 21, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that Captain Picking had refused protection to American vessels which had been allowed by the proper authorities to land their cargoes at the docks and in the neighborhood, and had based his action on the ground that the line of fire of the insurgents would be interfered with and neutrality consequently violated.

On December 30, 1893, Mr. Thompson cabled that Da Gama had been notified by the commanders that two days' notice must be given before bombardment.

On December 31, 1893, Mr. Thompson reported that Da Gama had asked recognition as a belligerent; he also enclosed a communication from Da Gama, dated December 23, which stated that the government of Marshal Floriano Peixoto had fortified all the heights around the city, even the holy places, so that Rio de Janeiro had ceased "to be an open city and becomes a stronghold of war in the strictest sense of the term." He therefore declared that on the first cannon-shot from any of those points his squadron would reply with heavy artillery.

On December 31, 1893, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"The usual fighting has been carried on daily, but has not resulted yet in any definite gain to either side. The government forces have gained a few of the islands in the northern and western part of the bay. The islands Governador, Eugenho, Mocangue, and Conceicao have come into their possession. They are apparently trying to surround the insurgents, so they can be reached by artillery in any part of the bay. During the attack on Ilha do Governador, General Telles, the oldest, bravest, and most successful officer of the government, was mortally wounded and has since died. It is claimed that 300 government troops were upon this occasion taken prisoners."

On December 31, 1893, Mr. Thompson wrote Secretary Gresham that Captain Henry F. Picking, U. S. Navy, commanding naval forces, South Atlantic squadron, had denied protection to American vessels, and that now their commercial operations were carried on "by sufferance of the insurgent commander." Mr. Thompson addressed a note to Captain Picking on the subject, and this is the reply he received:

U. S. Cruiser Charleston,
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Dec. 24, 1893.

Sir, — I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 22d instant. I acted on your advice once, very much to my regret ever since. I have informed you of this verbally heretofore.

I am, Sir,

Henry F. Picking, Captain U. S. Navy, Commanding
U. S. Naval Forces, South Atlantic Squadron.

Evidently Captain Henry F. Picking's awful responsibilities weighed very heavily on him. Cruisers ought to be constructed for the express purpose, if for no other, of affording vantage-ground from which such distinguished naval officers could emit their epistolary correspondence.

On January 12, 1894, Mr. Thompson transmitted to the State Department a great deal of correspondence from the naval com-

manders, the government, the diplomats, and the insurgent commanders, relative to the proposed bombardment of Rio de Janeiro. Of course the government had mounted heavy guns on the heights of Morro do Castello and elsewhere, while they were affirming that they would do nothing of the kind. The foreign naval commanders on January 1 declared this a breach of faith, and added:

"Under the circumstances the senior comandantes have the honor to state that they can no longer consider themselves under obligations to adhere to the attitude which they expressed in their communication of December 25, 1893, to Rear Admiral Saldanha da Gama."

This was another way of inviting them to begin their bombardment.

On January 12, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"The fighting has been confined mostly to the islands and fortified points beyond the confines of the city. Within a few days the insurgents have taken forcible possession of an island used as a coal depot, and with it captured a large quantity of coal belonging to the Royal Mail Steamship Company of England. . . . The Aquidaban, Admiral Mello's flag-ship, returned from the South and entered the bay under heavy fire from the forts this morning between four and five o'clock. It is stated by some of our naval officers that Admiral Mello is not on board. . . .

"The San Francisco arrived this morning with Rear Admiral Benham."

On January 16, 1894, Mr. Thompson cabled that the U. S. S. New York had arrived; that the insurgents had made an attack on Governor Island to-day, and that a serious engagement had occurred at Nictheroy the preceding night.

On January 20, 1894, Mr. Thompson enclosed two manifestos of importance, one issued by Governor, Dr. Alfonso Augusto Moreira Penna, of the State of Minas-Geraes, and the other by Annibal Falcao, a representative in Congress from Rio Grande do Sul. These manifestos were written by men opposed to the government and friendly to the revolution, up to the date of Da Gama's pronunciamento favoring the re-establishment of the monarchy. They were likewise opposed to Da Gama's monarchial tendencies, and therefore threw in their support with Vice-President Peixoto.

On January 22, 1894, Mr. Thompson confirmed the successes of the government at Bage, and reported the continuance of fighting at Nictheroy.

On January 26, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"An attack upon the island of Mocangue resulted in a severe defeat to the government forces and the abandonment of the island. . . . The repeated assaults of the insurgents upon Nictheroy have thus far been repulsed, but great damage has resulted to both life and property.

"The victories of the government forces at Rio Grande do Sul culminated on the 8th inst. when the siege of Bage was raised. The revolutionists were

disbanded and fled, without ammunition, and poorly horsed. The reports show that constant and incessant fire was kept up for eighteen days, during which the government losses were 36, while the revolutionists lost over 400; besides it is claimed 500 from Uruguayan bands deserted. The city of Bage was very much damaged, and many atrocious crimes said to have been committed. In one instance two soldiers were burned to death."

On January 31, 1894, Mr. Thompson cabled that Admiral Benham had notified

"the insurgents and the city that he intended to protect by force, if necessary, and to place all American vessels which might wish to go to the docks alongside the wharves. The war-vessels of the United States got under way and cleared for action. The Detroit, which was stationed in the best position for the ends of protection, had orders to fire back if the merchant vessels were fired upon. A shot from one of the insurgent vessels was fired at, but missed the boat of one of the American vessels that was making preparations for hauling in by means of a line running to the shore. The Detroit replied with a shot from a 6-pounder, which struck under the insurgent's bows. The latter then fired one shot to leeward from her broadside battery, and subsequently another over the merchant vessel. The Detroit answered with a musket shot, which struck the stern post of the insurgent vessel . . . He states that the naval or military operations of either side were not in the least interfered with by Admiral Benham, who entertains no such intention. What he proposes to do is to fulfil his duty of protecting the citizens and trade of the United States, and of this the insurgents have been notified by him. . . . The insurgents are denied the right to search neutral vessels, or to seize any part of their cargoes."

Here, at least, was one American naval commander who had some sense. After reading the screeds written by the pusillanimous Picking, it does an American good to realize that we have officers in the American navy who are not poltroons.

On February 2, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported:

"The resignation of the Minister of War and Marine of the Brazilian government, and the march on Iguape of 1000 insurgents." He says that Curitiba is in their possession, that the insurgent ship Republica is now at Paranagua with Admiral Mello on board, and adds that a threat to bombard Rio without notice again made by the Admiral of the insurgent fleet is likely to be opposed by the foreign commanders.

On February 3, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that Admiral da Gama asked for recognition, stating that they held the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina, Paraná, and part of Sao Paulo.

He enclosed a letter from Admiral A. E. K. Benham to Da Gama, dated January 30, 1894, which is a manly, straightforward document, telling the insurgent that he must not interfere with American commerce, that he had no right to search neutral vessels or seize any portion of their cargoes, that he had no right to exercise any authority

whatever over American ships or property of any kind, and that "the forcible seizure of any such articles by those under your command would be, in your present status, an act of piracy."

On February 6, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"News has reached here of dissensions in the Provisional government of the insurgents at Desterro, and the retirement of Senhor Annibal Cardoso from the cabinet. . . . Upon leaving the government, Senhor Cardoso is reported to have said: 'To-day the heads of the revolutionary movement are enveloped in a mesh of cabals, and far from seeing in them the energy needed to overcome these intrigues, I see these friends to be in great difficulties.' "

The newspapers of the 16th of January had published long accounts of a government victory at Itajahy. This small town in the State of Santa Catharina, held by 800 men with 21 cannon, and assisted by two of the insurgent vessels, was captured by the government forces on the 10th of December, with but little loss of life to either side.

On February 12, 1894, Mr. Thompson cabled that the insurgents on the preceding Saturday had landed at Nictheroy and had been repulsed, returning to their ships after an engagement, in the course of which both sides lost heavily, and Admiral da Gama was wounded.

On February 15, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"The latest news from the South is to the effect that Mello, with 1500 troops, is in possession of Paranagua. Gumacindo, commanding the revolutionists in Rio Grande do Sul, after defeating the government forces under General Machado, marched to Curitiba. The revolutionists control the small State of Paraná, except the town of Lapa, which, strongly fortified, is defended by Colonel Carneira with a force of 1200 men. The revolutionists are poorly provided with artillery. There are but two national passes into Sao Paulo from Paraná. These are at Itavare and Santos. The government has 2500 troops defending Itavare and about the same number at Santos, with a reserve of 2500 at Sao Paulo. General Machado is reported to have rallied his forces numbering 4000 men south of the position of revolutionists. . . . The recent announcement by the Vice-President of the Republic that the elections would be held March 1, has in a measure given the people more confidence in the government, although the partisans of Mello and Da Gama condemn it as a prearranged attempt to continue Peixoto's influence in the government."

The government candidate, Prudente Moraes, had been brought forward for the presidency.

On February 21, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that the Aquidaban had run the forts under a heavy fire, and had joined the Republica, which was then standing off the port. He thought an engagement would take place near Bahia.

On February 28, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote that the Nictheroy

on the 18th had landed several hundred troops at the entrance to the harbor, that the insurgents had lost the Venus by an explosion, and that, the provisional government of the insurgents at Desterro having failed, they had organized a new one at Curitiba, capital of the State of Paraná, which they unquestionably controlled. He added:

"The yellow fever has become epidemic at Rio, especially upon the vessels that have been moored to the docks. The deaths average, according to official figures, about fifty-five a day, which represents in the large part foreigners. Several deaths have occurred on the foreign ships of war, but none so far on ours."

On March 2, 1894, Mr. Thompson transmitted the news sent by the Brazilian minister at Montevideo of a victory gained in Paraná by General Hippolyto, who defeated a force of 500 rebels commanded by General David, the latter having lost sixty men killed and a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

A President is Elected

On March 6, 1894, Mr. Thompson wrote:

"The elections held on the 1st of March I am glad to report passed off quietly throughout the country, as far as heard from, resulting in the overwhelming election of Dr. Prudente de Moraes, a civilian, President of the Republic, and Dr. Manoel Victorina Periera, a civilian, Vice-President of the Republic. The vote so far is about 100,000 for Dr. Prudente de Moraes, President, and 75,000 for Dr. Manoel Victorina Periera, Vice-President."

Why a hundred thousand votes, and no opposition, and not a hundred million? If the pretext of an election is needed at all, why not make the statistics imposing while we are about it?

Mr. Thompson naïvely added:

"The vote appears small, but I understand by comparison it approximates closely to that of preceding Congressional Elections."

The vote does appear rather small for a country claiming fourteen or fifteen million inhabitants; but we may safely assume that it not only "approximates closely," but that it actually exceeds "preceding Congressional Elections" by at least 100,000 votes.

It would seem that the incident might now be considered closed, and practically it is; but there are still some precincts missing.

On March 10, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that 800 men with General Salquado had deserted in Paraná from the rebel army, and that insurgents were landing at Abatuba. He believed there was no doubt that the leaders of the revolution in the South were not in accord with Da Gama.

On March 12, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that Saldanha da Gama had asked for an amnesty for himself and his supporters. Asylum was granted Da Gama on board the Mindello, a Portuguese war-ship.

On March 14, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported the surrender of the insurgents. The rebel war-vessels and the islands of Villegaignon and Cobras had been abandoned. Da Gama, with about 480 officers and men, left Enxadas Island and went on board Portuguese war-vessels. The next day a Portuguese merchant vessel with 90 insurgents aboard was stopped by the government, and the refugees taken off. This led to a diplomatic question between Brazil and Portugal.

On April 12, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul had telegraphed the news of a serious defeat and great loss sustained at Port Alegre by the rebels, who had taken to their vessels, and being advised of the approach of the squadron sent by the Brazilian government, had fled in haste.

On April 18, 1894, Mr. Thompson telegraphed that, according to intelligence received from the South, the revolutionary cause had been abandoned by Admiral Mello, who had gone with 1200 men and 4 vessels of the revolting squadron to the Argentine Republic, which gave them protection. The sinking of the Aquidaban and the complete overthrow of the revolutionary movement were announced. Mello's ships had been seized by the Argentine Government, which would turn them over to Marshal Peixoto, when called for.

On April 19, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that 4000 rebels had taken refuge in Argentina and Uruguay, and that the war was ended.

On June 17, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that the insurgent General Gumacindo engaged the government troops in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, but had been routed; that the government had been very severe with all persons suspected of having aided the revolutions, and that many had been thrust into prison, among them several foreigners.

On June 28, 1894, Mr. Thompson reported that "the Congressional Committee appointed to examine the returns and report upon the legality of the presidential election gave its conclusions, which were adopted in joint session June 22, and Prudente de Moraes and Victorina Periera recognized as President and Vice-President during the period from November 15, 1894, to November 15, 1898. The total vote reaches only 350,795, which is small considering the committee estimates the number of electors at 800,000. But as there was no organized opposition, and this is the first election by the people, it is not surprising to find it small."

"No organized opposition" — that is really good. Most assuredly there was an "organized opposition," but it was defeated,

after a brave struggle, and scattered to Portugal, Argentina, and Uruguay, and most of the balance of it locked up in jail.

So far as the small number of votes is concerned, that need not disturb us. They had increased exactly 250,795 over and above the returns of March 1, when the election was held; and future elections may show additional gains.

C. E. Akers, in his "History of South America" (page 291), describing the "election" in 1894 in Rio Grande do Sul, writes:

"At this juncture Admiral da Gama took the field. Up to the time of his arrival on the scene the conflict had been carried on with the greatest barbarity, quarter on neither side being expected. An eyewitness described what occurred when 400 government troops fell into the hands of a strong party of insurgents, in these terms:

"'The prisoners were penned into a cattle corral, a guard surrounding the spot to prevent any attempt to escape. A man would ride into the yard and lasso a prisoner as though he were a bullock. Dragging his victim a few yards away, he would dismount, draw his long knife, and deliberately cut the prisoner's throat. This operation was repeated until half of the men in the corral were killed. The remainder were reserved for similar treatment the following day'

"This is horrible enough, but on June 24 the outbreak met with a reverse that destroyed any hopes of success its partisans may have entertained. At Camp Osorio, Admiral da Gama and 374 officers and men were surrounded by government troops, commanded by Colonel Joao Francisco. A desperate struggle ensued. Five times the troops assaulted the rebel trenches, and were repulsed with heavy loss. Then, the ammunition of the insurgents becoming exhausted, they endeavored to break through the enemy's lines, and some succeeded. Many others were killed or captured, and Admiral da Gama was wounded and his retreat cut off. To avoid being taken prisoner, he committed suicide, and his body was found some days later horribly mutilated."

An Election in Paraguay

On January 11, 1902, William R. Finch, Montevideo, Uruguay, informed Secretary Hay of a revolution in Paraguay, enclosing a complete report from the Montevideo *Tribuna* of that date. It stated that at Asunción, on the 10th, a revolutionary committee had been formed, composed of Generals Caballero and Escobar, Colonel Escurra, the Minister of War and Minister of Finance, — Señor Moreno and Senator Fleitas. This committee resolved at its night session to remove "the inconvenience to the government presented by President, Dr. Emilio Aceval, and the ex-President, General Egusguiza." Disposing of the forces of the cavalry, a squad was detached at 4 A. M. to take possession of President Aceval and demand his resignation. This mission was fulfilled, but when he was asked to resign, President Aceval refused, and he was taken a prisoner to the cav-

alry barracks. Another squad arrested the Chief of Police and other men known to be friends of Aceval and Egusguiza.

A session of Congress was called, at which Señor Hector Carvallo, Vice-President, presided. He was in the revolutionary movement. Señor Fleitas moved that the rule of President Aceval be declared at an end, which was loudly cheered by a heavy revolutionary contingent which had been placed in the hall at Congress. Senator Bogarin protested, stating that the proceeding was unconstitutional.

"Suddenly the sound of a shot was heard, and after the first shot numerous others followed, sounding as if a great bundle of rockets had been thrown into the centre of the house. The confusion became terrible, and insults multiplied, and blood flowed, the men having lost their presence of mind in the excitement and fury of the struggle. The firing of revolvers, the using of daggers and canes, throwing of chairs, and the exchange of blows transformed the house into confusion and chaos. While this was occurring, General Escobar, going along the corridor, reached the balcony of the house of Congress which faces the plaza, and, taking his handkerchief signalled to the commander of the troops stationed there. The noise of the shots and the cries of the people caused General Escobar's signal to be wrongly interpreted, and the commander ordered the infantry and artillery to open fire against the house of Congress. The firing by the infantry and the cries of the people, who asked that the firing cease against Congress, caused a panic among the inhabitants of the city. Meanwhile the wounded were being attended to and the dead taken up in the room of sessions. Among the former was Senator Insfran, who had received three bullet wounds, Senators Corvelan and Fleitas, General Caballero and Deputy Carreras being gravely wounded. Senator Bogarin, against whom the firing began, was slightly wounded, as were also some other representatives, shorthand writers, the brothers Perez, and other individuals not very well known. In the street fifteen persons were wounded, some of whom will not recover."

A Typical Presidential Election in our Sister Republic Venezuela

On August 7, 1899, Mr. W. W. Russell, Secretary of the American Legation, Caracas, Venezuela, wrote to Secretary Hay as follows:

"I have the honor to state that last week the insurgent faction in the State of Los Andes, under General Cipriano Castro, was completely defeated by the government troops, in a bloody battle which lasted eighteen hours. The loss of the insurgents is placed at 800 killed and wounded, and the government loss 300."

September 5, 1899, Mr. Russell cabled: "Revolutionists gaining strength. Government not secure. Advisable, send without delay nearest war vessel La Guaira."

September 8, 1899, Mr. Russell cabled: "Leader revolutionists mentioned Castro. After defeat gathered about 3000 men. Government troops have not attacked. Trying mass forces. Revolution aided prominent political refugees Curoçao. Government may succeed. Has 7000 troops."

On September 8, 1899, Mr. Russell wrote: "The leader of this uprising is Cipriano Castro, from the State of Los Andes, and whose defeat by the government troops I communicated to the Department in my No. 313 of August 7. Castro, after his defeat, fled with the remnant of his band, about 1000 men, and was making his way to Valencia, which was only a day's journey from Caracas. On his march he had captured one or two squads of the national troops, with their arms and ammunition. He arrived at a town called Nirgua, in the State of Carabobo, two or three days' march from Valencia, with about 3000 men, that he had collected on his march from Los Andes. The government officers reported to Caracas that the revolutionary force was too strong for them to attack, and that the only thing they could do was to act on the defensive. Castro, with his knowledge of the country, and his peculiar tactics, had separated by long distances the government troops and was encountering no opposition. One of the government generals was ordered to reinforce the national troops already in that section, but had to come by forced marches from Maracaibo, a three days' journey. These troops are supposed to have arrived by this time, and if the government's figures are correct, Castro will have to engage a superior force or retire. Nothing definite has been heard from the scene of action yet. When Castro was so badly defeated, it was thought the troubles were over. But just after this the government discovered a revolutionary plot of the followers of General Hernandez, the one who started the first revolution against Andrade. Hernandez was arrested and placed in prison here, with a great many of his followers, and it is believed that Castro's forces have been increased by the Hernandistas joining him."

September 14, 1899, Mr. Russell cabled: "President of Venezuela left Caracas to-day to take command in field against revolutionists. Vice-President acting. New cabinet."

September 15, 1899, Mr. Russell cabled: "Revolutionists took Valencia yesterday. President returning to Caracas. Where is war vessel?"

September 23, 1899, Mr. Russell wrote: "Valencia was taken after bloody battle, in which the government troops were severely defeated, . . . General Castro, the revolutionary leader has a powerful and well-equipped force. The government officials were badly demoralized, and the city of Puerto Cabello was abandoned by the custom-house officers, who fled to La Guaira on a man-of-war. After Andrade's return to Caracas there was a renewed effort on the part of the government to mass its forces for a resistance. . . . For the last two or three days there has been a dearth of any official news regarding the movements of Castro, but it is generally conceded that he has advanced a considerable distance from Valencia, and is supposed to be somewhere near Maracay, which is five hours from Caracas. . . . The government has a great many troops, but the most of them have been recruited lately, and are a sorry lot. Treason exists on all sides, and the administration is not popular. . . . General Luciano Mendoza has been appointed chief of the government troops, and this has caused much alarm, as he is a desperate man and stops at nothing. In 1892 he collected large amounts of money by force from merchants, and his name is coupled with many acts of lawlessness."

October 9, 1899, Mr. Francis B. Loomis, American Minister to Caracas, writes: "It is impossible to forecast the situation at this time, or to give a very intelligible notion of it, for the reason that this is a season of intrigue

and conference rather than one of military operation and fighting. Eight days ago a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon. The armistice expires Monday evening next, but may be prolonged a few days. General Castro is encamped at Valencia and is governing the city."

October 14, 1899, Mr. Loomis cabled: "Have been informed by Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs, General commanding army of Venezuela deserted, and President of Venezuela will be forced to abandon Caracas without fighting."

October 20, 1899, Mr. Loomis cabled: "President of Venezuela left for La Guaira, daylight, with 800 men. Did not resign office. Some disorder here. Heavy bomb dynamite exploded, against house of Matos, former Minister Finance."

October 22, 1899, Mr. Loomis wrote that Vice-President Rodriguez assumed the reins of government, that Andrade had abandoned the country, taking about 1000 men with him, and that General Castro was expected within a day or two. Mr. Loomis said there was a condition of terror nigh general among the people of Caracas.

October 24, 1899, Mr. Loomis cabled that the government had been turned over to Castro.

October 27, 1899, Mr. Loomis cabled: "Hernandez, probably strongest leader after Castro, left Caracas, 2000 men, about midnight, probably to begin uprising against *de facto* government. Hernandez was given cabinet position by Castro, but demanded other important concessions."

Of course there were more despatches, more blockades, more bombardments, more uprisings; but what matter so that our immortal Cipriano is duly elected?

Election of General Bonilla as President of Honduras

United States Consular Agent W. Heyden, Amapala, Honduras, wrote on March 7, 1903, to Mr. Leslie Combs, American Minister at Guatemala:

"A great part of the members of the Congress that was in session in Tegucigalpa, among them the President of the Congress, fled from the capital to the frontier of Salvador the 30th of January, so that Congress was *de facto* dissolved on that date. It seems that the Council of Ministers formed a new Congress out of the remaining deputies and the substitutes of the fugitives. The new Congress proclaimed Dr. Juan Angel Arias President, and General Maximo B. Rosales Vice-President, of the Republic. The new government was recognized by Nicaragua, but I do not know if it was recognized by the other Central American Republics.

In the mean time General Bonilla has gone ahead with his military operations against the new government. His forces have taken the fortified towns of Ocotepeque, Santa Rosa, and Gracias, near the frontier of Nicaragua.

On the 22nd of February General Bonilla was attacked in El Aceituno by General Sierra, the ex-President, who was completely defeated, and es-

caped with several hundred men, the remainder of his troops, to the fortified town of Nacaome, where he still is. General Bonilla has now an army of about 4500 men."

On March 18, 1903, Minister Combs wrote to Secretary Hay:

"President Estrada informed me a few days since, that his information was that Bonilla was making a successful struggle; that Bonilla's forces were drawing closer and closer to Tegucigalpa, both from the east and from the west."

On April 24, 1903, Mr. Combs wrote to Secretary Hay that ex-President Arias was a prisoner, and that he thought it advisable to recognize General Bonilla as President of Honduras.

On April 24, 1903, Mr. Loomis authorized Mr. Combs to recognize General Bonilla as the President of Honduras, without precipitation, if he were effectively administering the government and in a position to fulfil international obligations.

Our Sister Republic, Bolivia, elects a President

Revolution had been rife in Bolivia for a long time, and the country devastated. Little or no mention was made of it in the United States, and the official reports were meagre in the extreme. The foreign legations laid down rules for refugees, stating under what conditions asylum would be granted. On December 15, 1898, George H. Bridgeman, American Minister, La Paz, Bolivia, wrote to the State Department:

"I have the honor to state that on November 6 the government officials of the city of La Paz, with apparently the almost unanimous concurrence of the inhabitants, issued a proclamation announcing 'The regeneration of Bolivia under the rule of Federal Government,' and appointed a list of officials to act under the new government. This is an actual secession from the government at Sucré, and the rule of President Alonzo, on the part of the La Paz district. The reason for this action is the urgent desire on the part of all citizens of La Paz, official and private, that the seat of government remove from Sucré to this city. La Pasians have been given distinct reasons to think this removal would take place in December, if not earlier, and the decision of Congress to the contrary, on November 15th, has brought about the present crisis. Armed resistance is decided upon, and active preparations to that end are being made as rapidly as possible. Up to date they have secured 400 rifles and 2500 rounds of ammunition only. They expect to have 5000 men at their command, 300 of these being native Indians. President Alonzo left Sucré, December 6, with 2000 men armed with Mauser rifles. On December 16 he reached Oruro, three days' march from this place. A telegram sent by him to the insurgents, urging cessation of hostile action, was disregarded, and active resistance by the people here is planned as soon as President Alonzo reaches La Paz with his troops. It is not yet

fully decided whether to meet the troops on the 'Alto' or within the city limits. Several proclamations and announcements have been issued by the leaders of the revolution."

Mr. Bridgeman made further reports on January 26, February 1, February 3, and February 10, 1899, explaining the serious condition of affairs. On March 28, 1899, he wrote:

"I have the honor to report the occurrence of another hideous outrage and murder at the hands of the savages of Bolivia. On March 1 Colonel Pando sent, from his army at Sicasica, 120 men, commanded by Arturo Eguino, to Ayopaya, there to confer with Mr. Orellana as to the best means for simultaneously attacking Cochabamba. On arriving at the town of Mohoza, Eguino demanded a loan of 200 Bolivians from the priest of the town and 100 Bolivians from the mayor.

"These demands being refused, the priest and mayor were imprisoned. Meanwhile, however, the priest had despatched couriers to the Indian villages asking that the natives attack Pando's men.

"A large crowd of Indians came, and in spite of all measures taken to pacify them, the arms of the soldiers were taken away, the men subjected to revolting treatment, and finally locked inside the church for the night. In the morning the infernal priest, after celebrating the so-called 'Mass of Agony,' allowed the Indians to take out the unfortunate victims, two by two, and 103 were deliberately murdered, each pair by different tortures. Seventeen escaped death by having departed the day previous on another mission."

Mr. Bridgeman speaks of the "infernal priest" as though that part of it were settled beyond argument. It may be confessed that the priest's methods were rather heroic; but if there had been more like him, there would have been fewer of these "infernal" forced-loans in the dictatorships. The imprisonment and maltreatment of the priest, because of his refusal to yield to highway robbery, is passed over by Mr. Bridgeman in a very matter-of-fact manner, and the disarming of the soldiers is referred to rather pathetically; while the atrocities committed by these brigands is not even mentioned. When groups of marauding soldiers have no respect for the property of the Church nor the persons of its ministers, and they happen to get the worst of it, as in this instance, I will let Mr. George H. Bridgeman, American Minister, do the weeping.

On April 20, 1899, Mr. Bridgeman wrote:

"I have the honor to state that since the battle reported in Despatch No. 113, of April 13, matters have progressed quietly, and people generally accept the idea that the revolution has ended and that peace is declared.

"Alonzo, on the day of the engagement, fled to Antofagasta, and is still out of Bolivia, with a number of his officers. The number killed of Pando's army is 117, wounded 127. Of Alonzo's men they estimate 400 killed and wounded. One thousand of Alonzo's army were taken prisoners; 20 pieces of artillery, 4 Gatling guns, 1700 rifles captured, with 38,000 Bolivianos from the treasure wagon. The local government of La Paz soon go to Oruro, there to arrange preliminaries for reorganization."

On April 28, 1899, the "Junta" of Bolivia, through the "General Secretary of the Government Assembly," Fernando E. Guachalla, writing from Oruro, informed Mr. Bridgeman that a new national government had been organized, composed of Serapio Reyes Ortez, José Manuel Pando, and Marcario Pinilla.

On August 22, 1899, Acting Secretary of State A. A. Adee authorized Mr. Bridgeman to recognize the new outfit as the government of Bolivia if they were still administering an orderly *de facto* government.

A Presidential Election in our Sister Republic Colombia

Colombia has ever stood in the vanguard of the cohorts of civilization, first in the "august empire" of pure democracy. No antiquated foolishness like the Australian ballot system exists in Colombia. They prefer vote-counting by automatic infallible machines. In a letter to the Secretary of State, John Hay, Mr. Charles Burdett Hart, United States Minister to Bogotá, under date of August 5, 1900, thus describes the more modern election devices:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that on the night of the 31st ultimo José Manuel Marroquin, Vice-President of the Republic of Colombia, being at the time in Bogotá, declared himself in the exercise of the executive power, named and installed a ministry, and, so far as this was possible, took possession of the government. This act was made possible by first getting possession of the garrison in Bogotá; and this in turn was made possible by an understanding with the commanders. Such commanders as were not favorable to the movement were superseded by friends of Marroquin and held under strict surveillance while the necessary steps were being taken to get possession. There was no resistance whatever, and, considering how the matter was accomplished, none was reasonably to be expected.

"In a manifesto issued on the 1st instant, Mr. Marroquin gives as the reasons which moved him to take the step, the inability of President Sanclemente to reside at the capital of the Republic, 'and to give the attention and consecration which the executive action demands in all countries, and especially in those ruled by a government purely presidential as Colombia is,' and the call of public opinion which for a long time had asked for the re-establishment of the lawful normal condition. The Vice-President says also that he is reluctant to enter upon the exercise of the executive power, and does so for the good of the country. He declares that he desires to bring to a speedy end the bloody civil war which is dividing the country, and he means to do this by his solemn promise to respect and cause to be respected the civil rights of all. If, however, his promise in this regard shall not bring about peace, he will prosecute the war with energy, to put down the revolution. In conclusion, he calls on all Colombians who love their country to place themselves under the banner of constitutionality and legitimacy.

"The first knowledge that President Sanclemente had of the *coup d'état* was when a Marroquin force arrived at Villeta, President Sanclemente's temporary residence, a day's journey from Bogotá, and made him a prisoner,

together with Rafael M. Palacio, his minister of government. The garrison at Villeta would have defended President Sanclemente, but since the force sent against him was far superior to his own, President Sanclemente refused to have any bloodshed there. He was allowed to remain a prisoner in his house.

"On the 3rd instant President Sanclemente issued a protest to the nation, reciting what had happened and commenting on the manifesto of Mr. Marroquin. In the protest President Sanclemente says, he is authorized by the Constitution and the law to reside outside the capital. He asks who had made Marroquin a judge in the matter. He says that Mr. Marroquin has violated the Constitution which he had sworn to support. Speaking directly to his fellow-citizens, President Sanclemente says: 'If your forefathers did not consent to be governed dictatorially by the great Bolívar, the liberator of five nations, will you consent to be so governed by Mr. Marroquin, and those who support so arbitrary an act? Will you regard with indifference that the legitimate government of the nation shall continue to be outraged? And will the army, which has given so many proofs of loyalty, so regard it?'"

President Sanclemente's protests were of no avail; General Rafael Reyes and the army were at the back of Marroquin. It was then supposed that Colombia would get *millones y millones* out of the United States for the Panama Canal Concession. General Reyes and the clique did not intend that Sanclemente should handle any of this fabulous wealth.

As a rule, a presidential election in Colombia lasts for three or four years, results in two or three hundred battles, and the loss of 30,000 or 40,000 or 50,000 lives, in addition to the burning of towns and the sacking and looting of all foreign property. Marroquin's greased-lightning scheme of election seems far preferable.

CHAPTER XXX

HOW OUR SISTER REPUBLICS SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI ELECT PRESIDENTS

IN a despatch to the State Department on July 27, 1899, Minister W. F. Powell reported the assassination of "President" Ulysses Heureaux, of Santo Domingo.

The cause of the assassination was given as follows: General Heureaux had caused large quantities of paper money to be issued, about $4,000,000, which was circulated under compulsion among the smaller merchants and people generally. The President claimed that the grave financial conditions confronting the country compelled him to do this; but the paper money was received by the people with apprehension and under strong protest. "They finally refused to receive the paper money, and would only exchange their products for gold. In and around Puerto Plata they would only receive it in exchange at the rate of 10 to 1, and in some cases 12 to 1. To repress this discontent and to suppress these murmurs, several of the parties who had severely criticised the policy of the government in issuing paper money were shot, as examples to others or like discontented spirits."

By this time great dissatisfaction had arisen, especially at Moca, a town of about 3000 inhabitants, within twenty-five miles of Santiago, the principal town in the interior. Mr. Powell continues that President Heureaux, "hearing of the dissatisfaction, proceeded there. It is reported that he caused some of the leading men of the place, who he was informed were plotting against him, to be shot, and orders were given to inflict the same penalty upon others." The day on which he was to leave for Santiago, . . . three men, Ramón Caceres, Juan Ricardo, Horacio Vasquez, whom rumor stated were to suffer the same fate, attacked him, firing six bullets into his body. A beggar near by was also accidentally shot. The assassins escaped, but some of them were caught afterwards and executed. Ramón Caceres became later Secretary of War.

The Vice-President, M. Figueroa, took the oath of office. He resigned soon afterwards. The financial condition was so bad that the soldiers, unpaid and ill-fed, refused to fight. Mr. Powell says: "This country is hopelessly bankrupt; its foreign debt amounts to $25,000,000; its interior debt no one knows."

Mr. Jiminez now aspired to be President. "A battle was fought at Monte Christo, August 25; the government forces were led by General Cordillas, the Minister of War. At first he was successful, but was finally compelled to retreat to Puerta Plata, since which time his army has largely deserted him."

On September 26, 1899, C. L. Maxwell, United States Consul General at Santo Domingo, reported the formation of a provisional government, with Horacio Vasquez as President, among the ministers being Ramón Caceres, who had killed the former President.

On November 11, 1899, Minister Powell reported that Mr. Juan Isidro Jiminez had been elected President of Santo Domingo and would be installed on November 15.

In his message to Congress, December 3, 1900, President William McKinley remarked:

"A revolution in the Dominican Republic toward the close of last year resulted in the installation of President Jiminez, whose government was formally recognized in January."

Having thus caught up the threads of constitutional succession in Santo Domingo, it will be interesting to note the scientific improvements and labor-saving devices which have been grafted upon the election machinery of that glorious and majestic commonwealth. That the reader may not overlook some of the manifest advantages which the Santo Domingo system has over the obsolete Australian system, I shall quote mainly from official reports to the United States government, made by its minister, Mr. W. F. Powell.

Jiminez had been upset and Vasques installed as Provisional President, when our narrative commences.

From Port au Prince, on April 10, 1903, Mr. Powell writes to Secretary Hay:

"The political prisoners confined in the fort in the city on March 23 at one P. M., when both the military and naval authorities were at their homes, and about two thirds of the inhabitants of that city were enjoying their noon siesta, were released by some one, and to the number of seventy were supplied with arms, and headed by General Pepin, one of the prisoners, liberated those who had been confined for various crimes. These people were also given arms. Among the political prisoners released was Navarro, the former Governor of Monte Christo, and the leader in that movement a few months ago and who had been captured and confined here; another was released by the name of General Martines. These men and their followers soon disarmed the few guards on duty, and within a few minutes after their liberation had secured possession of the fortress. At a given signal the partisans of these people in the city, who were opposed to the provisional government under General Vasques, made an attack on the military authorities of the city and afterwards on the police force, and being successful in both, secured full possession of the city. After fighting nearly two hours, many being killed or wounded,

General Sanchez, Minister of Foreign Relations, and the Postmaster-General Mr. Castillon, sought asylum at the American consulate, Mrs. Vasques, the wife of the President, going to the Haitian legation. General Pichardo, the Minister of War, was made a prisoner, and confined in the fortress. General A. W. Gil was named by the insurgents as the Provisional President in place of General Vasques. . . . The revolutionists, immediately after securing possession of the city, seized the two Dominican naval vessels, one of which is not much larger than the steam-tugs used in towing on our rivers. She was armed with two cannon and named the Colon. The other, the Independence, is of the type of the Topeka. Quiet prevailed in the city from March 23 until April 2. From that time up till the departure of the French steamer, fighting has been constantly going on, in which many on both sides have been killed. The Atlanta, Captain Turner, arrived on the 2d, and landed a party of sailors to protect the consulate and the 'La Fe' estate, where is located the office of the mining and railroad companies, and where the Vice-President, Mr. Adams, and his wife and a party of engineers are stopping. This place is about four miles from the city.

"General Vasques, it is said, with an army of 3000 men, reached by a forced march the environs of the city two days before the arrival of the Atlanta, and since that time fighting has been going on. He has occupied three sides around the city, on the highlands which command the city. His position is very strong, as he holds the city at his mercy, and unless dislodged by the forces of General Gil, will compel the latter to surrender, as he controls all the approaches to the city. Several attempts have been made to dislodge him by the revolutionists, but they have failed, while General Vasques on his side has endeavored to enter the city, but each time has been repulsed with loss. In one point of view the revolutionists have slightly the best of it, as, aside from holding the city, they are in possession of the fort, in which there is stored a large amount of arms and ammunition, which is a serious loss to General Vasques. . . . The Presidente, Vasques' vessel, attempted to bombard the city without previous notice. One shell fell in the courtyard of the German consulate, but fortunately did not explode. Captain Turner sent a message to this vessel, requesting firing to cease. As the Presidente continued, Captain Turner prepared his vessel for action. The Dominican vessel, seeing this, ceased firing and left. The next day the Vineta, German naval vessel, arrived, and learning the Atlanta had landed sailors, sent ashore 150 of its crew to protect, as was stated, the German consulate and to look after English interests, and shortly after its arrival an Italian and a Dutch naval vessel reached the harbor, making four foreign naval vessels. The city is entirely isolated from the outside world, the cables being cut, so that telegrams have to be sent by special messenger to Cotuy, a place about thirty miles from the city. . . . A battle took place on the 5th, the day the mail left this place. . . . The streets are being barricaded. . . . I am informed by the Dominican minister, Mr. Gonzales, that the revolutionists under General Gil made an attack on General Vasques and had been repulsed with great loss, four of their leading generals being killed, among whom were Generals Pepin, the leading spirit in the present movement, Navana, and Martinez. This movement should not be classed as one in favor of the last President, Mr. Jiminez, as it is not. The present movement is as much opposed to Mr. Jiminez as it is to General Vasques, its main object being to make the Hon. Alexandro W. Gil President."

On May 12, 1903, Mr. Powell added another chapter to the history of this presidential election:

"By letters received, it is stated that General Vasques had the city closely besieged on all sides except its sea-front. The revolutionists, on their part, were strongly intrenched, and besides, strong barricades had been erected in many of the streets leading from the gates of the city. These barricades were well supplied with rapid-fire guns. General Vasques' force numbered about 2000 men; the revolutionists one half this number. General Vasques established his headquarters at a village known as San Carlos, a place of about 800 houses, and a short distance from Santo Domingo. This place is entirely destroyed, not a house standing. General Vasques made several attempts to take the city by assault, but was repulsed each time with heavy loss. His last attempt was partly successful, as his troops had made a breach in the works of the revolutionists; but the assaulting party not being supported at a critical moment by General Vasques, the revolutionists rallied and drove Vasques' force out of their intrenchments, killing the general, Cordrew, who led the assault. Vasques failed to grasp the situation in time. The sudden attack, and the failure to receive reinforcements, caused a panic in his forces, which eventually ended in a rout, his force scattering and fleeing in all directions; and Vasques himself had to seek safety in flight. At the time of his defeat the whole Republic was in his favor, with the exception of the city of Santo Domingo. . . . Vasques left with a chosen few (150) for Puerta Plata, and there embarked on the Presidente for Santiago, Cuba."

Some months later, General Alexandro W. Gil y Wos declared himself President, and was recognized by our government.

A new revolution broke out, headed by the old President, Jiminez; and still another headed by Carlos F. Morales.

Time is too short in which to follow the interminable and unprofitable wranglings of these semi-savage degenerates in their bloody details. The three-cornered revolution progressed with varying fortunes until Carlos F. Morales secured a virtual triumph and was declared President.

A CHAPTER OF HAITI

Our Little Negro Sister, and the Modern Voting-machines she uses in Elections

The Hon. J. N. Leger, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Haiti to the United States, wrote an article for the "North American Review" (July, 1903), entitled "The Truth about Hayti."

Mr. Leger denied that there is voodooism or cannibalism in Haiti, and asserted that "personal safety is everywhere assured; one can travel from one end of the island to the other without trouble or danger." Mr. Leger also claimed that "Hayti is no worse than the other Central and South American Republics, and it is very far from

relapsing into barbarism." Mr. Leger therefore strongly criticised Mr. Colquhoun's statement in the same "Review" for May, 1903.

"Hayti has become a by-word among the nations, and it is incontrovertible that, with the removal of white control, the negroes have reverted to a condition almost of savagery."

Mr. Leger may be right, and Haiti may be no worse than some Central and South American Republics. He is, however, mistaken if he includes Peru, Chili, and Argentina among the Republics. To give my readers an idea of what Haiti is like I will make a few extracts from official reports to the United States government, written but a short time previous to the date of Mr. Leger's article:

May 11, 1902, Port au Prince, Legation of the United States, Mr. Powell reports that the situation is extremely interesting, it being reported that the President will probably leave on May 12, in which event bloodshed is feared; that the South demands the presidency; that Firmin and Leconte are candidates from the North.

May 12, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the President of Haiti has resigned and is to leave the Republic, and requests the presence of a naval vessel to protect American interests.

May 12, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the Chambers were fired upon and closed by the populace; that one deputy was mortally wounded; that the palace and arsenal were attacked on the night of May 11, when several were killed and wounded; that the Diplomatic Corps is to embark the President of Haiti at noon, May 12; that the Minister for Foreign Relations and the Minister for War are at the United States legation; that Firmin with an army is marching on Port au Prince, and that business is for the present suspended.

May 15, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that a committee of eleven, with ex-President Canal as chairman, has been named to conduct affairs at Port au Prince, and that a similar committee has been named in all the cities of the Republic.

May 15, 1902, Mr. Powell says presence of naval vessel urgently needed.

May 16, 1902, Department of State, Washington. — Mr. Hill states that the U. S. S. Topeka sailed from Port Royal, S. C., for Port au Prince on the morning of May 16.

May 17, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote that General Sam, President, had embarked for France. "At the present moment the Republic is without an executive and a legislative branch of the government, except the committee above named; yet one arriving here would scarcely believe that a violent revolution had occurred, a government driven from power, almost, one might say, without bloodshed."

Mr. Powell narrated the history of the cause of the trouble, stating that General Sam was elected President April 1, 1896, by the National Chamber upon the sudden death of General Hyppolite; that Congress required him to enter upon his duties at once and to remain in office until May 15, 1903; that this was "unconstitutional" and caused grave dissatisfaction, which continued to grow; that "the several

political arrests and the exile of many persons within the past two years have been on account of this discussion."

"The first dissatisfaction on the part of the people toward the government was caused by the course pursued by the President in the late election for members of the House of Deputies, held in January last. It is said in many places where elections were held that only those were allowed to vote who would promise to cast their votes in favor of the government's candidate. Those who would not do so could not vote. In other cases where the opposing candidate received a majority or a plurality his election was set aside, and some one else named in his place. If any one maintained such action to be illegal, he was arrested or exiled."

The men who aspired to become President were C. Fouchard, Minister of Finance in General Salomon's cabinet, who had been exiled by General Sam; Solon Menos, Secretary for Foreign Relations in General Sam's cabinet; Seneque Pierre, an old Senator (all these men being from the South); A. Firmin, Haitian Minister to France; Alexis Nord, Governor of one of the northern provinces; General Tancred August, Secretary of Public Works; Vibrum Guillaume, Secretary of War; and General C. Leconte, Secretary of Agriculture (all from the North), with General Maxime Monplaisir, brother-in-law of the President, as a "dark horse."

"After the determination that the President would resign, Minister Leconte [the government candidate] felt certain that he would be elected, as he had sufficient votes pledged in both houses to elect him. This news spread rapidly, the streets became full of armed citizens wending their way toward the Chambers to prevent, forcibly if necessary, his election. At first it was difficult to get the members together. The streets in the neighborhood of the legislative halls were thronged with people, and the government troops, the latter to protect the members in case of violence. Several secret meetings of the members were held. At last the doors were opened, and as soon as opened every available space not occupied by the members of the two houses was filled by the friends and foes of General Leconte. As the balloting was about to commence, some one in the Chambers fired his revolver. In an instant shooting commenced from all parts of the room. One or two were killed, and the same number wounded. The members all sought shelter in the most available places they could find, — under benches and desks. Others forgot the way they entered, and sought exit by means of the windows. By this means the populace prevented the election of General Leconte, forcibly adjourned the Chambers without date, and dispersed the members of both Chambers. The government troops immediately retired to the palace, the arsenal, the barracks, or the arrondissement, as it was thought that an attack would be immediately made on each place. . . . A concerted attack was made on each of the above places at ten P.M., lasting about twenty minutes, in which the government troops were the victors. It is supposed that in these engagements about one hundred persons were either killed or wounded. . . .

"Another attack was made on the palace and arsenal on Thursday,

May 15, by some hot-headed individuals, but as on the former occasion, they were repulsed. For a time this unexpected movement created great uneasiness. What is most to be feared is the danger arising from fire. As the town consists mainly of wooden structures, a fire once commenced will sweep the city; then will come the uprising of the lower classes to loot and pillage."

On May 19, 1902, the Committee of Safety, Boisrond Canal, President, notified the Diplomatic Corps that the Committee of the North, at present at Gonaives, was disposed to march on the capital.

May 19, 1902, Mr. Powell inquires of the State Department if he may take the U. S. S. Topeka to St. Marc to consult with the Commander of the Army of the North and advise him not to go to Port au Prince. He states that if the army, which is said to number 5000 men, is not prevented from reaching Port au Prince, a severe contest is to be expected, in which American interests will suffer.

May 19, 1902, Mr. Hill, of the State Department, replies in the negative to Mr. Powell's request.

May 24, 1902, Mr. Powell reports everything very quiet, but that information had been received that Mr. Firmin, and Generals Nord and Jean Jumeau, were approaching the city with hostile intent at the head of 5000 men.

The arms and ammunition in the hands of Generals Nord and Jumeau were given them by Admiral Killick. Five thousand Remingtons and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition were recently bought and delivered to the government. The Admiral was charged to have them conveyed to the arsenal. Two thousand of these guns were landed; the remainder, 3000, and all the ammunition, he retained and delivered to Mr. Firmin. It is by this means that the present force under Firmin, Nord, and Jumeau was armed.

May 27, 1902, Mr. Powell reports the establishment of a provisional government, with Canal as President; Nord, Secretary of War; St. Fort Colin, Secretary of the Interior; Jeremie, Secretary of Foreign Relations; Cesarious, Secretary of Agriculture; Dennery, Secretary of Finance; Lalanne, Secretary of Justice; and that affairs are rather better.

May 30, 1902, Mr. Powell reports: "There is still some danger on account of the proximity of what is known as the 'Army of the North' to the capital. It was supposed they would return to Cape Haitian, Gonaives, and St. Marc; but such is not the case; and in the appointment of General Nord Alexis as the Minister of War and Marine, this body of troops can enter the city at any time by his orders. The danger then will be that a *coup d'état* may occur at any moment. The North will have the advantage in having control of the government's arsenal and the assistance of the two Haitian war-vessels. The palace still remains under the control of the government troops. The commandant refuses the provisional government, or its President, an entrance thereto, and states he will only give way to a constitutionally elected President."

"Another matter I have the honor to mention in connection with this has been the forced loans made by Mr. Firmin in the North, giving as guarantee for repayment certain revenue derived from the exportation of coffee, which revenue has already been guaranteed for certain outstanding bonds. I have been requested by commercial houses to protest, but have not done so, as there was at the time no government to which such a protest could be sent."

Practically all the American citizens of Port au Prince joined in this protest.

June 19, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote to Secretary Hay that nothing had occurred to disturb the tranquillity prevailing there; that one or two little affairs had occurred at Cape Haiti in which a few were injured; another disturbance at Jacmel, where Military Governor Delegat was compelled to seek asylum in the Dominican Consulate.

"The provisional government is about to negotiate a loan to pay some of the back salaries of the public employees, who have received no money for four months. The government has expelled Hon. Brutus St. Victor, late Minister of Foreign Relations."

June 27, 1902, Mr. Powell reports the receipt of a telegram from Consul Livingston that the Haitian Admiral intends to bombard Cape Haitian at two o'clock, June 28.

June 28, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the Haitian government styles the Admiral a pirate and disavows his action.

June 30, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that a telegram received from Cape Haitian states that the Admiral fired on the city, killing several people; that Firmin leaves Cape Haitian on a Haitian naval vessel under protection of consuls. On the same date Mr. Powell had written that he thought Admiral Killick's threat to bombard a mere bluff, that it would injure his friends as much as his enemies, etc.; but subsequently acknowledged himself mistaken in his estimate of Killick's character.

July 7, 1902, Mr. Powell writes Secretary Hay: "All over the Republic there have been more or less disturbances, the most serious being at the Cape, where Admiral Killick endeavored to give aid to the Hon. A. Firmin (in the presidential election), in so doing disobeying the orders of the Secretary of War and Marine, General Nord Alexis, who was also a candidate for the presidency and therefore an opponent to Mr. Firmin. The Admiral, in order to protect Mr. Firmin, landed some of the troops and sailors from his vessel, and also four of his guns. This action on his part was resisted by General Nord, and brought on an engagement between his force and the troops of General Nord resulting in Killick's retreat to his vessel after the loss of two of his guns, and also being compelled to leave a portion of his troops behind, who were immediately disarmed by General Nord."

Mr. Powell continued: "At the capital the elections which closed yesterday were fairly quiet; there has been some little shooting at night, making the timid and nervous rather unsettled. A few have been killed, more through accident than by design. . . . Some of the houses above the first floor are pretty well riddled. . . . We do not dare to sit on our gallery for fear of some stray bullet."

July 19, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote giving details of the Cape Haitian affair; stating that the provisional government had dismissed Killick, who defied the government, and stated that as soon as he could obtain coal, which was then on the way to him, he proposed to return to the Cape, destroy it, and then proceed to Port au Prince to finish his work of destruction; that he would never surrender the vessel, but would if necessary blow her up with all on board.

President Canal had requested the French minister to send the D'Assas to Gonaives to capture Killick, but was refused; he then requested Minister Powell to send the Marietta to capture the Crete and bring her in, but was

also refused, on the ground that the Marietta was there solely for the protection of foreign interests. Admiral Killick was declared a pirate by the government, but the Diplomatic Corps refused to take any action whatever in the matter.

Civil War Declared.

July 26, 1902, Minister Powell, from Port au Prince, notified the State Department by cable that civil war had been declared, that the cabinet had been dissolved, and that Firmin was marching with an army on Port au Prince.

July 30, 1902, Acting Secretary David J. Hill informed Mr. Powell that the government would not regard Admiral Killick's vessel as a pirate; that the expedient of declaring a revolted national vessel to be a "pirate" has often been resorted to among the Spanish-American countries in times of civil tumult; but while such vessel may be outlawed so far as the outlawing State is concerned, no foreign nation is bound to respect or execute such outlawry. Treason is not piracy.

August 1, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote: "The Provisional President, General Canal, has informed the public that civil war has commenced through the action of Mr. Firmin and of his friends. General Jean Jumeau, the Governor of the Artibonite and said to be one of the ablest of the Haitian generals, has taken up arms in behalf of Mr. Firmin, and left Gonaives with an army of 2000 men and several field guns, for the purpose of attacking this city. At the time of General Jumeau's departure with his troops, General Salnave left for the Cape with 3000 men. It was rumored, as an inducement to the men in the two armies, that in the event of the capture of either place the followers of Mr. Firmin would have the full privilege to pillage and destroy. . . . For several days during the past two weeks almost a reign of terror prevailed, as if some great calamity were pending over the place. All business was paralyzed. . . . Mr. Fouchard called at the legation to know what steps the Diplomatic Corps would take to prevent General Jumeau carrying into execution his plans to destroy the city. We informed him that the Diplomatic Corps could not take any steps in that direction; that this government must itself prepare to defend the capital. . . . Owing to the close proximity of General Jumeau's army, the government on the night of July 26 sent a body of troops numbering 500 men to prevent a further advance of this army. The next morning, July 27, at six A. M., the alarm gun was fired, calling the citizens to arms and warning the inhabitants of the near approach of General Jumeau's troops. Within an hour thereafter 300 volunteers were sent to reinforce those sent out the night previous. Later in the morning General San Fort Colin, with three regiments of the national troops, left for the same destination. General Jumeau's troops were met at a place called Duvivier, about eight miles from the city, where an engagement took place, in which about 50 were killed and 100 wounded, the loss on General Jumeau's side being unknown.

"It was reported that General Jumeau's troops had retreated. . . . Vice-Admiral Killick has seized many of the small Haitian coasting-vessels freighted with fruits and vegetables for this market, one of which was a vessel flying the American flag. . . . News has reached the government to-day of the defeat of the army under General Salnave, who was marching to Cape Haiti, by the troops under General Nord Alexis. . . . Street firing at night continues,

much to every one's discomfort, as no one feels safe from stray bullets. Since May 12th more than 900,000 rounds of ammunition have been uselessly wasted. . . . A quorum of members elect has reached the capital. . . . Mr. Firmin has but 23 of 95 members; how the other 72 stand no one knows, not even the candidates themselves. Mr. Firmin can only win by force of arms. . . . The presidential contest is thus narrowed to the two candidates, Mr. Pierre and Mr. Fouchard. . . . The real danger at the present time is that the partisans of these will clash."

August 5, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that Firmin set up a new government on August 4 at Gonaives, known as the Provisional Government of Artibonite and the Northwest, with Firmin, President; Killick, Secretary of the Navy and War; Bouraud, Secretary of the Treasury; Henriquez, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; St. Louis, Secretary of Public Works; Chicoye, Secretary of the Interior; Lamour, Secretary of Agriculture.

August 5, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote: "The defeat of General Salnave by the army of General Nord Alexis, and the threatened attack upon Gonaives by the latter, has caused General Jean Jumeau to change his base of operations. . . . He has taken the field in person, and is moving with his army towards the Cape to meet General Nord Alexis. . . . The contest at the Cape will no doubt be a bitter one, as the men at the head of the opposing armies are both old men, are bitter enemies, and, as each has the prestige of having never suffered defeat, neither will succumb to the other without a severe struggle. . . . If General Nord Alexis succeeds in defeating General Jumeau, it brings him prominently before the people as a presidential candidate."

August 9, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the provisional government of Haiti has notified the legation that Gonaives, Port de Paix, and St. Marc are in rebellion, and requests the United States to prevent shipment of arms and ammunition to those places.

August 10, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that Admiral Killick prevents the steamship Paloma from entering Cape Haitian; that he has cabled to Commander McCrea, at Gonaives, that the government at Cape Haiti is not recognized, nor the blockade, and to give protection to American and Cuban or foreign vessels desiring to enter the Cape.

August 11, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the French vessel D'Assas has returned; brings news that Petit Goave is entirely destroyed, 10,000 people homeless, — the D'Assas brought 150 women and children to Port au Prince; that Killick blockades the Cape, refusing the Paloma entrance; that he has instructed Consul Livingston to ignore the blockade.

August 15, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote Secretary Hay that the principal events which had occurred since his last despatch were:

1st. The attempt to declare the port of Haiti in a state of blockade by the Firmin government;

2d. The total destruction of Petit Goave;

3d. The refusal to permit foreigners to land at Gonaives;

4th. The control at the Cape between the two armed forces under General Nord Alexis and General Jean Jumeau.

"The saddest event of which I have to write," says Mr. Powell, "is the total destruction of Petit Goave, a coast city of the Bay of Gonaives, about fifty miles from here, with a population of about 12,000; it was beautifully situated and represented a thriving community. It was one of the chief ports of the Republic. Many of the foreign houses had branches here. One of the largest

and most complete coffee usines in the Republic is located there. To-day there are but two houses standing, and over 10,000 people are practically homeless. This place was held by the adherents of Mr. Firmin, the commandant in charge, Chicoye, Minister of Interior and Police, being a member of his cabinet. The provisional government sent from here 900 men under General Carrie to dislodge him and to restore it to the control of this government. On the morning of the 9th General Carrie sent word to General Chicoye to surrender. General Chicoye with a small force made a sally from the city on the force under command of General Carrie, and was repulsed. While this attack was being made in the front, a strong detachment was sent to enter the city from the other side by General Carrie, so that General Chicoye was between two fires. Seeing this, he retreated towards the city. On entering it, it is said, he repaired to his house, put it to the torch, and was consumed with his wife and children. Others did likewise, and the place was soon destroyed. Another report is that a number of young men who had been driven from the city by the Firminists returned with General Carrie's army. When this army entered the city, they set fire to the houses of the most prominent partisans of Mr. Firmin. Owing to the high wind prevailing at the time, the flames from these houses communicated with others, and in a litt e while the whole city was in flames. It seems that no effort was made to stop it or to cease fighting, which at that time was going on in the streets. The women and children fled to the coffee usine, which is a short distance from the city and which escaped the flames. To this place also what was left of General Chicoye's force retreated. Many of the wounded were consumed in the flames. It is stated that 450 were killed. There were but few wounded, as they were burned with the houses.

"After the French consulate was destroyed, the consul raised his flag at the usine, which is French property, and gave asylum to all who came there. General Carrie demanded that the people there be surrendered to him, — about 400 in number. . . . The provisional government has ordered their embarkation to foreign shores. . . . They have no money to pay their passage or sustain themselves after they may reach a foreign shore. All they have is on their bodies."

Mr. Powell also reported that the French, German, Dutch, and other foreign ministers and citizens contributed from their private funds to help these poor destitute people. The provisional government not only did nothing, but committed an additional outrage by driving these poor people from their homes, penniless, into foreign countries.

"The provisional government has established a censorship over the press, so that but little news can be gleaned from it. Nothing adverse to the government can be stated in the columns of the papers. Any departure from this rule consigns the editors, and those connected with them, to prison."

August 20, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote that General Jumeau, on the 18th, had reduced St. Michel, a small town in the interior, to ashes in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the government troops.

"In the North, toward the Cape, affairs are still in a desperate state. The armies of the two sections confront each other; a battle is momentarily expected. It is stated that each numbers about 3000 men. . . . At Petit Goave

the condition of the people that remain there seems most distressing. The women and children who are at the usine are without food or raiment, except such as has been sent them from here; those who have escaped are in hiding in the mountains. The women and children who have fled from the city are subsisting on what they can find near them."

August 29, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that severe fighting near Cape Haitian occurred August 28th and 29th; that Nord is at the head of the provisional army and Jumeau in command of the revolutionists; that the loss on both sides is very heavy; that Limbe and Marmelade are totally destroyed.

August 29, 1902, Mr. Powell reports there are many rumors, but little definite news, as all communication is cut off, and Mr. Firmin has issued a decree prohibiting the consuls and consular agents from communicating with the legations. . . . "One of the peculiar features of this contest is that as soon as the defeated army finds that it is compelled to leave a place, it at once places a torch to it."

September 3, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that Admiral Killick searched a German vessel on September 2, and took from her goods consigned to Cape Haitian for the Haitian government; that the chargé d'affaires of Germany has cabled to his government for instructions to seize the Crete (Killick's vessel); that the German naval vessel Panther is expected to arrive September 4.

September 6, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote: "In the North affairs are a little more lively. Two battles have been fought. General Jumeau seems to have regained some of his lost ground. A battle was fought at Limbe on September 1 and 2, at which the government troops were compelled to retire. . . . It is reported to-day that the government troops have suffered another reverse at a place thirty-six hours' march from here, called Mirebalais. . . . The German naval vessel Panther arrived to-day. . . .

The Paloma, which arrived to-day, brings to Mr. Firmin $2,000,000 paper money, printed for him in New York; 800,000 rounds of ammunition, and a quantity of firearms. . . . Mr. Firmin now has all the sinews of war that he needs, — money to pay his soldiers, which he will compel all to accept; arms, ammunition, and provisions for the same. . . . Mr. Firmin has also seized all the custom receipts at the ports of Gonaives, St. Marc, and Port de Paix. The revenues from these, as well as other ports, have been set aside to meet the bonded obligations of the government as they fell due. A large proportion of these bonds is in the hands of the French and German bankers and the merchants of those countries.

September 7, 1902, Mr. Powell reports a communication from Boisrond Canal, Provisional President, stating that "ex-Admiral Killick, at present in rebellion against the legitimate authority, has seized on board the German merchant steamer Markomannia arms and ammunition shipped from the capital for Cape Haitian. The government sent out another protest to the world, calling the Crete, Killick's vessel, a pirate."

September 7, 1902, Mr. Powell reports that the Panther sunk the Crete yesterday; ordered her to surrender; Killick refused; 30 shots fired into her; the Crete was sunk in the harbor of Gonaives; Killick and his crew escaped uninjured to the shore. Mr. Powell added that "The Panther returned to this port this morning. There was much rejoicing on the part of some of the inhabitants, while with others there is a bitter feeling of resentment against the provisional government and German colony, which may result in some grave events the coming week."

September 9, 1902, Mr. Powell states that it is reported that Admiral Killick and two of his officers went down with the Crete.

Comments on the Sinking of the Crete

Readers of this narrative will remember the excitement caused in the United States by the action of the German vessel Panther sinking this pirate outfit. While not strictly piratical, in the eyes of international law, it was a bandit vessel, cruising without papers issued by any government, and not in the service of any revolution which had been recognized by a foreign nation. Had this vessel confined its attacks to the forces of the government, there would have been no trouble. But it issued paper blockades, which our own government refused to recognize; and when it held up our vessels and searched them, our government did nothing. Seizing merchandise from a German vessel, however, was an entirely different matter, and the German government deserves great credit for doing what we ourselves ought to have had the decency to do long before, — that is, to put a practical and effectual end to the depredations of the Crete.

The actions of the Panther caused the strongest of animadversions in the United States, and was responsible for thousands of red-hot editorials on the Monroe Doctrine applicable to such a case. I must content myself, reflecting on the attitude of the American press and people with reference to this and similar cases, with the same conviction which the moujik of Russia entertains concerning "The Little Father," — "He does n't know the truth, but if he did, it would be all right."

September 13, 1902, Mr. Powell wrote that the political situation was getting worse; that General Nord Alexis had again been defeated in the North; that a movement had been started to depose General Canal, the Provisional President, on the ground that he was too old.

Full reports of the sinking of the Crete were given, from which it appears that Killick had tried to blow up the vessel. A maddening crowd of people filled the streets crying, "Kill the Germans," "kill the whites"; but the Panther steamed away without waiting to protect them.

"The feeling throughout the Republic is very bitter toward the Germans. Placards have been affixed on the doors of many of the German houses, calling upon all Haitians who love their country, irrespective of party or faction, to arise and avenge the death of Killick by any means in their power. What is to be the result of this no one can predict."

Samples of Haitian Pronunciamentos

While these events are transpiring, we may pause, as lovers of literature, to read some of the productions from the pens of Haitian generals. This, by Firmin, sounds rather well:

To the People and the Army:

The infamous government of Port au Prince continues its ill-omened work.

It has so far excited the foreign governments against our cause that it has finally led the German cruiser to bombard in our harbor of Gonaives the gunboat Crete-a-Pierrot that was anchored there.

Our vessel, taken by surprise, was not able to defend itself; Admiral Killick has immortalized himself in blowing it up. He has met the death of the brave.

Boisrond Canal and the anti-patriots who surround him will render an account of that action before history.

Never would the foreigner have thought to act so brutally toward us without the request of that man, who wished to avenge himself thus for the seizure, regularly made by us, of the arms and ammunitions sent to his accomplices at the Cape on the steamship Markomannia.

Haitians, shame to those who, forgetting their duty to the country, call on foreigners to disgrace it.

The fifteen cannon-shots fired on the Crete-a-Pierrot already on fire, instead of shaking my courage, have strengthened it. I shall remain at the height of my duties.

Dessalines, illustrious founder of our independence, and thou, Petión, and thou, Capiox, braver than death itself, your sublime souls soared silently over this generous city of Gonaives during that act of iniquitous aggression.

But I swear, with the brave citizens and soldiers who surround me, to preserve the national honor entire.

Live Admiral Killick!

Live the heroes, founders of national independence!

Live the institutions!

Live the Haitian native! A. Firmin.

Given at the National Palace at Gonaives, September 6, 1902, 99th year of independence.

If the reader be not yet satiated with the peculiar style of opera-bouffe which the Monroe Doctrine has brought forth among our "Sister Republics," the following additional sample may be of interest:

(Republic of Haiti — Order of the Day.)

.

Citizens and soldiers, let us render homage to Admiral Killick, and to the officers of the Crete-a-Pierrot, to the valorous Generals Ney Pierre, Albert Salnave, Laborde Corvosier, Malvoisin, Macombe, Catabois, and their other companions of War.

They have merited the fatherland.

Live order!

Live liberty!

Live national independence!

Live the unity of the Haitian family!

etc., etc., etc.

Signed by Darius Bourand,
Councillor Depts. Finance and Commerce.

September 22, 1902, Mr. Powell writes: "The partisans of the two candidates resident here, Fouchard and Pierre, are accusing each other of bad faith, thus causing much bad blood between them. The friends of the one assert that Fouchard shall not be President, and the friends of the other candidate declare that Pierre shall not be. The only thing that prevents an open rupture at the present time is that both have united in giving assistance to the provisional government against Mr. Firmin. After Mr. Firmin has been defeated, and is no longer a menace to either, then they will commence a conflict for the mastery here, in which the city will be the theatre of conflict. . . . Each candidate is quietly arming his side for this conflict . . . The color of the candidates is another danger that is gradually assuming shape. The pure blacks declare that only a black man shall be elected as President. For this reason a large number of this class espouse the candidacy of Mr. Pierre, who represents that element; those of a lighter hue and the mulattoes are supposed to be with Mr. Fouchard, who is not quite so dark.

"The provisional government is pressing all the country people into military service. In the mountain districts they are hunted like wild animals, and are driven into the cities like droves of cattle, with their legs tied together with rope, sufficiently long to enable them to walk, their arms tied behind them. They have two or three soldiers and an officer to guard them and see that none escape. These people range in age from fourteen to sixty-five years. If any resist, or endeavor to escape, or flee from the officer in charge, they are shot as they run. The country people, especially those in the mountainous districts, are not in sympathy with any of the candidates, stating 'We have no President, why should we fight?' All they desire is to be let alone, to cultivate their little patches of ground. . . . The principal events of the past week are the successive defeats of the force of General Nord Alexis by the troops of Mr. Firmin at Limbe. . . . For the last three days the provisional government has been sending troops to attack St. Marc and Gonaives. About 3000 men are on the march, going by three routes. . . . It is the settled purpose of Mr. Firmin to destroy both cities if he finds his troops cannot hold them."

October 7, 1902, Mr. Powell writes: "The provisional government daily exhibits greater weakness and inability to cope with the present situation. There are virtually but two men in the cabinet. General Nord Alexis, one of the members, is in the field at the North. The President, General Canal, is also filling the following cabinet places: Secretary of Foreign Relations, War and Marine, Justice, Public Worship, Agriculture and Public Works. The President, who has taken these several cabinet places upon himself, is seventy-seven years old."

October 16, 1902, Port au Prince, Legation of the United States, Mr. Terres reports that St. Marc has capitulated to the provisional government.

October 17, 1902, Mr. Terres reports the surrender of Gonaives, and that Firmin, with his followers, has embarked in the Adirondacks.

October 22, 1902, Mr. Terres reports that since the surrender of St. Marc and Port au Paix and the evacuation of Gonaives, the civil war is over; that it is supposed a general amnesty will be granted.

November 5, 1902, Mr. Terres reports that General Nord Alexis demanded of Consul Livingston, Cape Haitian, surrender of political refugees, which was refused. The answer of Secretary John Hay, November 21, 1902, throws a curious light on the attitude of the American State Department.

Mr. Hay says: "Mr. Terre's statement to the President (in refusing to deliver up the refugees) appears to have lacked the necessary qualification. The government could rightly object to the taking of political refugees from one of its consulates by force, but it could not shelter fugitives from the orderly processes of the courts when charged with common crimes not political in their nature."

I confess that the man who can coolly and dispassionately write of the "orderly processes of the courts," in face of the record of pillage, devastation, and anarchy disclosed in these letters to Mr. Hay, is of a character incomprehensible to me. Under this ruling, the only thing necessary to get at a political refugee would be for one of these black descendants of Ananias to charge the victim with some crime, and thus make him subject to the "orderly processes of the courts"!

November 7, 1902, Mr. Terres reports that "some 300 volunteers, who had left this city about three weeks ago for Gonaives, to operate against the army of Firmin, returned to the capital on the 3d instant about five P. M. On entering, General St. Fort Colin, Minister of the Interior and Commandant of the Arrondissement of Port au Prince, demanded them to disarm. They refused to give up their arms, and the consequence was a conflict between the troops of General St. Fort Colin and the volunteers commanded by General Emmanuel Thezan. The whole city was thrown into a commotion, a perfect panic ensuing; the firing continued during the remainder of the afternoon, all through the night, and recommenced on the following morning, continuing until eleven o'clock, when things quieted down, and the volunteers withdrew to the suburbs of the city, where they are now encamped, retaining their arms and two Gatling guns. During the disturbance there were some 10 or 12 killed and about 20 wounded; some of the victims were persons not engaged in the *mêleé*. The state of affairs here is very unsettled, and when the different corps return, — one under General J. Carrie, with volunteers who are partisans of Mr. Fouchard, the same as those under General Thezan, and the two corps under Generals Buteau and H. Monplaisir, respectively, who support as their candidate Mr. Seneque Pierre, with General Alexis Nord, who is coming with his army, and who is also a candidate for the presidency, — it will be very difficult to avoid serious complications."

November 21, 1902, Mr. Terres writes: "General Alexis Nord, with the main corps of his army, is still at Gonaives; he is expected to arrive here within the next ten days, and then he will have in this city about 15,000 troops. Should he not pose himself as a candidate for the presidency, with a certainty of being elected, whichever one of the other two candidates that he may favor will surely be elected."

December 16, 1902, Mr. Terres reports the arrival of General Nord on December 14; that great excitement prevails; that shooting is going on in the city; that serious trouble is expected; that the Haitian Secretary of the Interior, with the general police, is at the United States Legation.

December 22, 1902, Mr. Terres reports that General Nord has been elected President of Haiti, and that everything is quiet at Port au Prince.

"On the 14th instant General Nord Alexis entered the capital with his army of about 5000 men. He immediately distributed his troops at the differ-

ent important posts and forts of the city. . . . During the day there was some disorder; some 15 persons were killed; later, however, all quieted down.

"On the evening of the 17th there was a salute fired at about eight P. M., and the army acclaimed General Nord as the President of Haiti. The next day General Nord, escorted by his cavalry, passed through the principal streets of the city, and then entered and took up his residence in the palace, which, since the departure of ex-President Sam, had been closed and guarded by General Darius Hyppolite. A proclamation was issued by General Nord, accepting the acclamation, subject to the sanction of the National Assembly. . . . General Nord received 100 out of the 115 votes cast, the 15 others being blank ballots."

This is the story of an "election" in Haiti, — a chapter which has been repeated with a thousand variations, a hundred different times, ever since the Black Dictatorship was established.

Whether the stories of voodooism and cannibalism in Haiti are true or not is a matter of little importance; the prime fact is, that to all intents and purposes Haiti is a barbarous community. So far as I know, Haiti is the highest type of government ever established by the negro race, and with reference to it I must agree with Mr. Colquhoun, who terms it "a by-word among the nations."

CHAPTER XXXI

SPANISH-AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS

I. Constitutions of Colombia

A PROMINENT Colombian authority says:

"In no other country of the world have there been adopted as many Constitutions as in Colombia. Counting those which took root from the proclamation of independence by the united provinces of New Granada (1811–1815); those that governed in all the Republic in 1821, 1830, 1832, 1843, 1853, 1858, 1863, and 1886; the thirty-five Constitutions adopted by the provinces, in virtue of Article 48 of the Constitution of 1853, and the forty-two sanctioned by the Sovereign States under the regimen of the Constitution of Rionegro, and the result is that we have had since 1811 ninety Constitutions. In them have been adopted, within the republican regimen, all possible combinations, — rigorous centralization, mitigated centralization, relative federation, absolute federation, and confederation. Some of these Constitutions have been the work of a single party; others, as those of 1843, 1858, 1886, were partially the joint work of diverse parties."

II. Other Latin-American Constitutions

If the Constitutions of Colombia have been somewhat more numerous than those of Venezuela, they have at least not been more amusing, nor have the mandates of these Constitutions been more generally disregarded in one country than in the other. Every incoming Dictator has had a Constitution of his own, each one designed to be prettier than the preceding, but without the slightest intention of making it practically applicable in any respect to the actual administration of affairs. Nor is the majority of the other Spanish-American countries particularly better than Venezuela or Colombia in this respect. Their Constitutions have been changed, altered, abolished, or amended at the whim of the reigning Dictator. The dates of the adoption of the latest Constitutions of several of these countries have been given as follows: Ecuador, 1897; Nicaragua, 1894; Santo Domingo, 1896; Honduras, 1895; Haiti, 1889; Salvador, 1886; Bolivia, 1880; Peru, 1885; Colombia, 1904; Venezuela, 1904.

In Brazil one Constitution only existed during the empire, from 1824 to 1891. In Chili, Argentina, Uraguay, Paraguay, and Gautemala, the Constitutions are not changed so often. When a revolution

sweeps the government out of power, the new crowd contents itself with filling the offices, probably considering that the Constitution is not of enough importance to justify interfering with it.

All Spanish-American Constitutions are much alike; they are mainly copies of our Constitution, with some French ideas grafted on to it, and a few Utopian ideas of the reigning Dictator tagged on. The Constitution which comes nearest to practicality is that of Mexico. It was adopted in 1857, but fulfilled Bolívar's definition, "Our Constitutions are books," until General Porfirio Diaz fought his way into power and resolutely set about organizing a real government. As stated elsewhere, the Mexican Constitution is almost universally respected and enforced by the courts, and reference has been made to its articles for so long a time that a compliance with its mandates has become habitual. It has become interwoven in the legal thought of the country; and it is worthy of great respect. In a lesser degree, and yet to an extent which makes us hopeful, the Constitutions of Chili, adopted in 1833, the body of which is still in force, and that of Argentina, adopted in 1860, are being more and more accepted by the governments and the courts as of paramount authority, although in their more important provisions — those relating to the election of executives and legislators and to the independence of the judiciary — they are as if they were not.

III. The Constitutions of Venezuela

For the purpose of revealing the relations which a typical Spanish-American Constitution has to the actual administration and to show how utterly puerile and ridiculous are its pretensions to be the fundamental law of the land; how unworthy of any consideration whatever it is as a governing factor or as controlling the actions of those in authority, I shall analyze one of the most recent productions of Latin-American countries, namely, the Constitution of Venezuela. This document is certainly one of the most remarkable specimens of constitution-making to be found in history.

Almost every revolution in Venezuela has brought a new Constitution into existence. The new Dictator usually appoints one of his partisans from each State, or district, to be a member of an *Asamblea Constituyenti* — a sort of provisional congress — and this body promulgates the Constitution desired by the Dictator. I have in my possession several of these Constitutions, but the five most important may be regarded as follows:

1830 — The Constitution promulgated at Valencia, September 24, 1830, by José Antonio Paez;

1874 — The Constitution promulgated by Guzman Blanco;

1881 — The Constitution promulgated by Guzman Blanco at Caracas on April 27, 1881;

1893 — The Constitution promulgated by Joaquin Crespo at Caracas, June 21, 1893;

1901 — The Constitution promulgated by Cipriano Castro, Caracas, March 29, 1901;

The Constitution of 1830 was alleged to have been formed by the Diputados of the provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, Margarita, Caracas, Carabobo, Coro, Maracaibo, Merida, Barinas, Apure, and Guayana. It declared that:

The Venezuelan nation is forever and irrevocably free and independent of all potencies and foreign dominion, and is not and never will be the patrimony of any family;

That sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and can only be exercised by those political powers which this Constitution provides;

That the government will be formed republican, popular, representative, responsible, and alternating;

That the people will not themselves exercise other attributions of sovereignty than the elections, nor deposit the exercise of such sovereignty in the hands of any single person;

That the supreme power is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial; each power will exercise the attributions designated by this Constitution, without exceeding their respective limits;

All Venezuelans, in the enjoyment of their rights of citizenship, are eligible for election to public office.

Very formal and complete directions were given for the holding of elections and the recording of the popular vote.

The restrictions placed by this Constitution upon the exercise of power by the Executive might incline us to believe that these people were seriously engaged in working out the problem of free government, were it not for the fact that Paez was at the very moment of its formulation an autocratic Military Dictator.

The Constitution states:

> The President of the Republic cannot:
>
> 1st. Leave the territory of the Republic while he exercises the Executive power, nor for one year afterwards [if the writer of this clause could have seen Andrade skipping out from La Guaira, he would probably have changed his phraseology to "ought not" instead of "cannot"];
>
> 2d. Command in person the military and naval forces without the previous consent of Congress;
>
> 3d. Employ the armed forces permanently in case of internal commotion, without the previous consent of the cabinet;
>
> 4th. Admit foreigners to the service of arms in the class of officials and chiefs, without the previous consent of Congress;
>
> 5th. Expel from the territory, nor deprive of his liberty, any Venezuelan, except in cases prescribed by Article 118 (rebellion or foreign war), nor prescribe any punishment whatever;
>
> 6th. Exercise any control over judicial proceedings;

7th. Prevent or interfere with the election prescribed by this Constitution, nor prevent the persons elected from taking their offices and exercising their functions;

8th. Dissolve Congress nor suspend its sessions.

A great many more restrictions were placed upon the Executive, for the purpose of rendering tyranny impossible; and Venezuela became at once quite a model republic on paper.

The Constitution promulgated by Guzman Blanco was more profuse than even that of Paez in its alleged guarantees. One would think to read it that the millennium had arrived in Venezuela. The following will illustrate its pretensions (Constitution of 1883):

ART. 14. The nation guarantees to Venezuelans —

1st. The inviolability of life, capital punishment being abolished, no difference what law may be established.

2d. Property with all its rights, emoluments, and privileges; it can only be subject to the contributions decreed by the legislative authority and the judicial decision, and be taken for public works, previous indemnization, and judgment of condemnation.

3d. The inviolability and secrecy of correspondence, and other private papers.

4th. The domestic residence, which cannot be entered except to prevent the perpetration of a crime, and this even must be executed in accordance with the prescription of law.

5th. Personal liberty, and for it; (*a*) there remains abolished the forcible recruiting for the service of arms; (*b*) slavery forever prohibited; (*c*) freedom for slaves who tread the Venezuelan territory; (*d*) no one is compelled to do what the law does not command, nor prohibited from doing what the law does not prohibit.

6th. The liberty of thought, expressed by words, or by medium of the press, is without any restriction or previous censorship. In the cases of calumny, or injury, or prejudice to third parties, the aggrieved has the right to bring actions before the tribunals of justice, in accordance with the common laws.

7th. The liberty to travel without passports, to change the domicile, observing for this purpose the legal formalities, and to absent himself, or return to the Republic, taking his property and chattels.

8th. The liberty of industry, and, in consequence, the ownership of his discoveries and productions. For authors and inventors the law will assign a temporary privilege, or indicate the manner of indemnifying them.

9th. The liberty of reunion and association without arms, publicly or privately, the public authorities having no right to exercise any act whatever of inspection or coercion.

10th. The liberty of petition, with the right of obtaining a resolution thereon, before any functionary, authority, or corporation. If the petition is signed by many, the first five will respond for the authenticity of the signatures, and all for the truth of the statements.

11th. The liberty of suffrage for the popular elections without other restrictions than that of a minority of eighteen years of age.

12th. The liberty of instruction, which will be protected in all its extension. The public power remains obligated to establish gratuitously primary education and that of arts and occupations.

13th. Religious liberty.

14th. Individual security, and for this (*a*) no Venezuelan can be arrested, nor imprisoned for debts which do not spring from fraud or crime; (*b*) nor be obliged to receive military persons in his house, nor lodge nor feed them; (*c*) nor be judged by special tribunals nor commissions, but only by the regular judges, and in accordance with the laws dictated prior to the crime, or commencement of the action; (*d*) nor be imprisoned nor arrested, except upon summary information of having committed a crime which merits corporal punishment, and an order in writing by the functionary who sentences him to prison, with a statement of the cause, unless the person has been caught *infraganti;* (*e*) nor be held *incomunicado* for any cause; (*f*) nor be obliged to testify, nor be interrogated, in criminal affairs, against himself, or his relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity, second of affinity, and matrimony; (*g*) nor remain in prison if the motives have been destroyed; (*h*) nor be condemned to suffer pain in criminal matters without first having been cited and legally heard; (*i*) nor be condemned to imprisonment for more than ten years; (*j*) nor continue to be deprived of his liberty for political motives after public order has been established.

15th. The equality in virtue of which (*a*) all must be judged by the same laws, and submitted to equal duties, services, and contributions; (*b*) Titles of nobility will not be conceded, nor hereditary honors and distinctions, nor public office whose emoluments endure longer than the service; (*c*) No other titles or address will be given to officials or corporations than "Citizen" and "You."

IV Alleged Constitutional Guarantees

Very many other alleged "guarantees" were expressed by the so-called Constitution of Guzman Blanco, but none of them was worth the paper it was printed upon. These constitutional guarantees seem a cruel and wicked mockery. If Blanco and his satellites had been men of good faith, we might have patience with their frailties and shortcomings; but their alleged constitutional guarantees, like those of Crespo and Castro, who succeeded them, were only the crafty devices of corrupt and debauched men, who "steal the livery of heaven to serve the devil in."

The Constitution promulgated on April 13, 1901, by Cipriano Castro, contained all the above guarantees, and many more. Something occurred which caused Castro to dislike this Constitution; he therefore promulgated a new one, on June 12, 1903. Some of the provisions in Castro's Constitution are really worthy. Take this, for instance:

"Art. 63. The election of President of the United States of Venezuela will be made by all the citizens of all the States and the Federal District, by direct and secret ballot; and in order to be elected it is necessary to be a Venezuelan by birth, and to have completed thirty years of age."

As a matter of fact, "in order to be elected," it is necessary to have more half-breed soldiers and more machetes than the other fellow. It disgusts a sensible man to read this drivelling talk of the elections in Venezuela.

On April 27, 1904, General Castro promulgated yet another Constitution for Venezuela. This Constitution seems to be aimed more particularly at foreigners, of whom, however, there are very few remaining. It declares:

"The law shall determine the rights and duties of foreigners.

"If foreigners take part in political disputes, they shall have the same responsibilities as Venezuelans.

"In no case shall nationals or foreigners claim to be indemnified by the nation or the States for damages or expropriations which have not been committed by lawful authorities acting in their public character."

The Federal Executive is given the power —

"To prohibit, when it is deemed expedient, the entry into the national territory of foreigners, who have no settled domicile in the country, or to expel them therefrom.

"To prohibit and prevent the entry into the territory of the Republic of foreigners specially devoted to the service of any worship or religion, whatever may be the order or hierarchy with which they are invested."

V. Constitutions of Ecuador

The Constitutions of Ecuador have been many and excellent — on paper. Some of the principal Constitutions were as follows:

Place Promulgated	Duration
1. Riobamba	1830–1835
2. Ambato	1835–1843
3. Quito	1843–1845
4. Cuenca	1845–1850
5. Quito	1850–1852
6. Guayaquil	1852–1859
7. Quito	1861–1869
8. Quito	1869–1876
9. Ambato	1877–1883
10. Quito	1883–1887
11. Quito	1887–1896
12. Quito	1897–

The Constitution of Ecuador, like that of Venezuela, is useless for practical purposes. If the provisions of this Constitution were in any degree respected, there might be some hope for the future. But it is merely an aggregation of words which may be shown to foreign powers when complaint is made about the low state of civilization which permits the levying of forced loans on their citizens. The guarantees of the Ecuadorian Constitution are as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR

In the name of God, the Author and Legislator of the earth, the National Assembly of Ecuador makes and promulgates the following political Constitution:

Title I. The Nation and the Form of its Government

Art. I. The Ecuadorian Nation is composed of all the Ecuadorians united under the dominion of the same laws.

Art. II. The territory of the Republic embraces that of the provinces which formerly constituted the Presidency of Quito and that of the Archipelago of Galapagos. The limits shall be finally fixed by treaties with the neighboring nations.

Art. III. The sovereignty is vested in the nation, but it is delegated by it to the authorities established by the Constitution.

Art. IV. The Government of Ecuador is popular, elective, representative, alternative, and responsible. It is vested in three powers: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. Each one of them fulfils the duties and functions allotted to it by the present Constitution, but none shall exceed the limits established by its provisions.

Art. V. The Republic is indivisible, free, and independent of all foreign power.

Title II. Ecuadorians and Aliens

Section 1

Art. VI. The following are Ecuadorians:

1. All persons born in the territory of Ecuador of Ecuadorian fathers or mothers.

2. All persons born in Ecuadorian territory of alien fathers, if residing in it.

3. All persons born in a foreign state of Ecuadorian father or mother, who reside in the Republic, and express their desire to be Ecuadorians.

4. All the natives of another State who enjoy the Ecuadorian nationality.

5. All aliens professing sciences, arts, or useful industries, or owning real estate or having capital invested in business, who have resided for one year in the territory of the Republic, have declared their intention to become domiciled in it, and have obtained naturalization papers.

6. Those who have obtained naturalization by act of Congress for services rendered to the Republic.

Art. VII. No Ecuadorian, even if he has acquired another nationality, shall be exempted from the duties imposed upon him by the Constitution and the laws as long as he remains domiciled in the Republic. The provisions made on this subject in treaties anterior to this date shall be respected.

Art. VIII. A special law shall define who are domiciled foreigners and their rights and duties.

Section 2. Citizenship

Art. IX. Every male Ecuadorian who can read and write and is over twenty-one years of age, whether married or single, is a citizen of Ecuador.

ART. X. The Ecuadorian citizenship is lost —

1. By entering the service of a hostile nation.
2. By naturalization in another State.
3. In all other cases established by law.

ART. XI. Ecuadorians who have lost the rights of citizenship may be restored to them by the Senate. But convicts sentenced to a term of imprisonment longer than six months cannot obtain their restoration to citizenship until the full term of their sentence is served.

An Ecuadorian naturalized in another country may recover his native citizenship by returning to Ecuador, renouncing his foreign allegiance, and declaring his intention to reassume his original citizenship.

ART. XII. The rights of citizenship shall be suspended —

1. By judicial order enjoining their exercise.
2. By sentence passed in cases of violations of the law which entail the loss of citizenship.
3. By decree issued against a public functionary.

TITLE III. THE RELIGION OF THE REPUBLIC

ART. XIII. The religion of the Republic is the Roman Catholic Apostolic, and all others are excluded. The political powers are bound to respect it, to cause it to be respected, and to protect it in its liberty and all its other rights.

TITLE IV. GUARANTEES

ART. XIV. The penalty of death shall not be imposed for offences purely political, except when they consist in the forcible alteration of the constitutional order by armed people militarily organized.

Treason to the country, parricide, murder, arson, pillage, and piracy, even if committed under cover of a political purpose, shall never be considered political offences, nor shall offences committed by military men while in active service be clothed with that character.

ART. XV. All persons are entitled to be presumed innocent and to retain their good reputation until adjudged guilty in the manner provided by law.

ART. XVI. There are no slaves, nor shall there be any, in the Republic, and all slaves who tread upon Ecuadorian territory shall become free.

ART. XVII. Forced recruiting is forbidden.

ART. XVIII. No person shall be forced to lend services not required by law, and in no case shall tradesmen and laborers be compelled to work unless in fulfilment of a contract.

ART. XIX. There shall be liberty of reunion and association without arms for lawful purposes.

ART. XX. All persons are entitled to exercise the right of petition, to address their requests to all authorities, and to ask for and secure a proper decision on the same; but the petitions shall never be made in the name of the people.

ART. XXI. No persons shall be detained, arrested, or imprisoned except in such cases, in such form, and for such time, as provided by law.

ART. XXII. No person can be excluded from the protection of the laws, or subjected to other jurisdiction than that of his natural judges, or tried by special commissions, or by laws enacted subsequent to the date of his offence, or deprived of the right of defence in any stage of the trial.

ART. XXIII. No husband or wife shall be compelled to testify against the other in a criminal case. No person shall be forced to testify against his relations, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, within the fourth civil degree of blood relationship or the second degree of affinity. No one shall ever be compelled by oath, or otherwise, to give testimony against himself in any matter which may entail penal responsibility. No person shall be kept in close confinement for over twenty-four hours, or put in irons, or be subjected to any kind of torture.

ART. XXIV. Whipping, and confiscation of property are forbidden.

ART. XXV. No one shall be deprived of his property except by a judicial decision, or by condemnation for public use in the form prescribed by law and upon previous indemnification.

ART. XXVI. No tax or duty shall be levied except in conformity with the law and by the authority designated by it for that purpose. Taxation shall always be in proportion to the capital or industry of the taxpayer.

ART. XXVII. All persons shall enjoy liberty of industry and the exclusive ownership of his discoveries, inventions, or literary productions in the manner and form prescribed by law.

ART. XXVIII. All persons shall have the power to express their thoughts freely, either orally or through the press, provided that they respect religion, decency, morals, and private reputation; otherwise they shall incur legal responsibility.

Those who, either orally or through the press, incite rebellion or disturb the constitutional order, shall likewise incur legal responsibility.

ART. XXIX. The residence of all persons whatever is inviolable. No dwelling-place shall be entered except for some special reason provided by law and by order of competent authority.

ART. XXX. Suffrage shall be free.

ART. XXXI. Epistolary correspondence shall be inviolable. The intercepting, opening, or searching of letters, papers, or effects belonging to private persons, except in the cases provided by law, is forbidden.

ART. XXXII. All persons are allowed to travel freely in the interior of the Republic, to move from one place to another, to leave the country, whether taking or not taking with them their property, or to return to the same. In case of war, passports shall be required.

ART. XXXIII. Public credit is guaranteed. Therefore the funds appropriated by law for the payment of the national debt shall not be applied to any other purpose, except in the case provided by No. 9 of Article XCIV.

ART. XXXIV. All persons shall have the power to establish educational institutions, on condition, however, that they comply with the law of public instruction.

Primary instruction is gratuitous and compulsory, but parents shall have the right to select the school which they may deem best. The imparting of this instruction, as well as the teaching of trades, shall be paid out of the public funds.

ART. XXXV. The entailing of property, whether in the form of *mayorazgos* or any other form, is forbidden in Ecuador, in whose territory real estate shall not be allowed to become untransferable.

ART. XXXVI. Only those Ecuadorians who are actually enjoying the rights of citizenship can be public functionaries.

ART. XXXVII. The violation by any public functionaries of any guar-

antee established by the present Constitution shall render them and their property liable to indemnity for the damages they may have caused; and in case of crimes or offences committed when violating the same guarantees, the following provisions shall be observed:

1. Accusation may be formulated against the functionaries with or without the intervention of a lawyer and without the obligation to give bonds.

2. The penalty imposed in these cases shall neither be remitted by pardon nor modified by commutation or reduction, during the constitutional period in which the offence was committed or the following period.

3. No action, whether criminal or civil, arising out of the offences herein referred to, shall be barred by limitation, except after the expiration of the two periods above named.

Title V. Elections

Art. XXXVIII. There shall be, in conformity with the law, popular elections by direct and secret vote. The President and Vice-President of the Republic, the Senators, the Deputies, and all other functionaries designated by the Constitution and the laws, shall be elected in this manner.

Art. XXXIX. All Ecuadorians in the exercise of the rights of citizenship are electors.

Art. XL. The election shall take place on the day appointed by law. The respective authorities shall, on that day, under their strictest responsibility, carry on the electoral law, without waiting for any order from their superiors.

VI. The Constitution of Haiti

Haiti, of course, has had Constitutions. The first was promulgated in 1801, by Toussaint L'Ouverture, which conferred special powers upon himself. He was ambitious to be Emperor.

1804. — Dessalines promulgated a "Declaration of Independence," and a new Constitution, outlining a bloody policy of extermination against the French. He proclaimed himself Governor General for life, and then Emperor, but was assassinated in November, 1806, and this of course made a new Constitution necessary.

1806. — A new Constitution was adopted which prohibited white men from ever becoming citizens or owning property in Haiti. Although the Constitution of Haiti has been changed many times since, this provision has remained in all succeeding instruments to the present day.

There were now two "governments" in Haiti, — one established by Christophe in the North, under the title of Henri I, King of Haiti; and the other in the South, under Petión, President, under the Constitution. They kept up a continual war for twelve years. Petión died in 1818, and Christophe committed suicide in 1820. Boyer took possession of the whole country, and ruled until 1843.

In all there have been twenty rulers in Haiti and almost as many Constitutions.

A writer on Haitian affairs in 1896 said: "Altogether, Haiti has had, during her eighty-eight years of independence, seventeen chiefs of States, and the United States has had twenty-one during the same period." He might have added that every President of the United States had held his office through and in virtue of a legal election, under the Constitution; while not a single Haitian ruler has held his office other than through force.

VII. The Constitutions are wholly Disregarded

An observer in Latin America is always impressed by the tender solicitude exhibited towards the legislative and judiciary departments — in the Constitutions. The provisions for an independent judiciary and legislature run side by side with the guarantees of individual rights. And yet, notwithstanding the powers which Congress has vested in it, it may not barter away the precious liberties of the people. Thus, the Constitution of Bolivia provides:

"Art. 30. Neither Congress nor any association of public gathering can grant to the Executive power extraordinary faculties, or the entire national jurisdiction, or agree to give it supremacy by which the life, honor, and properties of the Bolivian people shall be at the mercy of the government, or of any person whatever. Any deputy or deputies who promote, favor, or execute such act, are, by so doing, unworthy of the confidence of the nation."

But while Congress is somewhat restricted in that particular, it has great and expansive powers in other directions.

It is unnecessary to enter now into the consideration in detail, of any of these so-called Constitutions, since this entire work is devoted to a refutation of their pretensions in every clause. They may be taken as a schoolboy's essay — a dissertation with which the "Doctores" entertain the Military Jefes. And yet many of these men think that they have established real governments. Like schoolboys playing at make-believe, they go through the farce of pretending to the possession of Constitutions and legislatures and courts of justice.

These are frivolous peoples! Why the United States should take them so seriously — is hard to explain.

So far as legislation is concerned, there is nothing in Latin America which resembles an independent legislature. I would be the last to assert that such a thing is desirable, or even possible under present conditions. The laws are mostly copied from the French code. When the on-coming Dictator promulgates a new Constitution, he usually selects some Doctores to rewrite the commercial and other codes. As the Doctores are usually fairly good lawyers, with a free flow of language, and have the French codes before them, they usually compose something high-sounding. The Dictator then issues a decreta, pro-

mulgating the new code, and has it printed in the *Gaceta Oficial*. It is then law. Of course, "Congress" is ready to pass any act which the Dictator sends to it; but usually it is not worth while to take up its valuable time with such matters. That is how legislation is effected in Latin America.

At irregular intervals the Dictators issue decretas suspending the Constitutions, or the constitutional guarantees. Why they trouble to issue these decrees, is not evident. The Constitutions are never enforced or respected, the Jefes never pay any attention to their provisions, so that to suspend a thing that has no living existence would seem absurd.

CHAPTER XXXII

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

THE first function of a government is to administer justice. To provide for the common defence is a burden chiefly devolving upon the executive, but to secure and administer justice, not only among the citizens, but as between the government itself and the citizens, is a duty devolving on all the departments of the government, and especially on the judiciary.

It may safely be asserted that the proper organization of the judiciary, the conservation of its independence, the enforcement of its decisions, the preservation of its purity, its defence against undue political and personal influence, the undisputed maintenance of its intellectual and moral supremacy, — these are all grave and serious problems, requiring the profoundest thought of a nation's ablest thinkers. We ourselves may not say that we have really succeeded in securing a reasonably perfect administration of justice. In this respect we are no further forward than Germany, and undoubtedly behind our English cousins.

The one supreme essential to an efficient judiciary is that it be independent and untrammelled, either by the executive or the military, or even by the legislature. Indeed, it is likewise necessary that popular clamor be unable to swerve a judge from his duty, and that a strong, wholesome, educated public opinion be ever ready to sustain an honest and capable court. These ideas are thoroughly incorporated into the minds of the American people and have become a part of our national creed. In the United States an efficient and honest tribunal can rely upon an overwhelming and well-nigh unanimous public sentiment to sustain it, even though its rulings conflict with current political sentiment. Perhaps in no other part of the world are the decisions of the courts treated by the public at large with such respect, and such implicit confidence expressed in their purity, whatever opinion might be entertained regarding their merits from a legal standpoint.

A legitimate inference from this statement of facts would be that in America there is an approximate realization of the high ideal expressed in the constitution of the State of Illinois, — that every man is entitled to justice, speedily and without delay, freely and without price.

But it is not so. Much of the anarchy and notorious lawlessness of Chicago is directly chargeable to the fact, that in spite of the evident

ideal of the framers of the constitution and the unquestioned desire of the overwhelming body of the citizens, and notwithstanding that the judges as a body are men of the highest ability and incorruptibility, it is yet impossible to attain such administration in civic affairs in the City of Chicago as to accord its citizenship that prompt and full compliance with law and order vouchsafed to it under our form of government.

Unfortunately other cities, and some of our other States, are little better off in this respect than Illinois, and it becomes pertinent to inquire just why the administration of justice is such an exceedingly difficult task, even under the most favorable conditions, such as we confessedly have in the United States; so that the reader may appreciate the utter hopelessness which envelops the question when the wholesome constitutional restrictions which we have give way to the unbridled passions, greed, and vindictiveness of military dictators, as will be presently described.

I

A lawsuit as it takes place in one of our courts partakes of the nature of a free fight between two gladiators, in which the victory is more often to the man who has the greatest strength and skill rather than to him who is right. Among business men, and even among judges, it is understood that it is better to have a good lawyer and a poor case than a good case and a poor lawyer. It may be remarked in passing that the fees of these gentlemen of the bar are often unduly high, not to say exorbitant, especially in the large cities. An average physician, who has the need of an equally thorough and in some directions a finer technical education than the average lawyer, and who is a man of at least equal or superior brain power, will ask a fee of $1 or $2 up to $5 or $10, while a lawyer, for a service involving no more labor and not so much professional skill, would probably ask $50 or $100. Indeed, if physicians charged as much pro rata for their services as the lawyers do, the great majority of the American people would be born and die without medical attendance, such as now actually happens in most of the Latin-American countries.

For a man to attempt to handle his own case before an American court would be to invite certain defeat. It has become axiomatic that a lawyer who prosecutes or defends a case in which he is personally interested has a fool for a client. Still more foolish would it be for a man to attempt such a thing who himself was not learned in the law. The judge is not a judicial officer, who patiently and impartially investigates the facts in a case and administers justice without fear or favor; he is rather an umpire, who rules the game, deciding on each technical point as it is presented.

II

The maladministration of justice may in no small measure be ascribed to the low standard of the legal profession, its lack of moral responsibility, and its complete indifference to the requirements of justice. With notable exceptions, it is asserted that it is too often the chief concern of the American lawyer to secure a fat fee, without any reference to the equities of the case. His advice to a client is infrequently given conscientiously, but on the other hand often in accordance with his own selfish interests, and it is directed to the one question as to the probability of winning the case rather than to any ethical examination of the facts involved. Although the lawyer is an officer of the court, and it would appear to be his solemn duty to aid the judge in ascertaining the absolute truth, and in deciding in accordance with law and justice, quite the reverse usually happens, and lawyers of the highest professional standing will be found using their great talents to obscure the issue and throw dust in the eyes of the court, or endeavoring to defeat their antagonist by technical means rather than by an appeal to absolute truth and justice. No one can overestimate the importance of raising the standard of the legal profession, not alone as regards education and intellectual power, and those broadening influences which come from experience with large affairs and contact with bright minds, but more particularly as regards high morality and a sincere love of justice. When lawyers become in fact what they are in theory, namely, officers of the court, and scrupulously observe the great moral burden which this imposes upon them, many of the other evils which beset the administration of justice will disappear.

III

It is authoritatively stated that fifty-five per cent of all the reversals by courts of appellate or supreme jurisdiction in the United States are upon technical grounds rather than upon the merits of the case. That is to say, the reversal occurs because the pleadings do not conform to the practice, or because of technical rulings in the nisi prius court, or for other causes foreign to the equities involved. The intolerable hardship which this causes to litigants may be seen when it is reflected that the courts of original jurisdiction are no less technical in their rulings than are the appellate courts, and that from the moment the action has been brought, both plaintiff and defendant have been lost in a maze of absurd questions, not as to who has right or justice on his side, but rather touching the common counts, the form of action, demurrers, replications, etc.

Years are often consumed in such unprofitable proceedings, the client paying the piper, so that however just his case or urgent his necessities, he finds himself throwing good money after bad money,

his time and means wasted in a hopeless whirlpool of chicanery, and quibbling over technical matters which to a man of common-sense appear wholly foreign to any rational conception of law and justice.

IV

The system of appeals provided by our laws, while designed to protect a litigant against any unjust ruling of the lower court, has been abused to such an extent that it has in turn become an instrument of injustice. In nearly all States an appeal is granted from the nisi prius court to an appellate court, and thence to a supreme court. Nor is this all; in many classes of cases appeals are taken, or sought to be taken, to the United States courts, while it is not uncommon to find two or more courts of concurrent jurisdiction grinding away on the same case, issuing conflicting orders, and threatening to punish with contempt persons who should attempt to carry into effect the orders made by each other.

In a fight between the strong and the weak, the strong will necessarily conquer, and it is precisely for the purpose of protecting the weak, to see that justice is done without reference to the strength or wealth of the parties, that governments are established and courts of law and equity are organized among men. That a weak man who has justice on his side may not be at the complete mercy of a gigantic brute, the law institutes courts whose function it is to ascertain the truth and administer justice accordingly. But we are yet far from reaching this ideal. The fight is merely transferred from the domain of the common world to that of the law. But it nevertheless remains a battle, where the final outcome depends vastly more on the financial strength and tenacity of purpose of the contending parties than it does on the merits. The rich man can appeal and keep on appealing, with the chances always largely in favor of procuring a reversal, — if not on the merits, then on some technicality. He has not hired a shrewd lawyer for nothing, and it is highly improbable that this man will fail to find some flaw in the proceedings, or at least something which looks like a flaw, and which will afford ample ground for remanding the case. If the nisi prius court has been so extremely careful, or astute, as to avoid pitfalls of this character, it is hardly probable that the appellate court will be similarly lucky, for it appears to be a matter of good luck rather than of legal acumen; and that two courts of inferior authority, each making diverse rulings, should on all the complicated questions of law and fact not only agree with each other, but also with a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court, would seem to be well-nigh a miracle, especially in an atmosphere surcharged with a spirit of quibbling, where the two litigants are looked upon as the two traditional geese in which the height of professional honor was summed up in the words, "You pluck one,

and I 'll pluck the other." If, after two or more successive appeals, the Supreme Court would issue a decree in accordance with its ideas of the law and equity of the case, the situation would not be so bad; but ordinarily it does nothing of the kind. It merely remands the case for a new trial, where the whole preceding performance is gone over again with sufficient variations to justify succeeding reversals on similar grounds.

V

Much of the difficulty in the way of properly administering justice is inherent in our social system, and would be inseparable from any social organization possible to be devised. Any one who contemplates absolute justice among men is probably doomed to disappointment, — at least so long as human nature remains, as it seems likely to for many thousands of years to come. Evolution is slower than the wrath of the gods, and it alone offers any promise worthy of confidence in the future.

While it is certain that vast improvement can be made and ought speedily to be made in our judiciary, which itself deserves grave censure for not having of its own motion and volition brought about a more perfect system, it must be considered that there are really serious difficulties in the way of the proper administration of justice which will ever demand the highest talents and abilities as well as the profoundest patriotism and sense of honor for their solution.

Our laws are complicated, and necessarily so; and as civilization advances and the departments of human activities become more specialized, a corresponding multiplication and specialization in law will be inevitable. At the present time we not only have the common law as our great foundation, — or the Civil Law, as in Louisiana, — but we have the Federal constitution, the United States Statutes at Large, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and of the several circuit and district courts of the United States, all of which modify, restrict, control, or in some manner relate to the several States and their citizens. But each State has its own constitution and its body of statutes, which are constantly changing in obedience to the supposed requirements of the Commonwealth, while the decisions of the Supreme and appellate courts, each with its own peculiar authority, added to the ordinances and local laws of the multiplied municipalities which dot the land, like the stars of the sky, make a bewildering array of law, constitutional and legislative, judge made and inherited. It would appear that there is much more law in the United States than is really necessary, and that much of the energy which is expended in the mere passing of laws, and rendering a necessarily complicated system more hoplessly entangled, might with great usefulness be applied to improving the laws which we

already have, assuming that in this, the same as in most other things, quality is of more importance than quantity. But it cannot be disguised that in the highly specialized forms which modern industry is taking, and the inevitable necessity of the law developing along similar lines, the very bulk and magnitude of the law will always render the perfect administration of justice a matter of exceeding difficulty. Nor can any patent ready-made Utopian scheme bring about speedily what the ablest minds of the world have striven so long and earnestly to bring about. The subject is confessedly hedged about by grave inherent difficulties.

VI

Much of the tribulation which afflicts us under the name of law is due to the unbaked legislation issuing biennially from Congress and from every State legislature. The Solon who can secure the enactment of the largest number of laws is perforce the most faithful representative of a district, and it little matters how these new laws jostle or push aside the former enactments. The efforts of the Supreme Court to dovetail these recent products of legislative genius into the body of law previously existing is often pathetic or amusing. Self-confidence rather than a deep knowledge of the law and of industrial requirements is a prime quality of a legislator, for without this he could probably never be elected. But this same good opinion of his own abilities often leads to legislative work, highly entertaining, to say the least. So we find legislation of the crudest character relating to corporations, and all kinds of subjects, indicating that the body passing the laws had only the most rudimentary conception of the fundamental principles governing the subject and less realization of the proper manner in which it should be treated.

VII

After having indicated a few of the principal causes of the maladministration of justice, it yet remains to discuss the principal difficulty; and this relates to the personality of the judiciary rather than to its external relations. There are many elements indispensable to the making of a good judge. Personal integrity and a deep knowledge of the law are of course the foundation rocks, the chief cornerstones, without which the edifice will fall. But they are not enough. Some of the greatest failures on the bench are men of profound knowledge and unquestioned honesty. A scoundrelly barrister would always rather risk his case to a man of this class than to a man who knows less of books but more of the world. Profound learning and splendid character are worthy of universal admiration; but the power of gauging the motives of men, — in other words, of spotting a rascal, —

familiarity with the tricks, intrigues, and schemes, the corruption, bad faith, and double dealing which have their birth in the murky pool of politics; the power of discriminating between the statements of a modest, diffident, but honest man, and the positive and ingenuous but false declarations of a fraud, are of equally great importance.

But integrity, legal learning, a love of justice, and knowledge of the world are not enough to make a good judge. Industry, enterprise, fearlessness, patriotism, energy, may all be added; and still it is not enough.

The ability to reason accurately, logically, mathematically, as certainly as the operation of a machine, unerringly, is the supreme attribute of an able judge, and the one in which the most alarming deficiency is observable, in all tribunals, from the cross-roads justice of the peace to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Adequately to discuss this phase of the question would require a volume in itself, and vast though its importance be, only the most cursory suggestions can be made regarding it. It requires no very high order of intellect to see that if the Supreme Court reverses itself, — that is, if it makes two diametrically opposite rulings on the same identical question, there having been no intervening legislation, — its reasoning must have been defective in the one case or in the other. But this very thing occurs regularly and frequently, not only in the supreme courts of the several States, but in the United States Supreme Court. If, having discovered its former error, a Supreme Court should reverse itself, and thereafter abide by its later interpretation of the law, we might submit with good grace, for to err is human, and it were better to frankly acknowledge the mistake, and correct it, than to follow in a path of error. But unfortunately even this is not the case, and supreme courts seem to go bobbing around like a fisherman's cork on the waves, so that it is impossible for any lawyer, however able, to state positively to a client that the law is thus and so, and that the court will surely decide in a certain way and manner. He who reads carefully any work on the Conflict of Laws, or who will take the trouble to read the decisions on such subjects as Public Policy, Divorce, Corporations, Municipalities, Bonds and Assessments for Local Improvements, etc., will realize how near we are to anarchy in many of the great departments of our law.

A judge may be of the most distinguished antecedents, with a mind filled with legal lore, and yet be incapable of distinguishing an axiom from an hypothesis. Mere knowledge is not an earnest of good reasoning power, and I am inclined to think that a thorough reading of John Stuart Mill, Kant, Herbert Spencer, and a standard work on geometry, would go farther towards making a really competent judge than any amount of stuffing with precedents and musty decisions. Certain it is that a vast number of decisions are badly reasoned: they show signs of that cramming which inevitably breeds

indigestion. And while it is not possible to devote the necessary space here to the amplification of this subject or to a citation of cases in corroboration of the contention here made, I am deeply convinced of the wisdom of the old judge who advised his younger brother on the bench to give no argument in support of his opinions, on the ground that although his decisions might sometimes be right, his reasoning was almost certain always to be wrong.

VIII

The decision of a case not only involves a ruling on questions of law by the judge, but also a finding of facts by the jury. If the jury were composed of intelligent men, such as contemplated by the Struck Jury Act of New Jersey, the probability is that it would more nearly gauge the creditability of witnesses than would a single judge, and hence that its finding of facts would be entitled to some weight. Unfortunately juries are usually ignorant, and too often burdens are thrown on juries which properly belong to experts. Thus, in cases involving accounts it is not uncommon to submit to juries long and complicated statements, with columns of figures, where there is a mass of conflicting testimony which might well puzzle the most accomplished bookkeeper, accustomed to unravelling such skeins. When states-attorneys and judges seriously ask juries to hang men on the conflicting testimony of alleged handwriting experts, paid so much a day for testifying under oath, stating as facts things which are self-evidently beyond the possibility of definite knowledge, but which nevertheless are accepted as gospel truth by a jury untrained in the power of reasoning, or even of accurate observation, it becomes obligatory upon us not to omit the jury system in any study which we may make regarding the failure of justice. My personal feeling is that the jury system is an absurdity so great that it seriously reflects on the intelligence of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The administration of justice naturally falls under two divisions: first, the decision of civil controversies between citizens, either individually or organized, as in the forms of companies and corporations; secondly, those controversies which arise out of the relation of a citizen to the government, or to the authorities of the government, or some subdivision of it. This latter may be further subdivided as follows: first, suits brought by citizens or companies against the government or some subdivision or official, either in law or equity, as for moneys due or damages sustained, or to restrain the commission of some alleged illegal or unconstitutional act, or to compel performance of some public duty; secondly, those actions brought by the government or some subdivision thereof against a citizen, which may also be civil, quasi-criminal, or criminal in their nature.

All these classes of cases will receive pretty much the same treat-

ment in courts of competent jurisdiction in the United States. The fact that the government or municipality is prosecutor or defendant in a case would in very few instances make any difference whatever in the rulings of the presiding judge. In some cases where the "graft" of a powerful political organization was at stake, it is possible that local judges might be influenced to decide in their favor.

In the investigation held by the Lexow Committee in New York, it was disclosed that certain of the local judges admitted that they had paid as much as $17,000 for their nomination. It cannot be supposed that a judge thus contributing would rule against the power which made him. But in the United States such unfortunate conditions are extremely rare, and even in New York they would be the exception and not the rule.

Subject to the limitations hereinbefore described, some of which are inherent in all systems of law, and others of which are likely to disappear gradually, as the machinery of law becomes more simplified, even though the law itself is becoming more specialized, it may be said that the courts are a very important and by no means inefficient refuge for the citizen in case of attempted oppression by the State, or some functionary; that they are a powerful deterrent to criminals and a bulwark of safety to the community; and that they afford a more inadequate but nevertheless useful means of enforcing the payment of obligations, and of adjusting with some degree of reason and equity the myriad of civil questions arising out of modern commercial relations.

IX

But if the perplexities we have indicated as attendant upon the administration of justice are in fact as serious as are herein indicated in the United States, where the judiciary is absolutely independent, where the position of judge is one of great personal honor, where the tenure of office is relatively long, with a constant tendency to increase, where the judges are, as a class, men of high moral character and intellectual capacity, where an overwhelming public sentiment is ever ready to defend the bench as against any partisan attacks, where the attempt to introduce partisan questions in the selection of judges would be the very poorest kind of politics, where there are unnumbered libraries and unequalled facilities for procuring information on any point, where there are thousands of bright minds at the bar, and many profound ones whose very alertness and ability compel courts to exercise caution in their rulings; if under all these most favorable conditions the Goddess of Justice is still blindfolded; if it is still impossible to secure justice among men, and the most that practical men can hope for from our courts is that in the long run the percentage of wrong shall not exceed the percentage of right, — then

what must we say of the larger number of the countries of Latin America, and particularly of all those embraced under our third classification, and known by their own people as "los paises perdidas" — the lost countries?

X

In no part of Latin America is there anything in the nature of an independent judiciary. In the best of them the judge is at the complete mercy of the executive. In the worst of them he is nothing more than a clerk of the Dictator, or the military Jefe. There are many very fair lawyers in every Latin-American country, and some very excellent ones. Their systems, based upon the Civil Law, are entirely unlike our own, and the facilities for obtaining a profound knowledge of the law are lacking. Their notions are theoretical rather than practical, and in common with the entire race to which they belong, their views of life, and particularly of business, are decidedly amateurish — more nearly what would be entertained by a vivacious American woman, or by a spirited boy just out of high school. But many of these men have an exact sense of honor; they are extremely smart when it comes to seeing through schemes, or reading human nature, so indispensable in weighing the testimony of a witness. They constitute the material for a creditable judiciary, and with the same background of independence, stability, tenure of office, and sense of personal security and responsibility which our judges have, as fine a judiciary could be organized in Latin America as is found in any other country. The material is there.

XI

In June, 1900, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Caracas made a tour of the prison, as was his duty under the law. He found the sanitary condition of the prisons too horrible to describe, and a shocking state of demoralization in their management, and in everything pertaining to them. Among other things he found large numbers of prisoners who had never been committed by any court, and in reference to whom there were no records whatever, to show when they were committed to jail, by what authority, for what reason, nor for what period of time. A considerable number of prisoners were not to be found that had been sentenced for crimes by the judges of criminal jurisdiction. No one could tell when these prisoners had been turned loose, or what had happened to them. It was not known whether they had been liberated or had died in their cells, or whether they had been murdered by the prison authorities or by their connivance. There was grave reason to suspect that something of this kind had happened to at least one of the prisoners, who had been accused of having attempted the life of the President.

Of course all of these conditions were precisely such as had existed from time immemorial, with slight intervals of temporary improvement, and no one was accustomed to devote a second thought to them. The Chief Justice, however, assuming that the period of constitutional government had indeed been ushered in, as the reigning Dictator had officially declared, made a brief and rather reserved statement the next day that it was incumbent upon the government to remedy the evils which he had found, describing them in much the same manner as they are set forth in this paragraph, and indicating what reforms were urgent in order to comply with the law governing prisons.

One of the local newspapers published what the Chief Justice had to say on the subject. Within three hours after this appeared in the newspaper, the Chief Justice was seized by the order of General Castro, then as now Dictator of Venezuela, and thrown into the same jail about which he had complained, and he had for company the entire staff of the newspaper which had published the article. The newspaper was suppressed, its property destroyed, an ignorant henchman of the Dictator appointed Chief Justice, and the prison remained even more unsanitary than before.

XII

A case as flagrant as the above would not occur at the present time under the governments now existing in Mexico, Peru, Chili, or Argentina. No one can say that the next Dictator who appears in even these countries may not be as violent and irresponsible as the above narrative would indicate; but fortunately at the present time such is not the case. The judges are no less under the domination and control of the executive, but the executive is a dignified and responsible man, who has a sense of the duty devolving upon him. But hundreds of similar usurpations of the functions of the judiciary by the military, or executive, have been witnessed in every Latin-American country. Castro is by no means the chief sinner; indeed, he is comparatively blameless in this respect, and probably he really imagines himself to be rather a model. It will be found upon investigation that the judiciary in these countries is not a co-ordinate department of the government, or indeed any department of the government at all, in any proper sense of the term. A judge is more nearly like a clerk in a mercantile establishment, who must obey the orders of his superior or lose his job, except that in case of the judge the alternative of imprisonment stares him in the face.

XIII

Dr. S. Ponce de Leon, in his "Social Studies" of these countries, says:

"But there is something in this organization which demands the most special attention; it is the invasion of the judicial sphere by the military. This invasion makes difficult, dangerous, almost impossible the administration of justice, leaving society exposed to the attacks of criminals, singularly encouraged by their immunity from punishment. The power of military force and political passions, invading and devouring as they are, have always dominated the criminal jurisdiction, making its work ridiculous, and leaving society unvindicated, and the judges exposed to meet face to face in the streets individuals against whom they have pronounced sentences of condemnation. How many times in the course of a criminal proceeding the judge has required the presence of the murderer, and he was not to be found in the jail! He had been put at liberty by the Governor, the Comandante of arms, or by some general or colonel of the place, and he was to be found in perfect liberty, perhaps with a Remington on his shoulder, charged with the custody of the law — with the defence of the society he had outraged, with the rights of citizenship, the primary one of which he had desecrated! And has attention been fixed on the lamentable consequences of this scandalous abuse, which mocks and falsifies all that is august and noble in society? Has thought been given to this gigantic immorality, which must produce social disorganization, and even dissolution? Things are in such a condition, how can we demand from those charged with the administration of justice strict compliance with their duties?

"How can we impose upon them the moral, legal, and social responsibility which should exist for all functionaries? We remember very well the dialogue we have had with one of our friends, then President of the Tribunal (Chief Justice of the Court), young, honored, and of sound principles. We were talking of a murder case, noted and grave; the relatives of the murderer, military men of influence, had tried the seduction of gold; when this was refused with dignity and energy, they had recurred to intimidation; the judge had raised his complaint to the local authorities, and these objected that the murderer had lent his services in the preceding campaign. 'Comply with your duty,' we said to him. 'If I condemn this murderer,' he responded, 'to-morrow they will assassinate me.' 'Raise your complaint to the superior authority.' 'Ah, you deceive yourself; the evil comes from above.' 'Well, then,' we objected, 'resign from a position which you cannot discharge in accordance with the law and your conscience.' 'They would believe me disaffected; they would put me in jail, and to-morrow my family would want bread.'

"We have here a real social ulcer. Although the good disposition of the people may enable them to exist socially for some time in spite of this disorganization, in the end they will succumb, because existence is not possible without organization of any species, without justice, without law. A society under these circumstances is approximately barbarous, because where there is no law which punishes, the law of brute force rules, the law of primitive times, the law of savages. The citizen cannot rest, confiding in a protecting force which will defend all that is most precious to him, — life, honor, interests, family, home, — and he must be ready at any moment, and under any and all circumstances, to defend them, and guarantee their safety at the mouth of his revolver or at the point of his sword.

"We cannot close without calling the attention of the authorities to other lamentable deficiencies which are noted in this branch of public administra-

tion. There are no codes. The proceedings are too unwieldy, and even impossible, for want of proper legislation. The laws of France rule, and they are not adapted to the peculiar conditions of this society; and this is a grave evil, because there is no analogy in the institutions, in the state of public instruction, or in the national ideals, in order to make proper application of the letter and spirit of the laws. It is then an imperious necessity to have a proper legislation, which is in harmony with local conditions. Even though the principles of justice be absolute and eternal, they cannot be reduced to formulas for their application.

"In addition, it is obvious that nothing can be accomplished by laws unless they are properly enforced. Inutile will be the best codes, and the most erudite personality, if the judiciary does not enjoy absolute independence in the exercise of its august functions. Without this requisite there can be no administration of justice, in the absence of which no regeneration of society is possible."

XIV

In another chapter the punishment of crime in Spanish-American countries will be more thoroughly discussed. Enough has already been said here to indicate that in any suit as between a Latin-American government and private citizen, whether native or foreign, or between such citizen and an official of the government, or any military man or politician of influence, nothing in the semblance of justice can be obtained in any of the countries, except Chili, Mexico, Argentina, and Peru, and that even in these a foreigner will probably require to procure the intervention of his own government in any matter of importance.

It remains to be asked what chances there are of securing approximate justice before these courts in a litigation wholly between private citizens. I am sorry to be compelled to express the opinion that they are very remote indeed. Despite the monstrous political conditions which inthrall Spanish America, there are many very decent gentlemen on the bench — and an overwhelming proportion of ignorant thieves and scoundrels. The latter sell their decisions outright — often at pitiably low prices. But the decisions of the former, which could not be influenced in such a manner, are nevertheless controlled through the power of the reigning Dictator, or his henchmen. Often have I had a man tell with great gusto about a decision which the judge had just rendered in his favor, dwelling on the strong points made in the opinion, when I have abruptly asked: "How much did you give General So-and-So to get this done?" and my informant would admit, often with every evidence of self-satisfaction, that he had promised "la mitad" — the half interest in the proceeds of the suit.

I am thoroughly convinced, after years of careful observation and a great deal of personal experience in these affairs, that no civilized

power ought to permit its citizens to be bound, either civilly or criminally, by any act or decision of any Latin-American court, except in the four countries already named, and that they should always be ready to insist on the correction of any manifest injustice, even in these countries.

XV

A very conservative opinion is expressed by Mr. Akers, in his "History of South America," regarding the administration of justice in the several countries, from which I quote the following:

Administration of Justice in Ecuador

"In the administration of justice Ecuador lags behind the standard of other republics in South America — a severe condemnation, for in none is it on a satisfactory footing from the standpoint of modern civilization. Less is heard abroad of corrupt methods in the Ecuadorian courts because the number of foreign residents is limited, but the entire system is degenerate. The laws, as in all former Spanish colonies, are founded on those in force before independence, and reproduce the worst faults of the Spanish system with the additional mischief of interpretation by ignorant officials who possess neither capacity nor intelligence to discharge the duties of their posts. The Supreme Court is at Quito, and there are six superior courts which sit at different centres, with the addition of thirty-three superior and three hundred and fifty-nine subordinate magistrates to deal with civil, criminal, and commercial cases in the country districts, while consular courts are held at Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca. Ecuador has only one penitentiary at Quito, and in this male and female prisoners convicted of serious crimes are confined; but as a general rule the people have small tendency towards really serious offences, although petty crime is frequent in all parts of the country.

"The police system is under municipal authority, with the exception of a small force maintained by the national government at Quito and elsewhere for special duty." (Akers, pp. 586–587.)

Justice in Colombia

"The administration of justice in Colombia is on no more satisfactory footing than in Venezuela and Ecuador, the procedure in the courts being dilatory and costly, and corrupt practices frequent. But constant protests against this state of affairs pass unheeded, and no attempt at reform has been made during the past quarter of a century. Both civil and criminal law is codified, and does not in itself offer serious ground for complaints. It is only the interpretation that fails. The basis is Spanish law, as everywhere in Latin America, and the Supreme Court consists of seven members appointed for life, who elect one of their number as president for four years. Superior tribunals sit in the various departments, where are also inferior courts and a number of magistrates (jueces de paz) appointed for the rural districts, these officials frequently gaining considerable local power and using their influence most unjustly." (Ibid., p. 609.)

Justice in Bolivia

"Justice in Bolivia is administered by a Supreme Court, eight district courts, and a number of local minor courts presided over by magistrates empowered to deal with petty crimes. The judiciary is corrupt and legal process is dilatory and costly, and in the civil courts blackmailing practices, especially in connection with mining claims, are so notorious that few people refer disputes to the judicial power, preferring to pay or make some other arrangement to avoid legal proceedings, no matter how far in the right they may be. Bolivian law, as that of other South American States, is founded on that existing under the former Spanish régime, is codified in all branches, and not ill adapted to serve the ends of justice if intelligently and impartially administered." (Ibid., p. 609.)

Justice in Chili

"The administration of justice in Chili leaves much to be desired. Complaints are frequent that the formalities of the courts are often so unwieldy as to render equitable dispensation of the laws a practical impossibility. The sum allowed from the national revenues in 1899 for the maintenance of the judiciary was $1,881,360, which is more than adequate payment for the duties entailed. The laws are codified, and would meet the public needs if reforms were introduced to expedite civil and criminal procedure, and, as elsewhere in South America, the system is based on the Spanish laws in force when these countries were colonies of Spain. While the courts are unsatisfactory, the condition of the police is infinitely worse, and protection for life and property can hardly be said to exist in outlying districts; and even near Santiago and Valparaiso cases of assault and highway robbery in broad daylight daily occur. An organized system of brigandage has developed of late years, and although the authorities are perfectly cognizant of this condition of affairs, no steps are taken to clear the country of a pest which retards progress and threatens ruin to many branches of industrial enterprise." (Ibid., pp. 418–419.)

Justice in Peru

"The administration of justice in Peru could not be more unsatisfactory than it is, and to designate as justice the manner in which the laws are administered is to convey an erroneous impression. To obtain a favorable verdict bribery must be practised, and it is a question of who has the longest purse when a decision is reached. To this widely sweeping assertion there are no exceptions, the Supreme Court being no cleaner than the lower tribunals; it differs only in that payment must be on a higher scale. An example of the existing conditions occurred recently when an important suit involving two hundred and fifty thousand gold dollars was pending in the Supreme Court. On the bench were five judges, and the evidence on one side was clear and concise, leaving no doubt of the rights of the case. A few days before judgment was delivered, the principal litigant received information that an adverse verdict would be given unless a bribe was forthcoming, and not having the funds he applied to a banker for an advance of ten thousand gold dollars to buy a third vote, explaining that he had secured two others. The loan was obtained, and after a favorable judgment was pronounced the ten

thousand dollars were paid to the member casting the deciding vote. In this case a just verdict was bought, but it happens quite as often that injustice is obtained by similar means.

"The judicial officials are as a rule too ignorant to turn to best use the legal power entrusted to them. They are so inadequately remunerated that they are tempted to corrupt practices at every turn, and it is due to these circumstances that blackmailing has become of such common occurrence. No redress can be obtained as affairs are conducted to-day, and the most hopeless feature of the situation is that the ordinary citizen does not appreciate the necessity for an impartial administration of justice. He has a vague idea that there are such persons as honest judges in other parts of the world, but he is not sure that an upright judiciary in Peru would be an unmitigated blessing." (Ibid., pp. 536–537.)

Justice in Brazil

"With a defective educational system, it is not surprising that the administration of justice is on an unsatisfactory footing. Brazilian law is codified, and in the hands of impartial and intelligent judges would meet the necessities of criminal and civil proceedings; but corruption is common in all branches of the judiciary and the cost of litigation is abnormally high. Delay of decisions in contested cases is one serious complaint; and an investigation into the condition of the principal prison in 1899 in Rio de Janeiro (Casa da Detencao) brought to light grave abuses. Prisoners arrested for trivial offences were kept in confinement without trial for months, in some instances for years. Ten and twelve prisoners were crowded into cells intended to hold four only, with the excuse of 'no room.' No discrimination of class was made, hardened criminals and offenders for petty illegal acts being herded together. The prison was condemned as unsanitary by medical experts, and no discipline was observed. The scandal led to some reforms in this particular establishment, but nothing was done toward reform all round." (Ibid., pp. 313–314.)

Justice in Argentina

"Administration of justice in Argentina leaves much to be desired. A quarter of a century ago the reputation of the Supreme Court was excellent. It was noted for freedom from bribery and corruption, but this standard has not been maintained in recent years. President Roca in his message to Congress in May of 1899 called special attention to the subject, and certain notoriously venal judges were removed from office, but there the matter dropped. The legal system is based on Spanish law, and the civil, criminal, and commercial statutes are codified, but procedure is cumbersome and tedious, leading to unnecessary delay in litigation and heavy expenditure. In the minor branches opportunities for corrupt practices are widespread, and complaints are heard in all quarters of the ignorance and venality of magistrates and minor officials. To some extent this is due to the scanty and irregular payment of judicial representatives, for the salaries are insufficient for the duties assigned to these officials." (Ibid., p. 125.)

Justice in Uruguay

"The administration of justice is another cause of constant complaints, procedure in both criminal and civil courts being tedious and costly. The criminal, civil, and commercial laws are codified, and if intelligently and honestly administered, would serve. No discretion is used, however, in making judicial appointments, and the result is ignorant judges and magistrates. Necessary reform would entail the elimination of the personal influence candidates can bring to bear upon politicians in power, and this is unlikely at present. In the matter of criminal justice, no better example of the inadequacy of punishment for serious offences can be quoted than the sentence passed upon the murderer of President Idiarta Borda. The assassination was committed in cold blood; no extenuating circumstances were brought to light, and the verdict was one of two years' imprisonment only. Nor is this an isolated case. Uruguayans and foreigners have been murdered on many recent occasions, and no severe penalties were inflicted as a deterrent to such crimes in the future." (Ibid., p. 226.)

XVI

But I do not wish to be too insistent on this point. No one realizes more keenly than do I the widespread and scandalous maladministration of justice in the United States. Let it be premised that anarchy must be put down and stamped out mercilessly, and we are brought face to face with the fact that a stream cannot be dried up but at its source. To the simple-minded native of India the policeman is the government; to the peon of South America, the military Jefe; and to the recently arrived immigrant in the United States, the local judge or police magistrate. Think what an idea of government an ignorant man must get if it be typified to him by the Chicago justice or the New York police court! Horrible as are these types of the judiciary, I would rather attempt to defend them in their naked and revolting indecency than to act as apologist for many of the United States circuit courts, and some of the supreme courts of the States. I have neither time nor space here to cite facts in detail in corroboration of this opinion, but that the facts amply justify this criticism, harsh though it be, is to my mind clear.

We must have courts of justice, — human society cannot exist without them, — and we should have justice so administered that there could be no reasonable ground of complaint, even by the most ignorant and humble citizen.

When we have established justice, then may we be severe on anarchists, criminals, and evil-doers; but so long as rotund ignorance and bovine stupidity sit on the supreme bench and passes itself off for wisdom; so long as red tape and inane technicalities bar the path of equity and common-sense; so long as an injured man must wait years, perhaps till his witnesses are all dead, in an attempt to secure

something like a redress of grievances at the play of conscienceless lawyers and stuffed owls on the bench; so long as the trial of a lawsuit is a matter of intrigue and cunning, rather than a vigorous and impartial investigation of what is right and just; so long as our courts squander the estates of widows and orphans, and foster blackmail and perjury, — for such a period will ignorant, misguided, and ill-balanced men rant against all government and advocate violence. The inability to secure justice is what makes criminals and demons of men. Inspire men with a profound confidence in the efficiency of our administration of justice, and at one stroke you have knocked out the supports from under crime, dishonesty, and disorder. You have cured the disease by exterminating its cause. The brains and conscience of the American people should be devoted to the improvement of this branch of the public service. Here is where we are vitally weak. The progress of civilization depends upon a perfect administration of justice, and it can safely be asserted that there can be no real advance made from now on in the United States without a most searching purification and reform of the judiciary, including the abolition of the foolish scheme by which twelve ignoramuses, called a jury, are permitted to decide upon the property rights, or even the lives of men.

PART IV — SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

CHAPTER XXXIII

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE

I. Society

THE superficial observer visiting a South American city will receive a false impression of society there. The stranger arriving for the first time at Lima, Bogotá, or Caracas will note in the public places large gatherings of well-dressed and polite men and women. Sunday evening, or any evening on which the band plays in the principal plaza, he will be especially impressed with the culture of the throng. "Society" will then be out *en masse;* and a more well-dressed assembly, indeed a more refined people would be hard to find even in New York or Paris. The visitor is instinctively attracted to these hospitable, intelligent, and well-bred people, and naturally infers that their country is worthy of our sympathy, friendship, and support.

South American society is composed of Spaniards, foreigners, and that portion of the mixed races (further defined below) sometimes called the "doctor class." If society thus constituted had any influence over, or control of, governmental affairs, it might materially change the destinies of South American countries; but it is not a vital force in politics, nor is it endued with creative energy.

If the Spaniards and the "doctor class" were strong, industrious, energetic, practical men, they could regenerate national as well as social life. But their education is superficial; everything about them is designed for show; they disdain labor and generally lead a life of indolence and ease. They possess many negative virtues and some positive ones, but they are the last element to which one would appeal to redeem the community at large from its present demoralization. To govern with strong, just, and steady hand, to overcome the obstacles which beset the path of progress, men of blood and iron are needed, but the men under discussion are but dolls of the drawing-room and the café.

II. Ethnical Classification

The population of South America is a conglomerate of many elements, in which the descendants of the Conquistadores (the Con-

querors, including the horde of Spanish adventurers, bandits, pirates, and criminals) predominate. It is composed of —

1. Spaniards of pure blood, who constitute an important factor in all South American countries but Brazil.

2. Portuguese, who bear the same relation to Brazil that Spaniards bear to the other South American States.

3. Italians and French, who are numerous and strong in agriculture. They are well distributed in nearly all the countries of South America.

4. English, Americans, Germans, Swiss, and Austrians, who are found in nearly all South American countries; usually they are few in number but representative of large interests.

5. Native Indians.

6. Negroes.

7. The mixed races, mainly sprung from the mingling of the Conquistadores with the Indians, or with the Negroes, or with both.

To give even approximately accurate figures as to the comparative numbers of these elements in the several countries would be misleading, as no authentic census has ever been taken in any of them. All figures here given as to this or any other question of South American statistics are but guesses.

The Spaniards of pure blood, in any South American country, are relatively few in number, but, on account of their superior intellectual and social attainments, they constitute an important factor.

In Mexico, of a population of approximately thirteen millions, it may be that half a million are pure Spaniards. Estimates usually place their number as high as two and a half millions, but two millions of these are really of mixed blood (Class 7). In Colombia it may be that five per cent (about one hundred thousand) of the population are pure Spaniards. I doubt if there are twenty-five thousand pure Spaniards in all Venezuela. Their proportion in Ecuador and in Bolivia is very small, probably not more than two or three per cent. In Peru there are fewer pure Spaniards relatively than in Mexico; but a larger proportion than in Mexico is found in Argentina and in Chili.

1. The pure Spaniards are usually owners of great haciendas, or engaged in business enterprises. They are far superior to the mixed breeds. Though Spanish civilization by no means meets American ideals, it is greatly to be preferred to semi-barbarism. The real Spanish gentleman, owner of his hacienda, is a model of politeness and hospitality to his equals, and the head of a family of excellent breeding; but he is impractical — a dreamer and enthusiast rather than a creator of solid enterprises. His education is literary and classical rather than scientific or technical. He is a man of chivalry and poetry; he is not a man of affairs.

These Spanish gentlemen suffer as much from the intrigues, revolutions, and crimes so rife in South America, as do any other civilized

foreigners. Often they are placed by the leaders of the ruling party in high official positions (to give a semblance of respectability to the government then uppermost!) and often their advice carries weight; but of the actual governing power they have none. These pure-blooded Spaniards are, however, the chief bulwark of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Spanish gentlewomen in South America are intelligent; are far from worldly-minded, and have high ideals, yet they accomplish little or nothing for the betterment of society. However, in beauty, in refinement, and indeed in those subtle charms which place the fair sex on a plane apart from the workaday world, the ladies of the better class of Spaniards occupy a unique place among the sisterhood of womankind.

2. These words as to the Spaniards apply with nearly equal force to the Portuguese of Brazil. The Portuguese language is only a variation of Spanish, and can be read and understood with ease by one who is familiar with the Castilian tongue. There is as wide a difference between the peoples of the different provinces of Spain as there is between the typical Spaniard and the Portuguese. The provincialisms of the descendants of those Andalusians who went from Spain to Mexico are continually puzzling to one who has learned the Spanish language according to the grammar sanctioned by the *Académia Réal* of Madrid; while the every-day Spanish of the Philippine Islands differs almost as widely from that of Cuba as does the Portuguese from the Castilian.

3. The Italians and French are acquiring great power in South America. French investments may exceed five hundred million dollars. Needless to say, they constitute a great civilizing element. The Italians are emigrating in large numbers to Argentina and Brazil. They are engaged largely in agriculture, and form the most reliable laborers.

4. The English, Germans, Americans, and other foreigners of this type are managing most of the vast business concerns of Central and South America. They are the pioneers of civilization, and the difficulties which they encounter are almost inconceivable. If salvation is to come to Central and South America, it must come mainly through this class.

5. The native Indians, although they constitute a very large portion of the population of Central and South America, are of little importance in influencing political conditions. The *de facto* governments pay little attention to them, except in places where outbreaks occur. More than half of the population of Peru are native pure Indians, and probably a still greater proportion will be found in Bolivia. The entire northern part of Brazil is peopled by Indians over whom the government does not even pretend to exercise any control, and vast districts along the borders of Brazil and Venezuela, Brazil and

Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia have a like population. Many of these Indian tribes are said to be entirely white and extremely ferocious. It is estimated that in Guatemala, out of a population of one million and a half, at least one million are pure Indians, while large numbers of Indians in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador are uncivilized. Mexico also contains vast numbers of Indians, some of whom, like the Yaquis tribes, have held out against the authority of the general government up to the present time.

The overwhelming majority of these Indians in these countries live in their own territories and make no attempt to interfere with the *de facto* governments. Their intercourse with the white people is in the way of barter and exchange; and were it not for the effect which miscegenation has had, and probably will continue to have, they might be dismissed from the discussion. The mixture of the races, however, is still going on, and it is of men of this mixture that the governments are largely composed.

6. Negroes and mulattoes — a variety of French mixed breed — comprise practically the whole population of Haiti. Negroes are also found in large numbers in the eastern part of Brazil, through the West Indies, and in all the coast towns. The mixture of Spaniard and Negro is not an improvement on any other variety of mulatto.

7. The seventh class, the mixed races, is by far the most important element in all the Spanish-American countries, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn.

III. The Mixed Races

It is difficult to describe the mixed races of South America so that a reasonably fair idea of their peculiar character can be formed. While they present the most varied elements, there are certain fundamental characteristics which run through them all.

They are descendants mainly of the old Spanish buccaneers, the pirates, adventurers, and conquerors who overran Spanish America in the fifteenth century. Never in the history of the world has there, perhaps, been such a horde of merciless, bloodthirsty adventurers with such a curious admixture of religious fanatics. A study of the history of Cortes in Mexico and of Pizarro in Peru will enable a student to understand these Conquistadores. These early explorers were moved by a fine frenzy of imagination, bordering on absurdity and insanity. While Ponce de Leon was searching for the fountain of perpetual youth in Florida, others equally enthusiastic were seeking for an El Dorado in South America. They not only desired, but they had an absolute belief, that the very next river would bring fabulous wealth or fountains of water which would realize perpetual youth. These visionary schemes, hallucinations, or illusions were not a temporary disease; they constituted a part of the absolute nature and character of the whole venturesome crew, just as truly as hysteria or morbid

melancholy is a mental state of certain women. It was not to be got rid of by argument or even by experience. No matter how barren the plateau on which they camped to-day, ahead was always the golden rainbow, with its ends touching into mines of gold. This high-strung, visionary, superstitious, cruel, murderous outfit of buccaneers had sprung from the loins of Spain, the country whose national delight was the bloody and ferocious bull-fight. It is not to be expected that among such a crew we should find sentiments of justice or mercy, sympathy for suffering, or anything resembling calm reflection or sound judgment. These men spread themselves all over South America. He who had killed the most men was most worthy of respect; he who had committed the most atrocious act of piracy was the greatest hero among them.

Had those men brought with them wives from Spain, it may be that the succeeding chapters in the degradation of Central and South America would not have been written; for the influence of woman is always wholesome. Sentiment may impel her to cling to the villain, but she seldom glorifies the crime. But these men took each as many Indian girls as he could get, rarely less than two or three, and frequently as many dozen. The offspring of this reckless and indiscriminate connection resulted in the breeding of a nondescript class known all over South America as "hijo natural." The successive intermixture of this offspring with other Indians or Negroes, or with other Spaniards, has brought about the present mixed races which dominate South America. The process is still going on, as is more fully explained in the chapter "General Social Conditions in Latin America." Composed of such elements, the mixed races of South America might be thought to be degraded in the extreme; yet, strange to say, the result is better than might be expected. Even in this conglomerate an absolute majority, perhaps an overwhelming majority, are at least not vicious, and under proper government might form the basis of a substantial prosperity.

In these mixtures, it must be evident, the percentage of Spanish, Indian, Negro, or other bloods varies infinitely in quantity as well as quality. To attempt to comprehend them all under one generalization would require a formula highly abstract and exceedingly vague.

The most marked subdivision of this class is that comprising the overwhelming majority called peons. These men have a comparatively small percentage of Spanish blood in them. They are the products of the intermixture of the original half-breeds with Indians again, or among themselves, and although there is a continual infusion of Spanish blood into their veins, the Indian still greatly predominates. It is a curious fact, well worthy the study of ethnologists, that an infusion of Negro blood into this peon mixture generally brings about a product which is wholly and irretrievably bad.

Rising above the peon in intelligence and virility is the class in which the Spanish blood predominates. It is the product of succeeding Spaniards with the original half-breeds, or their offspring, or the *hijos naturales* of the present race of peon women with Spanish men. Of this class, it may also be said that there is a considerable percentage of men who, if their virtues are negative, are at least not positively vicious. It is in this class, however, that the really dangerous men of South America are almost entirely found. It is to this class also that the generals and colonels belong, the military Jefes, the dictators, the schemers, blackguards, blackmailers, and cutthroats who form the so-called governments and run things for the most part to suit themselves.

Subservient to this class, and supplying the vital force which carries into execution the schemes which its brains and cunning devise, is a large proportion of semi-bandits, brutes, murderers, and vagabonds to be found among the peon class.

The peons who live in the towns are usually lazy, insolent, and good-for-nothing. A small number of peons of bad character or criminal tendencies also reside in the country, but they are few in number. In the mountainous districts the peons are more aggressive, more ready to shoot or stab a victim, more quarrelsome and treacherous; but in the great tropical forests and in the vast plains of South America, on the lakes and rivers, the peons who comprise the small farmers, woodsmen, cattlemen, fishermen, mechanics, etc., numbering perhaps sixty or seventy per cent of the whole population, are friendly, docile, easily managed, comparatively honest, fairly industrious, and in general, a class of people which, under proper direction, would form the basis for substantial commercial enterprises and industries.

The other class of peons, however, is that which goes to compose the regular army. When a man commits a murder, he is not hanged or sent to jail; he is given a Mauser and put in the regular troops. In the hands of the governing class above described, these armies become a fit weapon for tyranny, plunder, and outrage. Through this power, and this alone, the descendants of the old buccaneers and pirates still control the governments of South America, and through the operations of the Monroe Doctrine become our protégés before the civilized world. It is the same old buccaneering, piratical crew, more corrupt, more cowardly, more treacherous, more degenerate than their predecessors, for their blood at least was purer; but none the less a prey to illusions, vagaries, and visions of El Dorado. Whenever a foreign company starts to do business among them, they rise up with an indescribable frenzy of enthusiasm. The long-expected shower of gold is now surely coming. It is this kind of half-criminal, half-crazy, irresponsible semi-bandits that we are accustomed to parade before the world as forming the governments of our "Sister Republics.'

The white man who cohabits with a Negro or an Indian woman is not of a high order. On the contrary, he is generally the vagabond, loafer, the semi-criminal. And again, no decent white woman would cohabit with a Negro man or an Indian. The offspring of such people are not the kind of people who could establish and maintain a civilization. Yet the Negro race is better than the mongrel mixtures.

When we find such a people imbued with the ambition to acquire wealth and social preferment through political activities, where hordes and swarms of ignorant "generals" live in an atmosphere of imagination, dreaming themselves to be second Napoleons or Cæsars, such a people is in a dangerous condition. Labor is the only foundation of national greatness, and he who is engaged in some useful occupation is the truly good citizen. For the Negro or the mixed races to try to lift themselves up through politics is as futile as for a man to try to pull himself up by his bootstraps. It is a pity to spoil a good shoemaker in order to make a poor judge or governor. But these elementary truths are things which the people of South America neither know nor care to know.

It is claimed by many observers that the mixed races of Mexico and Peru are of a better type, less positively vicious and more amenable to civilization than are the corresponding classes of Colombia, Venezuela, etc. This would appear reasonable in view of the ancient civilization in these two countries at the time of the discovery of America, from which has so largely sprung the present mixed races. Certain it is that Mexico and Peru are far ahead of the other countries named in many respects, and this fact gives some ground to support the theory. The majority of the people of Venezuela and Colombia are not bad; indeed, it is their non-resistance, strange as the assertion may appear, which enables the minority of bandits to control the governments. The revolutions originate always among the generals and colonels, in the governing class, and not among the common people.

The better conditions existing in Mexico and Peru are doubtless to be attributed to the fact that they have had better governments in late years, though this is a fortuitous circumstance and not an evidence of permanent growth. During the rule of Guzman Blanco Venezuela exhibited symptoms of similar progress to such a degree that foreign countries were willing to invest millions of dollars there in railroad and other enterprises. This was a prosperity and progress impressed upon the country by one man, and the moment he stepped out of the arena the old chaos and anarchy returned. A country which depends upon any one man for its good government and business prosperity is in sore straits, and unworthy of the confidence of investors.

The history of the past century in the Western Hemisphere has demonstrated conclusively to thinking men the proposition that a

true republic is the highest and best form of government. But it has also shown that such a republic is possible only where the majority of the citizens are intelligent, honest, vigilant, patriotic, brave, and just. Under any other conditions the word "republic" stands for license, revolution, anarchy, and dictatorships. The belief that a republic is the best form of government for all countries, and that all people are capable of self-government, has been entirely abandoned by men whose opinions are of any weight. In this there is no question involved as to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race or the subordination of the Latin. The dominating element in these countries is not Latin; it is a half-breed mixture, which is hostile alike to the pure Latin races and the Anglo-Saxons. The work of regenerating South America must be far removed from race prejudice or animosities. We should look at it as impassively as we would the hewing down of a mountain or the filling up of a swamp. The only question involved is the imperative necessity for opening up these countries to civilization. All other considerations are beside the issue.

In countries where there are no reliable statistics it is difficult to make even approximate classifications. It would be exceedingly interesting to know just what part of the mixed races is intelligent and what part illiterate, what proportion criminal or semi-criminal, and what part law-abiding and at the least negatively virtuous. The value of a guess depends upon the keenness of the observation and the extent of the experience and general soundness of judgment of the observer. At best such a judgment is unsatisfactory material upon which to build a composite study in ethnology. But a conjecture as to the proportions existing among the various classes which compose this grand subdivision of the population of South America might be hazarded as follows:

1. Those who have more than fifty per cent of Spanish blood.
2. Those who have less than that amount.

On this division it would be approximately correct to say that thirty per cent of the mixed races belong to the first, and seventy per cent to the second. Out of one hundred mixed population there are, based on number:

Thirty per cent more Spanish than Indian and Negro.
Seventy per cent more Indian and Negro than Spanish.

As to the nature and character of this population, a further classification must be made into the military and the non-military class. It may be inferred that in the part containing more Spanish than Indian blood there would be fully fifty per cent who are, have been, or aspire to be, the military men, generals, colonels, comandantes, etc., while in the peon class — that is, those who have more Indian or Negro blood than Spanish — there is probably not more than one

man in five who is really of the military type; that is, twenty per cent are of the criminal, or semi-criminal, disorderly, adventurous class. This division then would stand thus:

Doctors, etc., fifteen per cent. Generals, etc., fifteen per cent.
Non-military, fifty per cent peons. Military, twenty per cent peons.

From this table it will be seen that the majority of the mixed races are harmless, peaceable men, and that the dangerous element is comparatively small — thirty-five in a hundred. This number is amply sufficient, however, to tyrannize over the rest.

As regards a further subdivision, based on illiteracy, it would perhaps not be far from the truth to say that where the Spanish blood predominates eighty per cent can read and write, while among the peons not over three per cent, or perhaps less, can read or write. From this it will be evident that most of the generals and colonels have some literary ability, while the army is hopelessly ignorant.

These estimates would be very close to the actual figures in Colombia and Venezuela could a correct census be taken; and they doubtless represent the facts in Santo Domingo, Central America, Ecuador, and most of the other Latin-American countries. The class to which the facetious but not inapt designation of the "doctor class" is given is, of course, not wholly composed of "doctors," but embraces all those who have more than fifty per cent of Spanish blood who are peaceable. Among these are the clerks, bookkeepers, students; the habitués of cafés, the plazas, etc.; men who will not work, who disdain agriculture, mechanics, or labor; many of whom can write poetry, edit newspapers, and, if they are of no special importance to the world, are at least not vicious. Under a good government this class would be useful citizens along with the great majority of the peon laborers.

The overwhelming majority of the people of South America are peons. Under present political conditions they must remain peons forever. Many of them are good men. They have brains and energy; they would come to the front in a country where good government was established. Fine characters that might do service for the benefit of the world are here buried in hopeless poverty and live in a bondage fastened upon them by petty tyranny. If a man earn a dollar and it is taken away from him by a bandit government; if he is taxed so heavily that he must be rich to obtain even the necessities of life; if he has no access to libraries, and can buy no books because of their high price; if neither his life nor his property is respected; if his government holds his personal rights and dignity in contempt; if he is liable to be lassoed like a Texas steer without a moment's notice and forced into the army, without an opportunity even to notify his family; if in his country crime is forever in the saddle, and decency forever at the stake, — what hope is there for such a man? Once a

peon, he is a peon forever. It is a terrible thing to kill hope and to fasten on the heart the dull load of helplessness.

A description of Latin-American social conditions in the language of distinguished Latin-American authors is desirable, and therefore the comments made by Carlos Benedetti, in his "History of Colombia," on the division of Nueva Granada, and the causes leading to the same, are here quoted:

"Having separated, and realizing the division under such unhappy auspices, the new life of these sections of Colombia could not be other than one of civil strife. All the leaders, military as well as civil, had in their sight the example of how to arrive at power and to satisfy ambition. The revolution would obtain as a premium the presidency of the Republic. To this should be added that in the times of the colonies there existed in society a class which was submerged in ignorance and misery, but which was not sacrificed; now it remains in the same misery and ignorance, but there has come for it the epoch of the Caciques, in which they die by thousands all the years in the continuous civil wars or wars of conquest. There existed also another class, elevated by its culture, wealth, and intelligence, which had no political rights, but which lived tranquil and happy. To-day this cultured class lives, one part disputing over public positions, another part in misery or obliged to emigrate; and the rest without guarantees and with small property. During the colonial regimen this class had its subsistence secure. It was the owner of grand haciendas, had rich mines, and bodies of slaves worked for it; in the cities it possessed beautiful edifices which were cared for by a service of slaves, and its fortunes were constantly augmented. To-day almost all this class has disappeared. From the education which they give the youth, the larger portion of the young men leave school at eighteen to twenty-four years of age, with much general knowledge, but without the disposition or qualification to gain a livelihood with the sweat of their brows, and much less to sustain a family. Their only aspiration is a government position, and not encountering it, the end is revolution. In Colombia there is no work for the intelligent class except politics. Here among ourselves the title of general, rather than one of honor, pertains to revolts and revolutions. If the great majority of this class had the aptitudes and dispositions to sustain its rank without necessity of entering political positions, we would not have so many civil wars in Colombia. It is believed that these revolutions come from the ignorance of the populace, but never have the ignorant people been promoters of the revolutions. The intelligent class is the one which has always conducted them to the field of battle. The peons lend themselves to become an instrument of revolutions because of these leaders, and also because the weakness of our governments so permits. Comparing the past with the present, or, that is to say, the colonial regimen with the Republican, it would appear at first view that the former is preferable because of the welfare of a few, and the tranquillity of all; but that welfare was unjust, and the bad of the present will pass away."

Mr. Benedetti further expresses the view that immigration will be the only hope for infusing new life and methods into these countries. In this we must concur, but immigration is impossible while the present bandit "governments" remain in control.

CHAPTER XXXIV

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

GOOD and bad qualities are, of course, not peculiar to any race of people. There are certain characteristics, however, which broadly and generally distinguish the Latin Americans, and particularly the inhabitants of Central America and South America, from those of all other nations and races.

The effusive friendliness of the Latin-American people to one another, and even to strangers, has often been noted and commented upon by travellers and observers. The most unlettered peon evinces, as a rule, more politeness than will be found even among the better class of people in the United States. There is an exuberance of expression, an excessiveness of attention, which is in marked contrast to the boorishness of the average American and Englishman. If these people were serious-minded and solid in their characters, and if they really felt the sentiments of kindliness which they profess, it would be splendid. Unfortunately, along with this exhibition of hospitality there are other traits which must be taken into account.

A Latin American may profess undying affection for a person, but he may be at the same time planning literally to cut his throat on the first opportunity. There is no sincerity in his professions. Bad faith is universal. No man intends to act as he agrees, or at least the majority of men do not. A foreigner, especially a foreigner with money, is his legitimate prey, and whatever methods suggest themselves to his fertile mind for entrapping him, these will unhesitatingly be adopted.

One marked national characteristic of the Latin Americans is their marvellous development of the sense of perception and extraordinary keenness of mind. They have not a deep mind, or a profound mind, but what they have is as sharp as a razor and as keen as the point of a sword. A man must either be strong or exceedingly nimble of wit to protect himself against the foes confronting him in Latin America. This keenness of intellect is partly inherited from their Indian and Spanish ancestors, and partly acquired through the past century of guerilla warfare. American diplomats in comparison with the keen-witted representatives of Latin-American governments are only as jackasses to foxes.

There are a few liars in the United States, but if these descendants of Ananias should come into direct competition with their Latin-American brethren, they would probably abandon the practice of an art in which they can never hope to become more than amateurs. With such superb qualifications possessed by the Latin American, his contempt for labor, his extremely expensive tastes, his great love of display, his desire "to get rich quick," it can readily be seen that blackmail and extortion become a fine art, even a profession of no mean importance. By every device which cunning can conceive, by every scheme of ingenuity, running the gamut from diplomacy to plain brigandage, the military dictators and their clique of office-holding cormorants practise the gentle art of extortion upon all persons who have means. In these times they have become so skilful that foreign governments stand impotent to resist the attacks made upon their citizens. So long as this widespread characteristic is held unchecked, there can be no industrial development in Central or South America.

The visionary character of the ancestors of the present generation of Latin Americans is well known by all students of history. Impracticability is written over the whole continent of South America, or wherever the Latin-American race is found. Among them, a man who never saw a locomotive would not hesitate to devote a few moments' attention to the subject of locomotive building and then offer his services to Baldwin as an expert. Crass ignorance and incompetency, with unblushing audacity, offer themselves expert advisers or masters of the most intricate and complicate subjects, apparently oblivious of their own inability.

Along with an extraordinary sensitiveness and pretentiousness, the military classes of Latin America exhibit an aggressiveness, an anxiety for personal encounter, which is anything but reassuring. On the slightest provocation they are ready to shoot or stab a person for whom, a moment before, they had been professing the most exaggerated friendship.

It is at once amusing and pathetic to witness the display of vanity made by these people. The half-breeds in particular are not only subject to extraordinary illusions and strange vagaries, but they seem to think that by pretending to have wealth which they have not, or learning which they do not possess, they can make a great impression. Thus a half-breed family which perhaps has not a decent meal in the house will pretend that it is related to General So and So and President So and So, and that it is on the most intimate terms with some great foreign family or some alleged nobility. With a fifty-cent piece only in his pocket one of them would most likely spend it in paying carriage fare for a procession on the drives on Sunday afternoon, when the *élite* is supposed to be airing itself. This passion for assuming rank which by no possibility he could attain, leads to the most amusing incidents.

A distinguished diplomat related to me his experience with a Latin American of this type whom he met in Europe, and whom he had casually known in South America. How the man had ever got to Europe is unknown. He was dressed in the shabby-genteel style, wearing a silk hat, of course, which looked as though it had seen many years of hard service. He began by telling the diplomat what wonderful things he was accomplishing; that he had sold many mines for vast sums of money; and that he had just negotiated a foreign loan for his government of fifty millions of dollars. After a long conversation of this sort he requested a loan of fifty dollars. This is typical of tens of thousands of similar cases. It is a pretentiousness which is a national characteristic and an international nuisance.

I. Shallowness and Frivolity

It has been said that if a Venezuelan be placed with a machine, one of two things must happen, — either the Venezuelan will ruin the machine, or the machine will kill the Venezuelan. There is a great deal of truth in the saying. Any person who trusts machinery to these people will soon learn to his cost that they have not the habits which go to make good mechanics. Instruction may teach them some of the more rudimentary facts about machinery, but no amount of teaching can inculcate the habitual carefulness and foresight which is necessary in a good engineer or machinist.

It will be found that practically all Latin Americans exhibit the following peculiarities to a degree greater than that possessed by any other people with which I am familiar: (*a*) a lack of thoroughness, exactness, definiteness of aim; (*b*) inability to apply themselves persistently and continually to the mastery of a subject; (*c*) carelessness and lack of foresight; (*d*) contempt for the drudgery of ordinary work and a disposition to shirk it; (*e*) a desire to make a great display, to pretend to be what in fact they are not; (*f*) satisfaction with the outward appearance of knowledge, with no real desire to get at the heart of any proposition; (*g*) lack of initiative, invention, creative energy; (*h*) possession of a multitude of impracticable theories and ideas which are a nuisance, but of which it is impossible to rid them; (*i*) complete absence of a sense of responsibility; (*j*) ignorance of the most elementary methods of doing things; (*k*) a disposition to talk, rather than to act; (*l*) a disposition to do work in the showiest manner possible, but to produce what is really shoddy and worthless; (*m*) a disposition to make money by intrigue rather than in legitimate business; (*n*) a very scant respect for the property or personal rights of others, particularly foreigners; (*o*) absolute indolence and lack of genuine ambition, and opposition to progress.

All of these will be recognized as characteristics of large sections of our own country; and indeed they cannot be set down as the ex-

clusive peculiarities of any people, or as all of them applying to any one section of any people. Yet in their entirety they come nearer applying to the Latin Americans than to any European race.

As regards lack of thoroughness, it is true of the Latin Americans to an extent beyond that in which it is true of any other people in the world. Their education, their work, and everything which they do is of the most superficial and amateurish description. There is nothing substantial in Latin America; in this their governments are a prototype of everything else. A college in Latin America would in no sense compare even favorably with one of our grammar schools, while their universities would not be in the same class with our high schools. The pretended range of studies in their so-called universities might lead one to suppose that some real work was being done; but it would be an error. After the most superficial course of study in one of these institutions the degree of doctor is given; and the number of doctors to be met in a Latin-American country is only exceeded by the number of generals. Fortunately no West Point course is necessary to get the latter title.

There are doctors of laws, doctors of science, doctors of arts, doctors of literature, doctors of engineering, doctors of political economy, and occasionally doctors of medicine.

It has been said that if a Venezuelan or Colombian wears shoes it is safe to call him a doctor or a general. This, of course, is exaggeration, yet the fact remains that the degree of doctor is absurdly common and bestowed for rediculously inadequate acquirements. In the department of law men carry the title "doctor" who could not tell the difference between *habeas corpus* and *caveat emptor*. Some of the most bumptious ignoramuses possess diplomas as doctors of engineering; they are men who do not know how to read the vernier of a transit, let alone solve a trigonometrical function. In the department of medicine, if the fate of their victims may be taken as a criterion from which to judge, the ignorance of doctors must be no less dense.

It follows from the foregoing that there are no masters in any department of human knowledge among the South Americans. Among all the millions of these people there is probably not a single man who has a comprehensive grasp of any one subject, or who has made original and valuable contributions to the store of human knowledge. The same remarks apply to inventions, and particularly mechanical inventions. Not only is there a complete absence of important inventions, but the people appear to lack the very capacity for inventing. Invention implies prolonged, sustained, and original thought; it involves creative energy and initiative; it means work, hard and often unremunerative work, with many failures and comparatively few successes. With these people such a thing is not to be thought of. If a machine could be invented by a man being richly caparisoned in gold braid and shining buttons riding a dashing steed, with an aid-de-

camp or two and a bugle, then a Latin American might invent a machine which would set the world on fire; he would be the greatest inventor in the world. But the patience, persistence, and continuity of effort necessary for scientific results of value are impossible to the Latin American.

The habits of carelessness and inexactness are characteristic of the entire race wherever found, — on the banks of the Rio Grande, alongside the heights of Chapultepec, in the mountain fastnesses of Venezuela or Colombia, in the great pampas of Brazil, in the forests of the Amazon, to the land of Tierra del Fuego. The serious part of the matter is that this national characteristic enters into every function of life. A tailor will make trousers either too long or too short; a carpenter will construct a box designed to fit a given space not only too small or too big, but his work will be poorly done. Impracticability is written all over South America in a thousand places, and the very elements necessary for the building of an enduring and substantial structure are lacking; these must be transplanted from foreign lands.

The peons form the basis for a good working organization of brute-ignorant labor. They are imitative, and with the necessary patience could be taught. A peon, however, is a free and independent man. If he has two dollars in his pocket, he is rich until that is spent, and of course no "rich man" would work, especially if *aguardiente* were to be had. But the so-called better classes, as regards the requirements of modern enterprise, are worthless, or worse. They are too good either to work or starve; their incomes do not enable them to live like gentlemen without outside aid, and hence it is a question of wit, of scheming and intrigue. They will meet a foreign business man with a politeness exquisite in its details, but no homeless, predatory cat ever had so sharp a claw, or one so long and cruel, concealed behind her paw of velvet, as these clever gentlemen. In the language of a rather profane but observing Englishman, "They are too d——d polite to be honest!"

II. National Ingratitude

The United States has befriended the Latin-American countries in ten thousand ways; it has defended them against civilized powers for eighty years; it has submitted to outrages committed on its flag and on the persons and property of its citizens, outwardly without protest; it has declared in the presence of the world, untruthfully, but nevertheless declared it, that these countries are civilized republics, and their courts worthy the same consideration as are the courts of England or our own; it has called them "Sister Republics," and stood with its army and navy ready to defend them, at the grave risk, on more than one occasion, of having a war on its hands with the whole civilized world. In view of all this, it might reasonably be

inferred that Americans are popular in South America; but it is not so. Americans are robbed more than are either Germans or Englishmen; more outrages are committed against Americans than against any other class of foreigners.

If ingratitude is the index of a criminal, then these fighting, quarrelling, intriguing, murdering communities should be classed as criminals.

During the Spanish-American war, Mexico, Central America, Santo Domingo, and the whole continent of South America were ablaze with hatred against the United States and everything American. Not one newspaper south of the Rio Grande river, printed in the Spanish language, upheld the United States in that war. The writer was in Mexico at the time, and knew personally of more than half a dozen Americans killed there, in cold blood, simply because they were Americans. In every case their murderers received either the very lightest sentence or none at all. He joined with other Americans in making the most vigorous protest at the inadequacy of some of those sentences, which fell under his direct personal observation, and in sending the protests to the American minister and to the State Department; but it was of no use. At that time the State Department had its hands full and could do nothing. American travellers reported that a similar condition prevailed all over Spanish America, and the truth of those reports has since been amply verified. It may be said that the Latin-American governments were not to blame, and this would be true if the attitude of the government were correct; but when a man who murders an American is not only not punished, but becomes a hero, while an American who shoots one of his assailants in self-defence is locked up in jail till doomsday, in a country where the administration of justice is entirely in the hands of the Dictator, it must be clear that the government cannot escape its responsibility.

Why is it that there are so few Americans in all these countries? There are more Americans buried in the graveyard in Maracaibo than there are Americans living in all Venezuela. Why?

In the Panama affair the action of the United States in recognizing the new Republic (God save the mark!) and in making the treaty with it was universally denounced from one end of South America to the other as "*el gran crimen*," — the great crime. A quorum of alleged international lawyers, from La Guayra to Buenos Ayres and then across to Valparaiso, harped on the "great outrage," the "shamelessness and perfidy," the "infamy," of our act, in a manner that must have pleased the New York "Evening Post" and the Memphis "Commercial Appeal." The United States has not a friend in South America among any one of these dictatorships. Byron, in his "Childe Harold," speaks of Spain, in her alliance with England, as "kissing the hand she loathed." These South American dictatorships do not even do that. While their official communications to the government of the

United States may be couched in terms of perfervid affection, their actions toward individual Americans who are trying to do business in their countries are more unfriendly, more outrageous, than they are to the Germans. They seem to know that the government of the United States will not protect its citizens, and therefore they may do just what they please.

Why is it that the people of Central and South America exhibit characteristics so entirely different from those of the United States? Why is it that a Latin American, even though an educated man, cannot reason in a straight line? Why is it they are always chasing chimeras, moonbeams, the ends of the rainbow, castles in Spain, or concessions in Venezuela? Why is it that instead of thinking of business or some legitimate industry, their heads are forever occupied with intrigues, scheming, and knavery? Is there something in the climate of Latin America which would convert a philosopher into a poet, or a hard-headed lawyer into a frenzied lunatic?

No; it is not the climate; it is the race. The United States has the same climate now that it had when the Indians instituted the massacre in the Mohawk valley. Sitting Bull breathed the same air as Abraham Lincoln, and schoolhouses are now dotted over the land formerly occupied by the demons who ambushed Custer. The climate has little or nothing to do with it. The climate of the greater portion of South America is healthful and magnificent, and the soil rich beyond comparison. But this worse than half-breed — the Spanish-Indian-Negro mixture — is bad. Civilization will never be planted there except by superior force exercised by a superior race. The longer it takes our people to learn this simple elementary truth, the longer will Central and South America remain barbarous.

III. Views of Other Observers.

In support of the views expressed in this chapter and for the purpose of comparison, I quote the opinions and observations of other writers.

W. E. Curtis in "The Capitals of Spanish America" says:

"The vanity of the Chilian passes all comprehension. The officers of the army and navy actually offered their services, through the British minister, to England, when there was a rumor of war with Russia; and with the slightest encouragement they would be willing to take the domestic as well as the international complications off the hands of the British cabinet. One day the English paper at Valparaiso published a satire, announcing that the Lords of the Admiralty had selected three leading Chilian naval officers to command the Bosporus, the Baltic, and the North Atlantic fleets. The officers as well as the people would not accept the bogus cablegram as a joke until the next issue of the paper, in which it was explained; and the former were actually polishing up their swords and uniforms to take their new commands.

"The Chilian is not only vain but cruel — as cruel as death. He carries a long curved knife, called a *curvo*, as the Italian carries a stiletto, and the Negro a razor, and uses it to cut throats. He never fights with his fists, and knows not the use of the shillalah; he never carries a revolver, and is nothing of a thug; but as a robber or bandit, in a private quarrel or public mob, he always uses his deadly knife, and springs at the throat of his enemy like a bloodhound."

Concerning the Uruguayans Aker in his "History of South America," page 226, says:

"Uruguayan character is a curious mixture of narrow-minded conservatism, tempered occasionally with ambition which inadequate training does not allow to crystallize into deeds. Jealousy of the foreigner and foreign enterprise is a marked trait. In the northern districts are many families of Brazilian origin, and with them all evolution is slow. They consider that what was good enough for their forefathers will serve to-day, and often a wealthy landed proprietor is content to dwell in a hovel rather than spend a small sum to obtain the commonest comforts of life. These descendants of Brazilians cling tenaciously to their landed property, and are loath to contract loans on their estates even for permanent improvements. The lower-class Uruguayan is intensely ignorant, and a prey to every description of superstition, especially in regard to religion, although generally apathetic as to the real tenets of Christianity."

Of the Argentines Aker writes (ibid., page 126):

"Argentine national character bears the impress of Spanish traditions, and the conservative tendency apparent in the Spanish peninsula still militates against the rapid evolution of civilization in these newer countries. The provincial inhabitants cling to the customs of their forefathers with persistent disregard of the benefits of more advanced ideas. In the Argentine as in the Spaniard there is a dislike to close attention to detail in public and private life. Hospitality is a characteristic trait in all classes of Argentine society, alike in city and country, and rich and poor never fail to offer to the chance guest the best that their home contains. In the more isolated districts the people are simple and superstitious to an unusual degree. Quick to resent real or fancied injury, the Argentine is prone to be equally impulsive in forgetting any cause of dispute. No better example of these characteristics could be found than the facts in connection with the many outbreaks of civil war and revolutionary disturbances, and the comparatively small amount of bad blood these conflicts have left behind."

The characteristics of the Brazilians are thus described by Aker (ibid., pages 311-312):

"The dominant note of Brazilian character comes from the Latin stock which colonized this section of South America. Circumstances have modified ideas in many respects, but not to an extent to alter the fundamental principles underlying and governing action and line of thought. Into the solemn mystery surrounding the traditions of the Catholic Church have crept super-

stitious African legends, and intermingled with these are traces of Indian folk-lore. The product is an imagination ready to receive without reasoning passing impressions, and in this soil the doctrines of August Comte took ready root on minds lacking in mental balance, producing many evil fruits. Mental perspective is contracted, and lacks energy to strike boldly in new directions. . . . Added to the tropical conditions in which life is passed, there is an absence of mental training in youth and a social system extremely lax in regard to a moral standard of every-day conduct. Belief in spiritualism is wide-spread, and at times inspires these naturally timid people with a fanaticism that carries them blindly into peril. The average Brazilian is not lacking in intelligence, but his mind fails to stand the strain of mastering intricate detail. This want of thoroughness has caused Brazil many troubles in the past, and is a standing menace to the country in the future."

Of the Colombians Aker says (ibid., pages 610–611):

"In national character the white Colombians resemble their Spanish ancestors more closely than elsewhere, owing to the isolated position of their country during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Few foreigners visit Bogotá by reason of its inaccessibility, and this has caused the Spanish spoken by its residents to retain more purity of pronunciation than elsewhere in South America. In nearly all circumstances the people are courteous and hospitable to compatriots and strangers without distinction, — a survival of the custom of extending shelter to the traveller when facilities of transport were even more difficult than at present. In Bogotá and some of the older settlements at high elevations the principal families have kept the race pure, with seldom any strain of Indian blood; but on the low-lying lands near the Orinoco and in the valleys close to the seacoast the copper-colored skins and the general features of the natives show far more of Indian than white blood.

"The drink curse, prevalent here, accounts to some extent for the inertia of the national character, and it is curious that this love of strong drink is chiefly confined in South America to people living in high altitudes. In Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Chili, and Mexico the consumption of alcohol, as in Colombia, is abnormally great, whereas in Argentina, where the bulk of the population dwells in the plains, drunkenness is rare. No effort is made in Colombia to check this blight, whether by the government or by the clergy, and its evil effects are seen in the high infant mortality and the frequency of criminal violence in all parts of the country."

Of the Bolivian national characteristics the same writer says:

"In any attempt to analyze Bolivian national character it must be remembered that the whites have retained to a great extent the methods of thought and habits of life of their Spanish forefathers, and the fact that they have been brought in contact with little else has resulted in the maintenance of Spanish customs to even a more marked degree than in Argentina, Chili, or Peru. Bolivia's isolation has tended to restrict the mental perspective of the whites to narrow limits in both political and private affairs, and living for generations among Indians, who are treated as an inferior race not far removed from serfdom, has developed an arrogant bearing out of keeping with surrounding circumstances.

"It is with Indian rather than Spanish character that interest lies; but the descendants of the Incas were so crushed by their Spanish conquerors that pride or national spirit has small place in their lives. They are simple people enough, asking little more than to go their ways in peace, and so long as they are not under alcoholic influence they seldom interfere with any wayfarer, be he Bolivian or stranger; but unfortunately they have developed the curse of drink to an abnormal extent, and in their cups they are often dangerous.

"Nominally they are Christians, and recognize the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in all matters pertaining to religion, and their superstitious tendency makes them show outward reverence to church ritual; but their general ignorance on all subjects beyond their limited domestic life renders it unlikely that they hold any religious convictions. It is this same ignorance that strengthens the influence of the clergy, and causes the priesthood to be regarded with superstitious awe. While easily led, these Indians are difficult to drive, and in many cases where trouble has occurred among the workmen in mines, the cause has been traced to some stupidity interpreted by the Indians as an injustice in the method of superintendence rather than any deliberate tendency on their part towards criminal acts."

Aker gives the following with reference to the national characteristics of the Ecuadorians (ibid., page 587):

"In any consideration of the national character of the Ecuadorians the fact must always be remembered that there is only a small community of white residents, people of European origin who retain the characteristic features of their Spanish ancestry, modified by local conditions and the effect of many generations of life amongst Indian tribes treated as a lower race, whose lot is not far removed from the slavery of Inca rule. The preponderance of Indian blood has been so great that in mixed marriages the offspring has been absorbed into the Indian population, burying there the traits of character inherited from the alien race that conquered the land four hundred years ago, and amongst this Indian population the influence of the Roman Catholic Church is paramount. The majority of the people are ignorant and superstitious, and the outward forms of Christianity, as preached by the Catholic priesthood, appeal forcibly to their imaginations; but that they possess intelligent ideas of the principles of religion is doubtful, although they are fearful of the penalties they are taught to expect for direct disobedience to priestly injunctions. It is difficult to conceive of any other mental condition amongst a race whose traditions include the fate meted out to Atahualpa under the guise of Christianity, and who have never known modern civilization except such as was forced on them by Spanish conquerors."

The Peruvians are treated as follows (ibid., pages 531–532):

"The people of Peru comprise several distinct races, each with its clearly defined traits. The dominant element consists of the descendants of the Spanish conquerors; but, naturally in a community where the ruling element is small in numerical proportion to the subjugated population, a mixture of races occurred. In the course of the last four centuries Indian blood has filtered into the veins of the Spanish residents, and few exceptions to this rule are found at the present time; and among the Indian population forming the

great mass of the inhabitants, the evidence of a Spanish strain is also apparent in every district, although dwarfed by the preponderance of native blood. In place of Spanish blood raising Indian civilization to a higher level it has been thrown into the background by the superior weight of circumstances. Apart from the Spanish and the Indian sections are Negroes and Asiatics, — the former brought to the country from Africa, and the latter introduced as laborers after the emancipation of the slaves. A mongrel element has arisen in more recent years from a mixture of Negro blood with Spanish and Indian and Asiatic with Indian and Negro and that of Spanish descent. Little love is lost between the varied people who make up the present population, and racial quarrels are common. According to statistical returns in the census of 1876 no less than 75 per cent of the total population consisted of Indians; 23 per cent was classified under Cholo (mixed Indian and Spanish), and Zambo (mixed Negro and Spanish); the remaining 20 per cent was of Spanish descent, 18,000 Europeans, and 25,000 Asiatics, principally Chinese. With the exception of the Chinese, who have decreased during the last three decades, the proportion of nationalities is now only slightly different from the census of 1876."

CHAPTER XXXV

GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
To the last syllable of recorded time,
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

SHAKESPEARE.

A SOCIETY implies a homogeneous whole, in which organization, harmony, and co-operation are indispensable elements. In a community where one class with cynical or criminal indifference preys upon another, where there is constant uprising and the antagonism which this implies, the organization called society does not exist. There are certain conditions, however, which do exist in certain countries of Latin America, independent of any particular class of people, and which are well worthy of consideration. These conditions affect not alone the habits and social customs of the people, but the methods in which the people transact their business. Some of the more salient social conditions growing out of the characteristics of the people are therefore noted.

I. MAÑANA

Days, months, and years are all the same to the South American people; the precious moments which are flying past us on wings are wasted by them without thought. The simplest operations of life in South America require an expenditure of time which is appalling. In a thousand and one ways these countries, with their insufferable customs, take from us the one supreme thing of value, the one thing which nothing can replace, the one thing for the loss of which nothing can atone. Mañana, a word which is the sum of all villanies!

Mañana means that they will do to-morrow what they ought to do to-day, that they will then pay you what they owe you, listen to justice and reason, and let you go on your way without molestation. But

mañana never comes. The man who tries to do something now finds himself balked and prevented in a thousand ways. The believer in mañana has no more idea of the value of time than a hog has of a chronometer; he is a savage.

II. It is a Land of Talk

When an American for the first time touches at San Juan or Havana, he notices at once the unmeasured, uncontrolled jabbering of the natives who are working about the docks. A gang of thirty or forty of these peons will make more noise with their unceasing chatter than a flock of magpies or parrots. The farther South he goes, the incessant chatter increases in quantity and degree. When he reaches Curaçao, he encounters a veritable babel of tongues, a jabbering and chattering such as all the Simians of the African forests could never attempt to drown. What these people talk about is a mystery to an educated person; but it is certain that the everlasting stream of drivel does not leave them any time for serious thought or labor.

Neither is this inexhaustible plethora of talk, with its corresponding poverty of ideas, confined to the peon class. The so-called better classes will talk more deliberately, but even at greater length on a given subject, or what is supposed to be a subject, and the talk is just as impractical, absurd, and valueless. To transact business with such a people is a practical impossibility. Much of the talk is highly ornamental. Addressed to ladies with whom they are in love, it is poetical in the extreme; on politics, it will be grandiloquent. There was published recently an article in which the number of subjects discussed at a Latin-American meeting was cited as evidence of the high degree of civilization in those countries. If "discussing subjects" is a criterion of civilization Latin America would stand at the head of the world in volume, in height, and in depth of register. It produces more different opinions on more different subjects than can be found anywhere else on the earth outside of Bedlam. But what does it all amount to? Nothing! They can say *everything*, but they do *nothing!*

III. The Land of Do-nothing

Latin America is the land of eternal do-nothing — do-nothing which is decent, do-nothing in the sphere of labor and commerce, in the sense of civilization. When it comes to miserable vagabond intrigues, or working up schemes to loot a foreigner, it is entirely different. Industry is impossible in such a country. A person desirous of beginning business must first get the consent of the "government." To embark in any kind of business without a "concession" is to invite immediate ruin; to start in with a concession means that the ruin is no less certain, but it will be more prolonged and painful.

Any business with the government is, to begin with, a question not of days and weeks, but of months or years. When it comes to business, legitimate business, every government in Latin America is simply a machine for destroying all hope, all prospects, all ambition, all energy. Not only are they blackmailers and scoundrels, — nearly all of them, — but they have no respect for decency and no regard for the value of time.

Any enterprise which is established in Latin America must first pass through the government mill and be "squeezed." Not only is the squeezing process disagreeable, but the time occupied in the operation is an outrage. The government will begin by "sizing you up." Their spies follow you on some pretext for mulcting you. You commence by paying big lawyers' fees to have your case presented properly to the government. Ignorant of the country's methods you explain the benefit your enterprise will be, the respectability of your company and its excellent reputation as well as the fine reference you can give. "Si, Señor, me alegro mucho a saber lo, que interesante," will be the reply. You will think your argument has had some effect, — and it has. Before he had heard what you had to say the dignified official of our "Sister Republic" was debating in his mind whether he should mulct you for $10,000 or $15,000; but now that he realizes the importance of your business, he is convinced that you can stand a "graft" of at least $25,000. The more responsible you are, the more labor you employ, the more benefit your enterprise would be to the country, the heavier the blackmail to be laid on you.

In the mean time difficulties do but multiply and increase; individuals, following the lead of the government, beset you from all sides. Unless you are a person of great strength and resources, of imperturbable temper and iron constitution, you will be undone; but if you survive the first onslaught, wasting six months or a year in preliminary negotiations with the government to become *persona grata*, by paying them what they demanded and finally agreed to accept, your commercial career is only prolonged. Your final destruction at their hands is inevitable — nothing can save you. Your only safety is in never setting your foot on South American soil. Let him who enters there leave hope behind.

But there is an exception to this. If you will live among them and become one of them; if, then, you will aid them in luring other investors or business men into their net; and if from the products of such ill-gotten gains you are content with the crumbs, then perhaps you may survive.

But no straightforward, honest business in the northern part of South America is possible, except at the expense of frightful personal sacrifice and great loss. Every institution of the country, every disposition of the government, everything — climate, laws, customs and habits, ignorance, intrigues, the lack of labor, the shameful and

inexcusable waste of time, the infamous mañana — all is so controlled as to throttle and destroy legitimate enterprise by imposing upon it insuperable obstacles.

The man who tries to make an honest living in Venezuela or Colombia, by labor or in business, is regarded as a fool, — the legitimate prey of all the hosts of spoliation.

Progress and civilization, of course, in such a country are not to be dreamed of. The struggle is first to save your property; it then becomes a struggle to save your life.

Hoy, to-day, for intrigues, for scoundrelism, for everything which would destroy progress and tear down the fabric of civilization; hoy, to-day, for murders, outrages, licentiousness, brutality; hoy, to-day, for reeking antipathy against foreigners, for destroying anything which savors of progress; but mañana for enterprise, mañana for decent laws and government, mañana for a decent respect for the rights of civilized powers, mañana, mañana, mañana!

And mañana never comes. Prometheus stands as the eternal prototype of enterprise and civilization in Latin America. Will the vulture never finish eating out the vitals, will it never have completely done with the cadaver?

IV. Poverty and Hopelessness

Every town and village of South America is overrun with the most helpless and pitiable specimens of beggars. I am satisfied there are more beggars in Caracas or Bogotá than there are in the whole United States. Swarms and troops of poor old women and men, hundreds of children who are living skeletons, throng the sidewalks. The old women appear to be nothing more than skin and bones, bent, crippled, decrepid, with wrinkled faces and palsied hands, portraying disease and poverty. Hundreds, thousands, of them are crippled.

The better-to-do class seem to have little or no regard for these helpless outcasts of the earth. It would seem that the stoutest heart would melt in compassion at these poor people, starving, eaten up by disease, ragged and filthy beyond all power of description. In every town and village of South America the sight is the same. Poor, wan little children, half starved, half idiot, fill the streets. Many cases are too hopeless for tears. Despair seems to have eaten out the centres of their hearts and left their eyes dry.

A sick dog or cat would attract more attention in the remotest part of the United States than would the death agonies of a human being in the principal street of a South American town.

And so these helpless creatures, thousands and thousands and thousands of them, made in the image of God, are, alas! the gagged and helpless victims of a system of misgovernment alongside of which

slavery was a Garden of Eden. Their ranks are always crowded, the relentless, merciless heel of fate upon their necks. Oh the sorrow and misery of it all! Poor old, ragged, starving women, filling reeking squalid rooms, through days of darkness and nights of infinite blackness. If Mother Nature would but stop a minute to listen to the moans, the sobs, of her unfortunate children!

These people, beggared, hopeless, with glazed hearts and deadened sensibilities, are the logical, the inevitable result of the governmental systems of these countries. How many are there of these helpless creatures who have fallen by the wayside? If the newspapers of the United States were to publish photographs of these helpless ones, and if a census could be taken of them, so that our people should actually know the facts, our charitable people would subscribe millions for their relief, and Uncle Sam's brave boys would see that the money was not stolen by the bandit governments either. Caracas would be a good place to commence operations, provided always that Uncle Sam was back of the undertaking.

V. Sports

It is doubtful if there is a proper or adequate appreciation among our own people as to the effect which manly outdoor sport has on our national life. One has but to pick up a morning paper and note carefully the space given to games of various kinds, to regattas and horse-races, in order to realize that the line of outdoor athletics is a vital element in the characteristics of our people. Not only as regards the more important games, which are national in their exercise, such as base ball, football, and golf, but in respect to many sports of a more inconspicuous character, may it truly be said that the American mixes play with his work.

This question of outdoor games and sports goes deeper than the mere entertainment of the people. Laughter, happiness, the joy of living, are all correlatives of health and growth. When the ball flies high in air, not only does it afford wholesome exercise for the muscles of the players, and strengthen them physically as well as morally by the good-natured rivalry which it engenders, but there is a corresponding reaction on the spectators. The applause, the enthusiasm, which it calls forth, tend to bring all to the same rank of sturdy, hearty Americanism. The frigidity and stiffness with which pseudo-aristocrats ape dignity; the cold indifference with which the parvenu tries to impress one with his alleged superiority; the petty fussiness with which that larger class of semi-cranks, semi-dyspeptics, seek to frown down the buoyancy and exuberance of youth, are all swept away, as with a gust of wind, by the genuine American admiration and honest enthusiasm which greets a splendid play or a victory hard won.

The action and reaction, the clashing in friendly rivalry, the

manœuvring, the skill, daring, strength, and resourcefulness cultivated by these games, may well afford food for reflection and study to the social philosopher. No doubt that through them people learn to endure trivial ills and discomforts with good-natured tolerance, while the horizon of life is broadened and the spirit of exuberance becomes contagious. Over and beyond the temporary pleasure and diversion which these sports afford, they are within themselves a moral education, throwing men into social contact on a basis of equality, where the motto is, "Let the best man win."

No weak, effeminate, or decaying nation has ever been the patron of these vigorous outdoor sports. The Olympic games were of Rome, — Rome, when her three hundred victories had made her mistress of the world.

But in these Latin-American countries there is scarcely the vestige, in even the most rudimentary form, of our great national games. There are no ball parks, no golf links, no race tracks, nothing which would make a shadow of the vigorous rivalry found in our college football teams. The brutal, brutalizing bull-fight is the universal "sport," from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, and practically the only outdoor entertainment that there is, aside from the cock-fights.

VI. Gambling

Gambling in all its forms is practised under concessions from the government in practically all South American countries. Lotteries are to be found everywhere, and the venders of lottery tickets are a perennial nuisance, invading every home and shop and street corner, offering tickets for the next drawing. One no sooner crosses the border into Mexico than he realizes that he is in a land where gambling is a national institution. Supposing that the first stop-over is in Monterey, one will find not alone the famous Spanish bull-fight on Sunday afternoon, but he will find a picturesque assortment and variety of gamblers and gambling devices, especially during times of *fiestas*, which one would have to go far to find in any other than a Spanish-American country. In the City of Mexico, in Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosi, Pueblo, Guadalajara, — in short, everywhere, — lotteries are running in full blast, with regular drawings, all under protection of the government. Likewise the great gambling-houses in the City of Mexico, many of them luxuriously fitted up, quite a number patronized regularly by women, are veritable gold mines for the syndicate which operates them under authority of the government. That "hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue" is well illustrated in the names borne by these gambling concerns, such as "*El gran sorteo en beneficencia del publico*," — "The great drawing for the benefit of the public," etc. A large sum, derived from these sources, goes into the public treasury of Mexico; but in Central

America, Santo Domingo, Colombia, or Venezuela, the percentage which goes into the public treasury grows much less. In those countries the larger portion of the swag goes into the pockets of the officials of the government, the boss Dictator always getting the lion's share.

Nearly everybody purchases these lottery tickets, — peons, washerwomen, servant girls, bankers, merchants, doctors, and high-toned ladies. The dream of fabulous wealth, that *ignis fatuus* of the South American; the following of illusions as children do soap bubbles, and thinking them real; the century search for *El Dorado*, manifests itself in the gambling spirit with an intensity nowhere else to be found. Every one wants to be enormously rich, if only for a day, but no one thinks of trying to make wealth by honest labor or business enterprise. Every one cannot be a dictator, and thereby become a millionaire in a year, but most any one can gamble, and in this way live in the atmosphere of excitement and anticipation.

How to get rich without work, how to make a fortune in the twinkling of an eye, — that is the problem. If one has soldiers sufficient, the most certain way is to seize the reins of government; otherwise one must resort to intrigue and gambling.

The magnitude of the gambling evil in South America is appalling. It pervades all classes. It is universal. A professional gambler moves in as good society as any other man, and no disgrace attaches to his calling. The government is a partner in the business, and the chief officials of the government personally derive vast profits from it.

It is unnecessary for me here to attempt to characterize the gambling evil. Next to the liquor traffic, it may be considered as the greatest curse of society in the world; but in South America I would place it first, and the liquor traffic second, in the category of evils. It causes utter demoralization in the character of men. He who may get a hundred dollars on the turn of a card will not work hard and faithfully for a month in order to get the same amount. A man who wants money, no matter how obtained, is a dangerous man in the community. A man who can live happily on the fruits of an income derived from gambling, boodling, or from any other immoral or illegitimate source, has arrived at the stage of moral degeneration where, if he obeys the laws, it is for the purpose of keeping out of jail, rather than from any sincere, conscientious notion of duty. When the gambling spirit pervades a whole nation, it means the exclusion of all solid enterprises. In such a soil, if a legitimate business be undertaken, it will be with a feverish, unwholesome spirit, which avoids enduring the hardships which always stand in the way of lasting and solid success, but aims to secure immediate benefit, no matter what the ultimate damage may be.

There is but one solid foundation for national prosperity and greatness, — labor, — honest, faithful, conscientious labor, — labor

for the love of itself. The love of labor may be regarded as one exponent of national character, the spirit of gambling as another; the first leads to wealth and greatness, the latter to shame and ruin.

VII. Menace of Filth

The native Latin American is lazy and filthy; that is all there is about it. When he congregates in cities, he becomes a menace to the health of the world. His sewage flows in the streets, his water-closets are terrible. He may have a parlor filled with pretentious pictures and gilded furniture, the front hall of his house may be luxurious and beautiful, but his kitchen, depend upon it, is a veritable stench hole of dirt and nastiness.

If the Latin-American countries were to send an army to invade our shores and kill our people, we would take very effectual steps not only to repel it, but to prevent the recurrence of any such thing; but their filth diseases are ready to sweep over us at any moment, and we stand impotent to resist or remedy them, — the quarantine our only very lame and feeble defence.

I know, when speaking of filth, an American should be modest. We need always to bear in mind that we are not blameless in this regard. Chicago, with its disgusting alleys strewn with rotten garbage, its impassable streets of decayed wooden blocks covered with slush, mud, and manure, bids us pause before criticising too severely the unclean habits of our Southern neighbors. New Orleans joins hands with Chicago, with its infinitely foul-smelling sewage running through its miserable cobblestone pavements, its shameless municipal backwardness being a fitting monument to the unparalleled political corruption of a city where gambling is a virtue and crime little more than a vice.

But these derelictions on the part of our own people afford no excuse for the universal filth of Latin America. It is time that the cities of those countries, and Chicago and New Orleans, should be cleaned up.

Europe should take hold of Asia with an iron hand to enforce cleanliness and sanitary laws. It ought to be written in the Book of Civilization that the day of plague and pestilence is past. Yellow fever is more than a disease, it is a crime. We should punish a nation which sends us a pestilence the same as we would one which sent us a hostile army. Obliterate filth, enforce sanitary regulations, and those great filth diseases would practically disappear. The work of the lamented Waring in Havana illustrates this, although Havana is yet far from being in a sanitary condition.

The hotels of Mexico are bad; what must we say of the Mexican steamers? It is useless to attempt to describe them. They beggar description. The most unhappy period of my life was spent aboard

one of these ships plying between Vera Cruz and Tampico. The ship lay behind a reef nearly two weeks waiting for a norther to subside, and I yet recall with feelings of horror the awful stenches, the horrible dirty servants, the cooks suffering from unspeakable diseases. It was so terrible that I remained on deck through the rain and storm, by night and day, and ate practically nothing during the entire period. They called this ship the José Romano, but there were several others in the line, and all practically as bad as it.

Latin America is not only the land of to-morrow, the land of talk, the land of intrigue, the land of pretension, the land of do-nothing, but it is also supremely the *land of filth.*

VIII. Carrying Concealed Weapons

One of the pleasantries of doing business in Central and South America is the fact that a man is continually thrown in contact with men who "have killed their man." Señor Fulano y Tal usually does not boast much about his record and the number of notches which he has on his pistol handle, but he and everybody else carries pistols and knives, and you soon learn that he had shot one man, a few years ago, who was unarmed, and that he stabbed another man to death about some trivial matter; and now he is treated with great politeness, and himself does a sufficient amount of bowing and scraping.

It grates on one's nerves to be presented to Señor Don So and So with a big pistol in his pocket, and Colonel Fulano, also carrying a big gun, and Don Tal y Tal with a dirk knife on him as big as a butcher knife. With a man in front of you, armed to the teeth, whose record of victims is by no means reassuring, who at this moment is all smiles and palaver and soft-soap, but who within three minutes, especially if you happen to press the wrong button, may snort and slather like a captured wild-cat, — to do business with such people is more pleasantly entrusted to a substitute.

One serious objection to a Latin American is this: he never fights "fair." A real good clean fist-fight, — no striking below the belt, — wrestle, scuffle, pummel each other over the heads, black the eyes, or smash the jaws — is not an altogether unmanly exercise in certain contingencies; it is a good square reply to many current epithets, and oftentimes inculcates a wholesome respect for the man who is master of the art of self-defence; but these sneaking assassins with their daggers and pistols, these wretches who cut your throat when you are asleep, or blow your brains out when you are unarmed and perhaps off your guard, — it is this class of people that a business man must encounter at a thousand points and places in Central or South America. Murderers are not punished; they are turned loose upon the community to wreak vengeance on new victims. They will attempt by a thousand methods to rob you, to blackmail you by process of law or

otherwise; while in front of you is always the sinister aspect of a man who has killed his victim, and who knows that a murder carries with it no serious consequences to the murderer.

IX. Illegitimate Births

In the month of November, 1903, one of the papers of Caracas published a statement of the number of births for the preceding month in that city, from which it appeared that the total number of births for the month was 187, of which 84 were legitimate, and 103 were illegitimate. This proportion would substantially hold good of the other months and other years; in other words, it would be about a fair average for that place. In many other places the proportion of illegitimate births would be much larger. In fact the probabilities are that even in Caracas the proportion is larger than the statistics show. It must be evident that there are some cases of concealment of illegitimate births. Among the great mass of the people no disgrace attaches to a woman who gives birth to a child out of wedlock, and it may be that the officials could obtain records of the larger number of such births. But it is certain that women of the better classes are more likely to conceal the fact of an illegitimate birth from the public and authorities. It is not customary among the mass of the people to call in a physician during childbirth, and hence there is no exact or official report relating to the subject. Naturally enough, respectable families are willing to report the birth of their children to the authorities, and they take a proper pride in seeing the word "legitimate" written after their names in the public records. Although there is no very great hesitancy on the part of the peon women in reporting the birth of an illegitimate child, and in stating who was probably the putative father, or at least, if he was unknown, who was at the present time her querido, still it can readily be seen that the statistics of illegitimate births must always be incomplete, particularly when it is reflected that the "authorities" entrusted with the collection of such reports are always ignorant, incompetent, and disinclined to work. With the exception of a few towns, no statistics whatever are available, and even if they were, no importance whatever could be attached to them, though they would probably show a vast increase in the proportion of illegitimate births.

In all Spanish America, including Mexico, San Salvador, Central America, Chili, and Argentina, perhaps one third of the total number of couples who live together as man and wife are really married. It is entirely safe and conservative to say that in the whole continent of South America not more than thirty-five per cent of the births are legitimate.

The social conditions in these countries are different from anything known in the United States, England, or Germany. They have

their prototype among the Negroes of some sections of the South, and in the dissolute classes of Paris and Madrid, and can scarcely be understood by our people who have not personally observed the facts.

Marriage in South America, like everything else, is hedged about with great difficulties. To marry a woman not only involves a vast amount of red tape, but likewise a heavy expenditure of money. The civil marriage and the ecclesiastical marriage are two separate functions, and it would appear that each has been made as difficult and expensive as it could well be, but every Latin-American couple who propose to get married at all will go through both performances. In most countries the civil authorities do not recognize the ecclesiastical ceremony, and in none of them do the church authorities recognize the civil ceremony; so, in order to be perfectly married, it is necessary to go through both ceremonies. I shall not attempt to describe these processes, covering several days, with announcements, written documents drawn up, signed, sealed, and witnessed, with revenue stamps over every page and under every signature, and a hundred expenses and obstacles. It is sufficient to say that if the bridegroom had any money at the commencement of the ceremony, it is most likely that he will be bankrupt before the end, with the gang of leeches surrounding him, demanding fees for this, that, and the other thing. For peons, the poor people who comprise eight tenths of the total population of these countries, the expense of such ceremonies is entirely out of the question.

For the honor of womanhood, in South America as well as in the world, let it be stated that these poor, ignorant women nearly always want a marriage ceremony performed before going to live with their querido, and in most cases they exact a promise from the man that he will marry them legally whenever they may acquire property enough to justify them in paying for the ceremony. There are many cases where a man and woman have lived together for twenty or thirty years and raised up a large family of children, and have then been legally married, so as to make their children "legitimate" in the eyes of the law.

It likewise happens that when one or the other of the couple is going to die, the priest refuses to absolve them unless they are married. In this case a civil marriage is not required, because the Church regards marriage as one of its sacred ordinances; therefore the dying victim gets off comparatively easy. He at least escapes the expenses of testigoes, judges, and revenue stamps.

Many thousands — nay, hundreds of thousands — of couples will be found to be living together in this manner, without marriage ceremony of any kind, and yet who are entitled to respectful consideration, because they are as true to each other as husbands and wives ordinarily are in other countries. Of course the man is rarely straight, and he nearly always has other queridas, and more often still is guilty

of miscellaneous relations with other women generally, but it frequently — I was almost inclined to say usually — happens that one of these poor peon women, when she becomes the mother of a family in this manner, remains true to the man who is her husband in fact if not in name. The children of people of this class might be properly recorded in the public registers, and the father and mother would have no more hesitation in acknowledging such children than they would if really married.

Another class of illegitimate children about the identity of whose parentage a fairly accurate idea may be formed are the children of the queridas of the wealthier men, — business men, owners of haciendas, etc., who are living with their lawful wives and families, but who have from one to a dozen mistresses. This system is not only common, but it is practically universal in all South American countries. Usually the real wife knows all about the facts in the case, and oftener than otherwise she is on friendly terms with her husband's queridas, and they frequently visit back and forth. Her husband's children by these queridas are usually treated by her with almost as much kindness as her own children, and she frankly says that a man must not be held to the same standard of marital responsibility as a woman. Of course these views are entirely acceptable to the man; so there is no quarrel on that issue.

This class of illegitimate offspring is not unusually recognized by the father publicly, and he sometimes makes provision for it in the division of his property. Even after the querida, the mother of the child, has been cast off, and perhaps living with some other man, the child is regarded as attached in some manner to the parental tree, and the legitimate wife will ordinarily interpose no obstacle in its way. It must not, however, assume to be on the same plane as her children, for that would be a violation of social distinctions.

A great many of the illegitimate births, however, are of the nondescript variety, in regard to which even the mother would have only a dim idea as to who was the actual father of the child. This mother is not the querida of one, but of many. It does not follow that she is a prostitute, for, in the ordinary sense of the term, she is not. She herself would strenuously deny it if any one should insinuate that she was a *mujere publica*, — a public woman. But her attachments are less strong, less stable. Her *compromisos* — that is, the obligations a man and woman assume to live together — are less binding and are more readily thrown aside for new compromisos. There is a continuous change from one querido to another, well calculated to bewilder the collector of vital statistics.

Under these conditions it will readily be perceived that it is impossible to give anything like accurate statistics in regard to illegitimate births in South America; but whenever figures are given at all, the illegitimate always greatly exceeds the legitimate. If the writer

were asked to make an estimate, he would say that 65 or 70 per cent of all the births in Mexico, Chili, and Argentina, and from 75 to 80 per cent in the other countries, are illegitimate.

According to the report of the United States consul at Tegucigalpa the number of births in Honduras during 1903 and 1904 was as follows:

1903 — total births, 16,831; males, 8744; females, 8087; legitimate offspring of white parents, 6567; illegitimate offspring of white parents, 6741; legitimate offspring of Indian parents, 1657; illegitimate offspring of Indian parents, 1866; total legitimate, 8224; total illegitimate, 8607.

1904 — total births, 19,066; males, 8691; females, 9218; legitimate offspring of white parents, 7497; illegitimate offspring of white parents, 7927; legitimate offspring of Indian parents, 1660; illegitimate offspring of Indian parents, 1982; total legitimate, 9159; total illegitimate, 9909.

X. Extravagance, Enthusiasm, and Hysteria

A short time after Mr. Cleveland sent his message to Congress regarding the English-Venezuelan boundary matter, the American minister went from the United States to Caracas. At La Guayra he was received with a frenzied delirium of acclaim. Thousands of swarthy fanatics greeted the representative of their great Northern ally with *vivas*, banners flying, bands playing, bailes, banquets, and a wild and delirious display. The genuineness and intensity of this enthusiasm was undoubted; the army and navy of the United States were now supposed to be at the back of the Venezuelan Jefes, if not under their actual command, and the "Americanos" had unbounded popularity. Among a serious-minded people such manifestations of friendship would have augured closer commercial relations and better protection for American life and property. But among these silly, frivolous people, it meant nothing more than the effervescence of carbonic-acid gas in a siphon. A perusal of the record of despoliation of foreign property in Venezuela, and especially of American property, since that day, will give one a clear notion of the ridiculousness of these pretensions of Latin-American friendship for us. Their friendship is like the fumes of sulphur from a crater, or the bubbling of gas from a petroleum well, or the whirlwinds of dust on the streets of Kansas City, or the moanings of the rain-crow in the black-oaks of Missouri, or the cities of mirage in the great desert, or the jack-o'-lantern in the swamps of Arkansas, or the sun dogs as seen from Winnipeg, — evanescent, delusive, vain, and of no avail.

When Mr. Secretary Root arrived at Rio Janeiro, in July, 1906, on his visit to the "Pan" Convention, a similarly frenzied greeting awaited him. The resources of the seventh heaven are scarcely adequate to provide all the beatific bliss showered upon the distinguished visitor. "The banquet given by Baron Rio Branco complimentary

to Mr. Root was of a magnificence unparalleled in Brazil. The furnishings for the occasion had been imported especially from Paris at a cost of $100,000."

Later we are informed that "Secretary Root arrived at the palace in a carriage especially built for the occasion, at a cost of $12,000."

Of course Secretary Root, under such circumstances, felt his oats. "I am deeply stirred," he said, "by this honor to my country and myself."

During the frenzy, the acclaim, the hurrah, Mr. Root received a delegation from the chamber, which presented him a message, saying: "When you left your country you were anxious to show that moral sentiments are not limited by frontiers, but extend beyond the horizons, contributing to form a new humanity and new ideals. Your visit approaches countries embodying the spirit of the new age. The chamber has confidence in a policy like yours, inspired by the immortal principles of liberty, order, and peace."

Now, all of this sounds magnificent, and to a man who does not know these people, it is inspiring. A nation founded on such high moral ideas as this must be all right; but is Brazil such a nation? I fear not. The shouting of frenzied crowds, ready in twenty minutes to take up some new thing with equal hysteria, the clamor of bands, the boom of cannons, the garrulous oratory, the cut glass and bouquets, may fool Elihu Root on his first visit, but they can't deceive me. At the very moment when all this opera bouffe was going on in Rio de Janeiro, sterner business was in hand in the outlying districts. The dread spectre of murder and spoliation — revolution — was at that moment devastating whole districts and States.

Matto Grossa, a State containing 532,550 square miles, was at that instant in the hands of the revolution; numerous battles had been fought with fearful carnage; several cities had been taken with the machete; more than 4000 lives had been sacrificed in the struggle, and the government had an army of 40,000 men under General Riberio endeavoring to crush the insurrection. The same scenes of pillage and loot, of "forced loans" and reclutas, of outrages against foreigners and civilized natives, were being enacted, which have been perennial and eternal in Latin America.

Was Secretary Root blinded, by the adulation which he received at Rio de Janeiro, to the true character of these countries, or had he keenness of vision sufficient to see through the veil of official politeness and study the scenes behind the curtain?

CHAPTER XXXVI

LATIN-AMERICAN TYPES, INSTITUTIONS, AND CUSTOMS

THE military Jefe is the most noted Latin-American type which impresses itself upon a visitor. The Jefe may be colonel, general, comandante, or any of the other numerous military grades. As a rule, he is a man without conscience, of unbridled ambition, cruel and relentless, and a dangerous citizen generally.

Closely allied with the military Jefe is the civil politician. This man can write pronunciamentos, and hair-raising essays on liberty and patriotism. He also fixes up the decretas for the military Jefe to sign. A considerable portion of the graft is allotted to this type of politician. He is merely a schemer for the Jefe with his army of macheteros.

The doctors of Latin America are as numerous as the generals. They are a much more amiable class of men. While their pretensions to learning are exaggerated and amusing, nevertheless, they are a respectable element of society. Ignoring their idiosyncrasies and pretensions of refinement and culture, we may sincerely like and admire these men, most of whom are very decent fellows and a large number of whom are first-class gentlemen of a high type.

Throughout Mexico, Argentina, and Chili there are enormous plantations or tracts of land called *haciendas*, the owner of which is known as a *haciendado*. This man is easily, in my opinion, the highest type of Latin-American gentleman. He has not the literary ability or the refinement and culture of the doctors, but he is an all-round man of affairs, a good business man, and really forms the backbone of the nation. It is the haciendado who gives to Mexico, Chili, and Argentina their stability and higher governmental excellence. The haciendado is usually the supporter of the government, unless it be in fact very vicious, because it is to his interest to maintain the established order of things. He does not want his property overrun by revolutionary hordes, and he knows that it is better to submit to the exactions of a corrupt government than to run the risk of losing all by siding with anarchy. These great plantations are not cultivated thoroughly, and enormous tracts of land lie fallow or in their primeval condition. No opportunity is afforded to the small man to become a landed proprietor, and this constitutes the real element of weakness

in the hacienda system. The inconceivable strength of the United States is due to the fact that we have millions of home owners. A comparatively poor man with us can own his own house and farm. Not so in the countries mentioned. A landed proprietor there is necessarily a man of wealth. The coffee plantations of Venezuela and Colombia afford a somewhat similar system to that of the great landed estates in the other countries mentioned, but owing to the frequent uprisings and the despoliation by predatory bands, these plantations are usually run down and neglected.

There are many special types in Central and South America which are very interesting to a foreign observer. They may be briefly mentioned. The *arierro*, or mule-driver, is a picturesque fellow. He directs the burros in their never-ending work of transporting the products of Latin America. These burro trains by the hundreds can be found in all parts of Latin America, each animal carrying loads of two hundred or two hundred and fifty pounds, over mountains and valleys, wading rivers, climbing where it would seem to be impossible for an animal to step, going on journeys for days or even for weeks. The arierro is utterly oblivious to the suffering of his beasts. He is ordinarily not a bad fellow, but is entirely indifferent to pain, and ignorant with regard to every subject except the matter in hand. The *guacho*, or cow-boy, of the great interior plains of Argentina, Brazil, and Southern Venezuela is a most daring rider, an excellent shot, and makes one of the hardiest soldiers in the world. He loves ornaments in dress, is disposed to drink a great deal of bad liquor and indulge in gambling, and is generally a citizen with whom one must be careful in dealing. In the cities one would encounter the *aguacero*, or water-carrier, and also the *lechero*, or milk-carrier, both of whom will be found on top of their burros, which are already loaded down to the limit with a keg of water or milk on each side of them. One type of Latin American, who is in fact drawn from nearly all classes, is the "masher," or dandy. He lines the sidewalks in front of the public places, the post-offices, public squares, cafés, etc., and devotes his time to ogling every lady who passes by and making remarks about her. This man usually wears a silk hat and carries a cane, and makes some pretence of respectability. He is as distinctive a type and as great a nuisance as can be found in Latin America. Another Latin-American type is the professional gambler. His calling is considered to be quite respectable and by no means bars him out of the best society. A notable type in Latin America is the *doña* or *señorita*, who spends much of her time in church. This lady wears a little black mantilla or shawl over her head. They are all dressed in one conventional garb on days of the great religious festivals. The beggar is another distinctive type in Latin America which impresses itself upon the visitor with a vividness and distinctness which can never be obliterated. One day a week, usually Saturday,

is set apart particularly for the beggars, in which they make their rounds of all the houses and streets, soliciting alms. The utter hopelessness of this type is pitiable and pathetic. They live in indescribable squalor and misery, diseased, deformed, helpless, and hopeless. There are hundreds of thousands of all ages and both sexes belonging to this type in Latin America. The enormous percentage of dire helplessness is one of the saddest features which an observer encounters in every Latin-American country.

Some of the most typical institutions and customs are also worth mentioning.

Pretty nearly every Latin-American town has its plaza, or park, usually occupying a city square, laid out with wide sidewalks all around it, where the people congregate for a promenade, usually on Sunday evenings and on holidays. A band on these occasions occupying a stand in the centre of the plaza will furnish music. The method of promenading is rather curious. As a rule, the ladies walk around the plaza in one direction and the gentlemen in the opposite direction; thus they are brought continuously facing each other. Rarely do a gentleman and lady walk together. On these occasions the señoritas all have their mammas, or some other lady with them, to act as chaperon.

The methods of courtship in Latin America impress an American as being rather unique. The suitor stands on the sidewalk and addresses the lady, who remains behind the iron bars of the window of her own home. In all parts of every Latin-American city one will find this peculiar performance going on. Not until after the engagement is the young man invited into the house, and then he only sees the young lady in the presence of the mother and the family in the big parlor.

Cigarette smoking is universal throughout Latin America. Nearly every man smokes continuously, often box after box of cigarettes, while a vast number of even the best and daintiest ladies are said to be addicted to the same habit in the privacy of their own homes. Drunkenness is probably no more widespread in Latin America than it is in certain parts of the United States. Aguardiente, a crude alcohol obtained from sugar-cane, is the universal drink of the peons, and forms the basis of many other intoxicating liquors. In Mexico a powerful drink called mescal is obtained from the cactus. In the City of Mexico vast quantities of pulquey are consumed. This is obtained from the maguey plant, and while it is intoxicating if drunk in large quantities it is nevertheless not to be compared in its evil effects with aguardiente.

CHAPTER XXXVII

LIVING IN SOUTH AMERICA

A HUNDRED civilized men can live in luxury on ground where a single savage would exist in misery and want or die of starvation. No better illustration of this proposition can be found than in Latin America. Venezuela contains 593 000 square miles of land, the most fertile in the world. Nature has been generous and even prodigal, scattering the contents of a veritable cornucopia from one end of the country to the other. The soil will produce two crops of corn a year in any part of the country; and grains, vegetables, and fruits of all kinds can be raised in abundance. The waters are literally teeming with fish; game abounds; while unnumbered cattle swarm the savannas. The mountains are rich in minerals, and I have no doubt there is more gold in Venezuela than in the Klondike. Indeed, the whole Andes range is literally filled with gold, and, in all probability, in greater quantity than anywhere else in the world.

In view of these facts it might be thought that living would be cheap and excellent in South America. But it is far from so. Among the poeple of entire Latin America, exclusive of the foreigners, there is scarcely a cook who knows how to make a pudding or pie, or anything else, decently. Almost universally cooking and food are atrocious, and utterly unfit for the consumption of a civilized person. In the morning the first "meal" is a cup of black coffee, a piece of dry bread, and perhaps a chunk of dirty cheese. This meal is called *desayuno*. Then, about eleven or twelve o'clock, is the *almuerzo*, a meal made up of cheap wine and poor food; toward six or seven o'clock in the evening is *la comida*, made up of poor food and cheap wine. A great pretence is made for these meals, by many of the public hostelries, of excellence in both the quality and quantity of the food, and many of the hotels advertise their scrupulous *aseo* (cleanliness). As a matter of fact, a tramp in Philadelphia, Chicago, or New York can with five cents and the opportunity of a free-lunch saloon get a better meal than can be bought for any price in any hotel in Latin America, with the exception of perhaps a dozen of the most important places.

In hotels and residences alike, the kitchens and water-closets are side by side, with open connection between them, so that the insufferable stenches of the one enter the other. Any person who has travelled in one of these countries can never forget the disgusting filth of these

Latin-American water-closets; not only in hotels, but in private residences, even of the better classes, everywhere. They have nothing in the nature of sewage systems. Under such conditions, cleanliness in the kitchen is not to be expected, nor is it found. Henry Ward Beecher wisely said, "If you want to obey the law, don't visit a legislature where they are making it; if you want to enjoy a dinner, don't go into the kitchen where they are cooking it." A man with a delicate stomach who should visit a Latin-American kitchen would probably starve half to death before he could bring himself to eat another meal.

One visit to a Latin-American meat market in Mexico, Vera Cruz, Caracas, Bogotá, or elsewhere will suffice to keep one from enjoying a steak purchased there. The filth is indescribable. There are no refrigerators in which to keep the meat, which is allowed to hang in the open air, covered with flies and absorbing the stenches which fill the air.

In South America a good meal of really wholesome food can scarcely be bought at any price, The humblest laborer in the United States, the man who earns a dollar and a half a day, has more food, better food and better cooked, than is placed on the table of any president or dictator of South America. The writer has sat at the banquet tables of these people, brilliant and resplendent with cut glass, silverware, and huge bouquets. The sight was tempting, and a flagging appetite could easily be whetted in anticipation. But, alas! course after course of the same slush would follow. The diners apparently considered the food good, and between goblets of champagne of an inferior quality, but very costly, they would go through the whole bill of fare. The stomach of an ostrich could do no more.

Intolerably bad as is "the living" in Latin America, that fact does not prevent it from being insufferably costly. A typical American country hotel may not possess the luxury and magnificence of the great hotels; but what they lack in artistic cooking they make up in a measure by the freshness and excellence of their farm and garden products, and wholesome food and good service. From such a country hotel to the best hotel in Latin America is a far cry. Even in Mexico, a land which has more than one thousand million dollars of foreign capital invested in it, a land annually visited by from one hundred to two hundred thousand foreigners, mostly Americans, there are not five fairly good hotels. As to the hotels of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, and other Latin-American countries, the food, the rooms, the service, and everything about them are almost unendurable, and the prices are exorbitant. For $4 or $5 a day a visitor will obtain worse accommodations than he would in the United States for $4 or $4.50 a week.

Nor is hotel living the only costly thing there. Anything which bears even the semblance of decent living costs a fortune. The tariffs

are so enormous, the facilities for transacting business so inadequate, the possibilities of home production so remote, the exactions levied on industry so outrageous, and the number of people who really demand and can afford to pay for respectable articles of food and apparel comparatively so few, that prices are at the high mark. Latin America is the worst place on the earth in which to get money, and it is, of all others, the place where money is worth the least when once obtained. A modest family of five persons and a servant, in Caracas or Quito or any other Latin-American town, living in the same style as a family of a $25 a week clerk in our country, will spend from $400 to $800 a month. And even for this large outlay they get poor wine, rotten food, and nothing in the nature of comfort or pleasure.

If the lot of the comparatively well-to-do falls in such unpleasant places, the lot of the extremely poor, the peons, is wretched in the extreme. It is existence of a kind not far removed from that of the beasts of the field. Millions of these people live on fish and bananas almost exclusively. The bananas are roasted, baked, or fried, and in this way take the place of bread.

In nothing is the hopeless impracticability, even imbecility, of the Latin Americans more clearly evident than in this matter of their food supply. In Venezuela, for instance, more corn could be raised to the acre than in Kansas, — two crops a year. The delicious corn bread might be made a staple article of food by this people. Instead their bread is made from an imported wheat flour of very inferior quality, which is sold there at from $12 to $15 a barrel, the price depending largely upon the state of the conscience of the flour monopoly. Some of the poor people who are unable to afford this high-priced bread make *arepas* of corn. The arepa is a thick cake, say two inches in diameter and one inch thick, differing from the well-known Mexican *tortilla* in its shape and size rather than in its method of production. The corn is soaked in lye over night; the next day the hulls are washed off, when it resembles our old-fashioned country hominy. This is then placed on a concave stone, called a *metata*, and ground into a pulp with a hand roller made of stone. A Mexican woman will make this pulp into a thin round cake as large as a plate, and cook it on a hot stone or skillet. This is called a *tortilla*. The Venezuelan woman will make the same pulp into a thick round cake, cook it in the same manner, and call it an *arepa*.

This is practically the only use to which corn is applied for food in these countries, apart from the *funchi* (a form of mush) of the Curaçao negroes, and the use of this is confined to the very poorest classes. To make any other form of corn bread than this is unknown, and could not be taught them. Moreover, enough corn meal could not be obtained if it were wanted. So that rather than cultivate a home product for its best purpose the people are content to neglect their chances

and import a foreign product of an inferior quality and at an exorbitant price. The real trouble in this respect is due to the fact that in Latin America there are no cooks. There are enough "doctors," "generals," "poets," "statesmen"; plenty of women who can embroider and crochet a little, and believe themselves proficient on the harp or piano; but there is no one who can cook a good meal. Cooking, of course, is not accompanied by parades, marches, displays, so that it is not altogether to be wondered at that there are no cooks in Latin America. Other and more civilized countries might with advantage take up the science of cookery and give it the dignity of a profession, even as has been done with medicine, law, or theology. A man whose system has been well built up and preserved by good cooking is not so liable to go to law, he is not so likely to need a doctor, and even his soul may be more amenable to the precepts of ethics than the man whose dyspepsia or biliousness is the result of bad cooking. It is evident that we need schools of cooking, aye, and colleges and universities and post-graduate courses. One good cook is worth six bank clerks or sixteen lawyers' clerks, and he should be paid and respected in proportion. The clerical profession is overcrowded; there are ten lawyers where one is needed; but no first-class, respectable cook ever went begging for a situation. Even in the United States there is much to be remedied. In Latin America the dirtiest and most ignorant negro is always selected for cook.

We began with the statement that a hundred civilized men could live in luxury where one savage would barely exist in want and misery, or die of starvation. We repeat this assertion by way of conclusion.

Germany, with fifty-five millions of people, occupies 208,000 square miles, much less than half the space of Venezuela. The latter claims a population of two and a half millions, but that is merely a guess. We have hinted at the extreme hardships under which life presents itself in Venezuela, but it has been only a hint, for it would tax the reader's patience to attempt to describe it in detail. Many of our readers are familiar by personal observation with the abundance and comparative luxury of all classes in Germany, even the poorer, — how cheap and excellent is the food, how comfortable the lodgings. Out of a thousand Germans of lawful age there is barely one who cannot read and write. In literature, science, invention, art, philosophy, music, commerce, in everything which goes to distinguish a great and splendid people, they excite our admiration. Educated, industrious, sober, honest, prosperous, about fifty of them occupy the same ground which supports one Venezuelan, and each of the fifty lives a hundred times better; such are the practical advantages exhibited by a high type of modern civilization in comparison with the reactionary and non-progressive semi-barbarisms of Latin America.

For this very reason civilization must finally triumph. Semi-barbarism must give way, and civilization must conquer the earth.

The world will soon be too small; we cannot afford to waste any of its precious lands. One savage cannot be permitted to occupy the territory where a hundred highly civilized men might live in elegance and comfort. The law that the interests of the majority must prevail will finally erase barbarism from the face of the world. When the world becomes seven times as populous as it now is, South America alone should contain a population equal to the present population of the whole earth. Only the very highest type of civilization can enable it to sustain such a number of people. It might just as well begin to prepare for its final destiny now, for neither the Monroe Doctrine nor anything else can prevent the eternal onward march of progress.

The lack of material development in Central and South America is such that vast areas are without cultivation, roads, or industry of any class; the country is in as primitive a state as were the lands of the Mississippi valley under the North American Indians. Sections of territory which would hold powerful nations are completely wild and desolate. Other sections of still greater magnitude are sparsely populated, and cultivated no better than in the days of the Aztecs and Incas. There are no industries, because industry is impossible among such a people. They will not work, and they will not allow anybody else to reap the reward of labor. Therefore, if a man live among them, he must sustain himself on the food of a savage, unless he is rich, and even then he will find the common necessities of life difficult to obtain and prohibitive in price.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

WE have no means of ascertaining how many murders are committed in any district in Latin America. If the authorities themselves know, which is doubtful, the statistics are kept secret. Even a long residence may not enable one to form any adequate idea of the number of assassinations, because the newspapers report only exceptional cases, and, as a rule, very little is said about them. The writer has known of eleven ordinary murders being committed within a month in a little town of 15,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, and not a single line appeared in any newspaper concerning any of them. By far the larger number of murders are committed either by the revolutionary or the government troops, one being as bad as the other. The following report, made by Leopold Kleinschmidt, of Caracas, on December 7, 1903, will illustrate this phase of crime in these countries:

"Pedro Rafael Luque, of San Casimiro, whose whole time is devoted to labor for the sustenance of his numerous family, was going to town a few days ago to attend to some business, when he was surprised in the road by soldiers, armed with Mausers, who told him that he was a prisoner. He asked why and by whose order, and they replied, 'By order of superior authority.' 'Very well, then,' he said, 'I am at your orders,' and he thereupon gave the soldiers his revolver and two hundred pesos [$160] in cash, which he had upon him. They then started on their march, he ahead; but when they had gone about twenty steps, he heard the soldiers cock their Mausers, and turning around quickly, was surprised to see the soldiers pointing their guns at him. 'Are you going to assassinate me like this?' he exclaimed, and threw himself on one of the soldiers and behind him, seeking his salvation in this manner. But another soldier came up behind Luque, and shot him twice. One bullet entered his back, and came out at his neck; the other entered the abdominal region and came out at the right side. Luque fell to the ground, and the soldiers, believing him dead, continued their march."

Fortunately Mr. Luque did not die. His friends found him and took him to San Casimiro, where, after months of suffering, he recovered. Of course, nothing was ever done to the soldiers, and no attempt made to punish them.

The above is only one of many cases. How many foreigners, especially mining engineers, have asked the government for safe-conduct when making an exploration of the interior, who were murdered by

the very soldiers sent to escort them! No human being, certainly no white man, can conceive of the lawlessness of Latin America. The discouraging fact is that, as a rule, murderers are not punished. They may be arrested and held for a pretended trial; but usually they are put into the army, given a rifle, and so placed at once in the line of promotion. These are the men the Dictators of South America need in their armies; for to men of this class the reclute is only play. They form the heart, the real vital part, of every South American army; and when a war comes, and additional men are needed, the "regulars" are always ready to impress the simple-minded peons by force.

If the ruling Dictator of Venezuela, Colombia, or almost any other Spanish-American country, should order one of his generals to take the regular army and murder every man, woman, and child in a given town, the soldiers would probably comply with the order; such is the brutal, criminal, and desperate character of these armies.

The hopelessness of any attempt to secure adequate punishment for a murderer in Latin America may be gathered from the following incident which came directly under the writer's observation. He had, on one occasion, a large number of men making a clearing in a dense tropical forest. They worked in gangs of about thirty men, each with its foreman and cook. One day some shots were heard, at quite a distance, and men were observed running away from one of the tents. The writer hastened to the scene, but before arriving encountered four of the most desperate-looking men he had ever seen, leaving the centre of the disturbance. He asked them who they were, where they were going, and what was the nature of the trouble. They said they were officials of the government, and were not compelled to give an account of their business. He saw that they were heavily armed, — a violation of rules which forbade any one to carry arms on the premises without his express permission, — and he inferred from their language and demeanor that they had done the shooting. He therefore demanded that they return to the tent with him. At first they demurred, but as he was likewise heavily armed, had a large number of men at his command, and was in no mood to stand any trifling, they yielded, with bad grace. Arrived at the tent, he summoned his chief of police (an official under his personal orders), with his force, and proceeded to make an investigation. A man lay on the ground, dead, shot through the heart in broad daylight, in the presence of at least a hundred peons. Soon, however, it dawned upon the writer that not a single witness there would make any statement whatever relative to the affair. The writer learned that the murdered man was the cook. He called the foreman, whom he knew to be present, and asked him how it happened. The foreman was half scared to death, trembling like a child, and his answers were almost incoherent; but they were not positive enough to suit the four "officials," or "authorities," who wanted him to make an unequivocal declaration in their favor. They began

to browbeat him, ordering him to make certain statements, which the writer knew on the face of them to be untrue. He intervened, placed the four "officials" under arrest, took them to headquarters, and held them prisoners. He then immediately sent for the Governor, the judge of the district, and the Jefe Civil, and summoned all the peons who belonged to that gang, and all others whom he had reason to believe were witnesses to the affair, to appear at headquarters the following day to meet the officials of the government.

In the mean time the writer had been making an investigation on his own account, and learned that these four men had gone to the tent in a boisterous and quarrelsome manner; that they had ordered the deceased (the cook) to prepare them some food, stating that they were "authorities"; that the cook replied that he had no food to give them, and that if he should give food to all the men who came along claiming to be authorities of the government, he would have nothing left for his own men; that thereupon the four "authorities" called him some insulting names, to which he replied with similar epithets, and that thereupon they shot him to death.

The writer learned also that the four "authorities" were desperate criminals and in the service of the government; that only a few weeks prior to this occurrence they had sought lodging one night in the house of a peaceable peon in a neighboring district, and had killed the peon and his whole family, and that although the government was aware of the fact it had taken no step to punish them, or even dismiss them from the service.

All these facts were laid before the judge and Jefe Civil. But when the time came for giving testimony, it was observed that the witnesses refused to testify, or evaded the questions, while the judge and Jefe Civil, it was plain to be seen, were anxious to make a record in favor of the four prisoners. The writer became profoundly concerned at what seemed to him bade fair to become a miscarriage of justice. He called the foreman and numerous others of the witnesses, whom he knew personally, into his room privately, and asked them to tell him the absolute truth about the case. Every one of them showed great fear and hesitation; they said that if they were to say anything about the case they would be killed themselves. "You don't understand why we do not dare to talk. You have no fear, because you are rich, and you can go well armed and can have a guard. But we are poor, and we know that if we tell the truth, some night when we are asleep, somebody will slip up behind us and kill us." "But," the writer asked, "won't the murderers be punished by the law?" "No, no, no," they replied, "they will be turned loose, or put into the army, and then we will be killed, and our families will suffer for bread."

That this was no idle fear the writer has had ample proof a hundred times since. These peons would, every one of them, give him

the details of the case fully and without reserve, but not one of them would tell the judge or the Jefe Civil.

At the trial the writer's own testimony and that of the chief of police were the most important. The prisoners did not deny that they had done the shooting; the weapons taken from them proved that conclusively. Nevertheless, after a most cursory preliminary examination, the judge discharged them. They had been in custody over night and part of two days.

The judge and Jefe Civil passed that night at houses within four or five hundred yards of headquarters. The writer happened to be entirely alone that night, and slept but little. A little past midnight he heard a footstep near the door of his room, and a moment afterwards a gentle knock. The intruder proved to be a friendly peon, who, upon being admitted to the room, informed him that the four "authorities" were very angry because they had been locked up; that they were mad at the judge and Jefe Civil, also, because they had not been turned loose immediately upon their arrival, and that they were at that moment at a certain place in the great tropical jungle which surrounded us, getting ready to assassinate us all. The writer immediately called the Jefe Civil, the police, of which there were twelve or fifteen, and some other trusty peons, and surrounded the place where the four "authorities" were, and captured them. They had their weapons in their hands, and everything indicated that they were preparing their work of butchery as the friendly peon had said. They surrendered without serious difficulty.

On this occasion the judge and Jefe Civil decided to take the men to the capital of the district, and turn them over to the Governor, and for this purpose asked the writer to furnish them with a strong guard, which he did. Within a week, however, they were all again free, and around the place, insolent and threatening. The writer soon learned that they were planning to raise a revolution among his men; fortunately he intercepted some of their letters, making definite proposals to this effect. They were promptly rearrested, and with this evidence sent to the President of the State. The result of this last arrest was very much better. To murder a man in Spanish America is of little consequence, but to be implicated in a revolution is quite a different matter. The President, as soon as he saw the proof, sent them to jail without trial.

However humanitarian one may feel towards the subject of punishment for crime, a few years in Latin America will inevitably convert him to a belief in severe punishment for murderers. The Constitutions of most of these countries claim that human life is inviolable, but it would seem as if the only life that is inviolable is the murderer's.

A saturnalia of crime runs riot over all Spanish America. How could it be otherwise in an atmosphere of revolution and bloodshed,

of intrigue, of midnight attacks, of ignorant, brutal disregard of life? Where men live by cutting each other's throats; where there is no public sentiment, no law, no anything except the corrupt and bestial will of a military dictator to restrain the vicious elements among the ignorant classes, what can be expeceted? It is probable that the number of lives lost by violence in Latin America each year is greater than that in all the rest of the world combined, although its population is surely not one-fortieth that of the total. If all the spirits deprived of life by the machete or the Mauser in Latin America were to materialize at once, they would make an army greater than that of Xerxes, Napoleon, or Grant.

CHAPTER XXXIX

A GAGGED AND MUZZLED PRESS

THE gentlemen of the press who write so enthusiastically in support of the Monroe Doctrine, were they to visit several of the Latin-American Republics, would certainly find their enthusiasm dampened. The press in the larger number of these Republics, so far from being free, is but a tool in the power of the latest Dictator. A newspaper of even the most conservative kind, as we know it here, would not be allowed to exist. Its whole staff would be locked up in jail, and its responsible manager would run the risk of being taken out and shot. Outrageous as are the prosecutions for *lèse-majesté* in Germany, they are mild alongside the swift and condign punishment meted out to the hapless editor in South America who is so foolish as to criticise the powers that be. Nor does he need to criticise in order to be visited by their displeasure. If he fails to contribute his quota to the measure of disgusting sycophancy, and flattery of the Dictator Chief, it may be certain that the occasion will arise sooner or later for locking him up in jail.

Newspapers like the New York "Tribune," "Times," or the Philadelphia "Ledger" and Chicago "Tribune," conservative even as these are, would not be permitted to exist in the average Latin-American country. Even their conservatism would not save them from being classed as enemies of the government. The very fact that they failed in laudation of the gang of thieves in power would make it necessary to suppress them.

The editors and proprietors of such papers as the New York "Journal," "World," "Herald," "Sun," and "Evening Post," would all be put in the darkest cells of the foulest prisons, there to be left to their reflections and their fate. Well might they then give their voice to the lament of Tasso: "Long years of outrage, calumny, and wrong." Many there are who enter these dungeons and are forgotten. Sometimes an evil-minded guard, in unwonted kindness, by "accident" discharges his Mauser full in the victim's heart, and the bitter tragedy of life is ended. Years afterwards perhaps some friend, more inquisitive than the rest, would learn that the victim died of fever or dysentery.

Often, when I see an American editor prostituting his pen in defence of the Monroe Doctrine, or urging war on some civilized nation because it has committed the crime of protecting its citizens in these countries, do I think that even great men have in them a streak of imbecility, — a streak which in the case of the editors of some of the

most prominent publications has become so "yellow" that it has left room for little else.

That there can be no genuine republic where the press is gagged and bound hand and foot, at the mercy of every Dictator who seizes power, must be self-evident to all thinking men. The foundation of a real republic is intelligence, scholarship, virtue, honesty. These qualities bask in the sunshine of a free press, — nay, their very existence is impossible without it. Education is the child of discussion, and when honest criticism is suppressed, liberty exists only in name. It seems unnecessary to dwell on these truisms here, yet even in the United States boodle legislatures and corrupt State administrations have endeavored to make libel laws so unjust as practically to limit the freedom of the press, while boodle judges even in our own free country occasionally issue a commitment for an editor who has dared to be independent.

I shall attempt no panegyric on the press — it needs none. There are newspapers which are as unfit as the men who make them; but in the clashing of ideas, in the marshalling of facts, in the battle of reason, of which the press is the forum, reflecting the wisdom of a thousand statesmen, the truth — the eternal, omnipotent truth — must prevail. To speak of progress, of civilization, above all of a true republic, where the press is throttled, is preposterous and absurd.

To him who feels the mighty swing and sway of that vast engine of thought in the United States, who is accustomed to appeal to the unfettered expression of our ultimate consciousness, the pitiable impotency of the gagged and muzzled press of South America is shocking and disgusting. The maudlin sycophancy, the abject phrases of semi-deification, with which the South American editor tries to propitiate the powers that be; the palsied unfitness and dry-rot death to which this leads; the inane and nauseating twaddle with which columns are filled in laudation of General So and So, who it is thought will soon come into important power; the childish ignorance displayed of the great fundamental questions involving the destiny of nations, — all make one revert with joy, and a sense of intellectual exhilaration, to the thunderbolts which have fallen from the pens of Horace Greeley, Joseph Medill, Charles A. Dana, Joseph Pulitzer, Arthur Brisbane, and Henry Watterson.

When our press becomes cowardly or servile and corrupt, then may a second Gibbon write another "Decline and Fall." The ills which we suffer from an exaggerated and sensational journalism will cure themselves. In the end that paper will survive which publishes the news, and all the news which is fit to publish; whose policy is guided by a strict adherence to truth, and to the highest ideals of a progressive civilization.

I shall not here criticise the "make-up" of the Latin-American newspaper. In fact, it is not, in any sense of the term with which we are familiar, a newspaper. "News" is new if it is only a week or two

old, and it consists mainly of what somebody imagines to have happened rather than of what actually did happen. Three lines will be devoted to an event of international importance, half a column to the local cock-fight, and the balance of the paper to letters from one General or another, composed in the main of veritable twaddle. In all South America there are only one or two newspapers which deserve a comparison with even the poor dailies of one of our smaller Western towns. The reason is plain. A powerful, virile, able, honest, and independent press is not indigenous to the soil which produces Dictators and military bosses.

Admitting then, as we do, the unquestioned power of an enlightened press in our own country, it follows that its responsibility is in proportion, and that consequently it has no business to be dogmatic, or mislead and inflame the popular mind on questions of which it is ignorant.

With us the press is almost a correlative department of the government; if through passion, prejudice, or stupidity, it urges or drives the government into untenable positions, and influences it to adopt unsound policies, its responsibility is great indeed. With the multifarious resources at the command of the modern newspaper, with its vast facilities for concentrating the news of the earth, with its myriad sources of information, it is almost a crime for the management to be ignorant of the simplest elementary facts which exist and have existed at our very doors for a century.

It is a discredit either to the intelligence or to the honesty of American journalism that, like blind and blundering fools, our great editors go on, year in and year out, preaching and printing lies to our people about South America; teaching that South America is a land of republics like ours, and that England and Germany, like ravenous wolves, are trying to oppress these tender spirits of freedom. It is an outrage that the American newspapers fill their columns with fulminations against England and Germany every time one of these governments is compelled to take even the most tentative steps towards the protection of their citizens in these countries against the rapacity of the military bosses who control them. It would be a crime, the most infamous, if our newspapers should at last succeed in involving our country in war with the civilized world over this greatest of national insanities, the Monroe Doctrine.

The undoubted power possessed by our press imposes upon it an unquestioned duty, — which is, to ascertain the facts with reference to South America and print them honestly and fearlessly.

I. Suppression of Newspapers

Many newspapers have been suppressed in Venezuela by the ruling Dictator for reasons which to Americans would seem frivolous and absurd. Thus in the year 1900 a Caracas newspaper published some

comments which had been made by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court with reference to the condition of the local prison. The language was commonplace, and no American editor would have given the form of the report a second thought; but General Castro took exception to it and suppressed the paper and sent the editor to jail. In the year 1903 one of the local newspapers of Caracas published a cablegram of probably a hundred words stating that it was reported that an English fleet was on its way to blockade Venezuela again on account of the strained relations then existing between the British minister and the government. For publishing this report the editor was sent to jail and the paper suppressed. In all parts of Central and South America a similar fate meets the luckless editor who does not spend his time fawning at the feet of the military Jefe. An illustration of the abject subjection of the press is afforded by an act in Colombia, which is only one of many similar acts in that and other Latin-American countries.

A general decree of the Dictator of Colombia suspended the publication of every newspaper in that country, from September, 1885, to March 13, 1886, except the "Star and Herald" of Panama, owned by an American company.

On March 26, 1886, General Santo Domingo Villa, the local military Jefe, issued an order suspending this paper. The only specific charge made against the paper was that it had refused to publish certain documents sent the editor, and the latter's failure to answer a private note transmitted to him with the documents. "The documents referred to were telegrams preferring a charge of smuggling against General Montoya, a brother officer of General Villa; and the note to the editor of the 'Star and Herald' merely suggested that he might publish them if he saw fit." The paper was suspended, but after a considerable length of time the United States government compelled Colombia to pay the damages.

But what are we to say of a "Republic" where a Dictator can wipe every newspaper out of existence at a breath to gratify a whim, or private vengeance, or any other unworthy reason?

CHAPTER XL

INSUFFICIENCY AND INADEQUACY OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

IN Mexico a system of public schools has been established which, although greatly different from our own, offers some hope for the future. The pretended public school systems of most other Latin-American countries are pitiable. The Mexican government might profit greatly by studying the methods of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, Alabama, and adopting them throughout the Republic. The peons of Latin America would make bright, quick, and intelligent workmen if they had proper technical instruction. The faculty of imitation, so largely developed among them, would be of the greatest aid in enabling them to master the arts and industries. Unfortunately what few schools there are in the country districts of Latin America are of the most inefficient type, and in them attention is directed exclusively to the rudiments of a literary education of the most superficial character. Even in reading and writing, instruction is generally crude and inefficient. The Creole — that is, the descendant of the Spaniards — would not condescend to learn a trade or an occupation even if there were industrial schools. He aspires to be a classical scholar, to be able to quote from the Latin authors, and to make high-flown references to the characters of Greek and Roman mythology. In this manner he impresses the ignorant peon with a belief in his learning and superiority; and when education has filled its function for show purposes, it has accomplished all the Creole has ever desired it to do. Millions of young men and women are growing up in Latin America without even having seen the inside of a schoolhouse, and of those who attend school there are very few who acquire, or who desire to acquire, a solid education and the real development of character which that implies. Education is sought for the purpose of enabling him to make a living without work, or to make a display with the object of impressing others. There is a widespread antagonism toward schools established on our system, and American teachers in Central or South America must be prepared to encounter great obstacles.

An American School for Girls has been in operation more than thirty years in Bogotá, the principal in 1903 being Miss Jessie Scott. An American School for Boys was established about twelve years ago, the Rev. Malbone W. Graham being the principal in 1903.

As fully explained in other chapters of this work, no school can be established in one of these barbarous dictatorships without first obtaining a concession or permission from the government, involving red tape, payment of stamp duties, delays, bowing and scraping to the half-breed chiefs, etc.

The principals of the schools on December 2, 1902, presented their memorials to the government in due form, asking the required permission to teach their schools for the ensuing year, but the permission was not granted. The principals were informed that a general resolution would be issued covering the case about the middle of the month; but in the mean time they could not open the schools, and did not feel at liberty to engage teachers for the ensuing year or make other needed preparations.

On January 8, 1903, more than a month after the memorial had been sent to the government, no answer having been received, American Minister Hart addressed a letter to the government requesting favorable action at an early date on the memorial. On January 17, 1903, Minister Hart received an answer from Felipe F. Paul, Minister of Foreign Affairs. This letter is given in full, so that the reader can judge for himself as to the state of civilization in that Commonwealth.

SIR, — In a communication bearing date the 15th instant my honorable colleague of the Ministry of Public Instruction, who was advised of the contents of the polite note of the 8th instant which your Excellency was pleased to address in the matter of the permission asked by the principals of the American School for Boys and the American School for Girls to open their respective establishments, tells me that the matter was determined on the said 15th instant in the following manner:

In view of the memorial addressed to the Ministry of Public Instruction by Mr. Malbone W. Graham, requesting permission to open in this city the American School for Boys. Considering that Article 38 of the present Constitution declares that only the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the religion of the country, which religion the authorities shall protect as an essential element of school order.

On the other hand, if the same fundamental law permits the exercise of all forms of worship not contrary to Christian morals nor to the laws, worship or the series of acts of adoration of the Divinity must not be confounded with the propaganda and teaching of a religious system.

If it be held that establishing Protestant schools is establishing an industry, it must be remembered also that these industries and the professions will be inspected in their relation to morality, safety, and the public health, and that the teaching of doctrines opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrines engenders the social evil of opposition in the minds of citizens, and incites division in the country, which brings, clearly, pernicious consequences.

These statements are proved by the knowledge which the Ministry has of the mockery by pupils of the American school of acts of the Roman Catholic worship. In the first three articles of the Concordat, which is the law of the

Republic, are rather amplified in the obligations of the State toward the Church, whose canonical legislation is to be respected by the authorities.

Finally, in view of the foregoing considerations, and in order to leave intact the toleration of individual ideas and paternal rights, the Ministry resolves:

The Protestant Schools are permitted to open as private establishments in which instruction may be given to the children of Protestant persons, but it will not be permitted to give them the character of public schools by means of advertisements, nor in any similar manner.

With this I beg, etc.,

FELIPE F. PAUL.

It was really kind of the Colombia government to give permission for opening the doors at all! The government might have levied a "forced loan" on them, for instance, and left them without a door to open, or put them in cells where doors were never opened, or disposed of them in numerous other ways; that it did none of these things is a sufficient cause for gratitude.

Minister Hart was so unreasonable as not to be satisfied with this resolution. He replied:

"The resolution giving permission to reopen the schools confines their possible clientage to persons of the Protestant faith. Instruction may be given to 'children of Protestants' only. If the principals of these schools were willing to erect themselves into so many inquisitorial tribunals to discover the religious belief of every parent or guardian presenting a child for admission, the answers to their inquiries might be untruthful. Persons not Protestants might declare themselves to be Protestants for the purpose of evading the prohibition of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Who would be held responsible for the deception, the principal of the school or the parent of the child? This exaction is burdensome, unreasonable, and unjust, and any effort of the principals of the schools to draw around their institutions the dead line of exclusion on account of religious belief would be as humiliating as, probably, it would be futile. The right to put this burden upon citizens of the United States of America occupied in, or who desire to occupy themselves in, teaching in Colombia cannot be admitted.

"The resolution of the Ministry of Public Instruction forbids, in the most comprehensive way, any and all public announcements concerning these institutions, and this because 'it will not be permitted to give them the character of public schools.' I do not understand that public notice makes a public school, within the ordinary acceptation of the term 'public school,' any more than the lack of public notice would convert a public school into a private school. The purpose of the prohibition is clearer than its logic.

"The directors of these schools have no desire that their institutions be considered as public schools in the sense of forming part of the system of instruction provided by, or especially encouraged by, the State. The desire of those citizens of the United States is to continue the lawful business in which they are engaged . . . and this is their right according to the treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce between the Republic of Colombia and the United States of America."

The alleged government of Colombia took similarly hostile action against American schools in all parts of the country, the following circular being issued for that purpose:

(Minister of Public Instruction to Governor Velez.)

BOGOTA, Jan. 11, 1902.

GOVERNOR ———, Barranquilla:

With date of December 30, in use of the respective constitutional authorization, the government issued a decree authorizing the inspection of private establishments of instruction. The decree provides that until public order is re-established it is prohibited to open such establishments, of whatever grade, class, or condition they may be, without special or express permission of the government, and that those who act contrary to this edict will be compelled to close their establishments and will pay a fine of 500 to 2000 pesos. Please let the public know of this decree and enforce it in that department. You are authorized to grant the permission referred to or to deny the same according to the circumstances of each institution and with regard to the actual state of the nation.

JOSÉ JOAQUIN CASOS.

Joaquin F. Velez, Governor of Barranquilla, closed the three American schools in that town, — one for boys, one for girls, and one a "Popular School." When United States Consul George W. Colvig wrote to him, submitting the prospectus, list of books, etc., for his examination, the Governor wrote a very insulting and bigoted letter in reply. He said that the government did not intend "to concede authority to those colleges whose teachings are opposed to our institutions and to the tendencies of the present government"; that "it is clear that the teaching of doctrine opposed to the Catholic religion, which it defends, must be considered as contrary to the government, because they inculcate in the young the beliefs for which the rebel radicals struggle"; and he ended his long rambling screed against the schools by informing the consul: "Your intervention in this matter could not in any way be coercive, because I am not easily intimidated, and furthermore I know how far a foreign consul can meddle in the disposition made by the government."

The school conducted by Rev. J. G. Tonzeau, at Medellin, was also closed by the governor of the department of Antioquia.

The protests of Mr. Hart were unavailing, and his successor, Mr. Beaupré, was instructed to follow the same line in endeavoring to obtain fair treatment for the schools. Comment on the action of the Colombian authorities is unnecessary.

CHAPTER XLI

INSTITUTIONS WHICH MAKE FOR INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND MORAL IMPROVEMENT. — LITERATURE

IN the establishment of lyceums, theatres, operas, and social societies the countries of Central America and the northern part of South America have hardly made a beginning. That these are all elements of education admits of no argument. In all Venezuela and Colombia there is not a single self-sustaining theatre. There are only one or two pretended theatres in the principal towns, and the alleged performances in them are disgusting rather than otherwise. Occasionally a French or Italian opera company will visit the capital under government subvention; but this is merely for a few weeks. The vast population of these countries has not the remotest idea of either music in the higher sense or the drama.

As regards scientific progress and inventions, I know of nothing original in Central or South America. The pretended patents granted by these governments are too frivolous to merit discussion. Men have no time for science or invention in a community where their entire energy is consumed in war.

On the professions in Latin America we can make a better report. There are many lawyers of exceeding keenness of mind and of a sound knowledge of jurisprudence. A decent and stable judiciary could very easily be organized, and a reasonably fair administration of justice secured, if the matter were entrusted to the lawyers untrammelled by the military chiefs. As to the clergy little need be said. It comprises the Catholic priesthood, which, as shown elsewhere, is a body of men deserving high praise.

Central and South America are very deficient in libraries, which, of course, is to be expected in view of the backward state of public education. There are, it is true, libraries of considerable importance in the principal capitals; but even these are not patronized by the public at large except to a very limited extent. A few of the "doctors," poets, and newspaper writers will be found at infrequent intervals making use of the reference books in the library, but that is all. That there should be only one or two public libraries in a nation, and that these should have no circulating departments, is not very encouraging. The overwhelming mass of the people in all the Latin-American countries have not the slightest knowledge of even the existence of public libraries, let alone of their practical use.

Another great and lamentable defect in Latin America is the lack of necessary hospitals and charitable institutions for maintaining crippled and otherwise defective persons. The masses of the people — that is to say, the peons — are born and live and die without medical attendance. I need not enter into any extensive discussion as to the grave and serious detriment this is to the entire race. Of course, there are a few hospitals in all these countries. Those which are managed by the Sisters of the Catholic Church are, generally speaking, excellent institutions, and they are served, as a rule, by the best medical talent in the locality. Hospitals maintained by the different national, State, or municipal governments are, on the contrary, badly equipped and managed, and more likely to hasten the patient's death than retard it.

In the matter of their sports the Latin Americans display their character no less truly than in their other social and political institutions. The cock-fight and the bull-fight are practically the only forms of sport which are recognized or enjoyed by the genuine Latin American. The savagery and brutality of these degrading entertainments need not be especially commented upon. A man is indeed in a very low state of civilization who could find enjoyment in either of them.

I. Literature

In literature and literary attainments there is a considerable element of the Latin-American population which possesses high qualifications. The literary productions are usually in florid and luxurious language. Much of it is brilliant, although the form rather than the substance will attract attention. Most of the literary productions remind one of the Richmond, Va., editor, who, in writing of the return of one of his colleagues, said that his pen "combines the qualities of the scimitar of Saladin and the battle-axe of Cœur de Lion, and he wields it like a very Orlando." This sentence gives the key to the style of Latin-American composition.

Some years ago a writer in Caracas alleged that the authors of Venezuela were deficient in literary powers. Immediately a great meeting was called of all those who had ever wielded a pen. Indignant protests were made against the offending critic, and in order to demonstrate that literature was not yet dead in Venezuela, the members of the convention decided to show how ably and well they could write. Each one selected a subject, and thereupon went home and proceeded to express his thoughts with reference to it in the most ornate Spanish. This conglomeration of essays and discussions was collected and printed in one volume of at least a thousand huge pages. It had neither plan, logical sequence, nor aim; but it sufficed to demonstrate that the educated Venezuelan is a genuine literary man, and entitled as such to due homage. It would not be fair to say, however, that

the same degree of frivolity characterizes Latin-American authors generally. Rather, I would say that in literature the Latin Americans have made infinitely greater advancement than in any other department of human endeavor. Of course, their literature is the intellectual product of what I call the "doctor class"; it is imaginative rather than logical, keen and subtle instead of profound, discursive and theoretical but not practical. Many excellent examples of the oratory and literature of Latin America will be found throughout this work.

Mi Delirio Sobre el Chimborazo, by Bolívar, is so excellent an example of a typical Latin-American classic, that I must quote from it, even though much is lost in the translation.

MY DELIRIUM ON CHIMBORAZO

I had come enveloped in the mantle of the rainbow from where the brimming Orinoco pays its tribute to the god of waters. I had visited the enchanted Amazonian fountains, and wished to arise to the heights of the universe. I sought the tracks of La Condamine and of Humboldt. I followed them audaciously; nothing detained me. I arrived at the glacial regions; the ether suffocated my breath. No human footstep had trod the diamond crown which the hand of Eternity had placed on the sublime temples of the lord of the Andes. I said to myself: "This mantle of the rainbow, which has served me as a standard, has reconnoitred in my hands the infernal regions, has ploughed through the rivers and oceans, has ascended above the gigantic shoulders of the Andes; the country has been laid subject at the feet of Colombia, and time has not been able to detain the march of Liberty. Belona has been humiliated by the splendor of the rainbow, and cannot I climb over the hoary-headed giant of the earth! Yes, I can." And possessed by the violence of a spirit unknown to me, which appeared to me divine, I left behind the footprints of Humboldt, covering with a cloud the eternal crystals which surround the summit of Chimborazo. Soon after, as if under the impulse of the spirit which animated me, and fainting from striking with my head the vault of the firmament, I stood with my feet at the threshold of the abyss.

A feverish delirium seized my mind: I felt myself burning with a strange and powerful fire. It was the God of Colombia which possessed me.

Suddenly Time presented himself to me, beneath the venerable countenance of an old man, burdened with the spoils of age; frowning, leaning, bald, the complexion of death, a scythe in the hand. . . .

"I am the father of the centuries; I am the arcanum of fame and secrecy; my mother was Eternity; the limits of my empire are the boundaries of the Infinite; for me there is no sepulchre, because I am more powerful than Death; I see the past and the future and give the present from my hands. Why do you swell with pride, young or aged, man or hero? Do you think your Universe is anything? What, to raise you up above an atom of creation is to elate you with pride! Do you think that the instants which they call centuries can serve to measure my secrets? Do you imagine that you have ever seen the sacred truth? Do you suppose foolishly that your actions have any value in my eyes? All is less than a point in the presence of the Infinite, which is my brother."

Overcome by a sacred terror, "Why, O Time," I responded, "have you

not made to disappear mortal misery, which has become so great? I have surpassed all men in good fortune, because I have been elevated to the head of all. I dominate the earth with my footsteps; I reach Eternity with my hands; I feel the infernal prisons surge beneath my feet; I am looking with my brilliant stars at the infinite Suns: I measure without astonishment the space which encloses matter; and in your countenance I read the history of the past and the thoughts of destiny."

"Observe," he said to me; "learn, preserve in your mind that which you have seen; picture to the eyes of your fellow creatures the representation of the physical Universe, of the moral Universe; do not conceal the secrets which the heavens have revealed to you; tell the truth to mankind." . . . The phantasy disappeared.

Absorbed, motionless with astonishment, to say it thus, I remained weak for a long time, stretched out upon that immense diamond which served me for a bed. Finally, the tremendous voice of Colombia shouted to me. I was resuscitated; I awoke from my torpor; I opened with my own hands my heavy eyelids; I again became a man, and wrote "My Delirium."

In Book I, Part III, chapter xxvii, of this work, entitled "Semi-Deification of the Dictators," the newspaper articles quoted are fair samples of the editorial art as practised in Venezuela. Literature of a much higher and more serious type is displayed in the essays of Dr. S. Ponce de Leon, in his "Social Studies," from which extensive quotations are made in many chapters of this work. Many selections are also printed from Latin-American writers on international questions, from which the student can observe the cunning, evasive and sophistical methods and traits of the Latin-American mind as displayed in the diplomatic game.

The literature of Latin America, being an offshoot from that of Spain, exhibits many of the traits of the latter. The Spanish language lends itself more to *belles-lettres* than to logical discussion or scientific statement. It will be found that almost every doctor who writes knows all about Virgil and Homer, that he has Greek and Roman mythology at his finger-tips, so that classical references will be found upon almost every page. He also has a fair knowledge of general history, particularly that of Rome and the Latin nations.

Poetry is the perennial product of a Latin-American writer, and there are literally thousands of poets. And, indeed, much of that which they write is really very good. In Latin America poetry flourishes like a green bay tree. Every newspaper contains effusions by some local bard, and some of them are entitled to take high rank among literary productions.

The burning verses written by the Latin-American bard to his "mistress' eyebrow" are intense almost to the point of delirium in their expressions of love. A haunting form of pathos and mystery pervades them. The solemn stillness of the ink-black night, the strange weird sounds in the dread cañons, the fitful breaths of the

vast forests, or the soft notes of melody in the pale moonlight by the shimmering waves of the wild ocean, are all backgrounds for a thousand themes of enraptured or despairing affection, of startling daring or fearful danger, told with exquisite modulation, with the rhythm of music and the vividness of art.

To attempt to mention the poets by name would be a task far beyond the limits of this work. It is to be hoped, however, that some scholar may be induced to delve deep into this precious mine of quaint literature for the purpose of adequately presenting it to the English-speaking world.

CHAPTER XLII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SPANISH AMERICA

"The Federal government contributes to the support of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church." — *Constitution of Argentina.*

"The religion of the republic is the Roman Catholic Apostolic, and all others are excluded. The political powers are bound to respect it, to cause it to be respected, and to protect it in its liberty, and all its other rights." — *Constitution of Ecuador.*

"The state recognizes and maintains the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, and prohibits any other public worship, excepting in its colonial territories, where there will be toleration." — *Constitution of Bolivia.*

"The religion of the republic is the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The government protects its practice." — *Constitution of Nicaragua.*

"Peru professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic faith, and does not permit the exercise of any other in public. It is protected and its ministers are supported by the state." — *Constitution of Peru.*

THE government of Haiti concluded a concordat with the Holy See in 1869, by which an archbishopric and dependent bishoprics were established; all incumbents being nominated by the President, appointed by the Pope, and paid by the state.

In Paraguay the religion of the state is the Roman Catholic Apostolic, but the exercise of other forms of worship is tolerated.

In Santo Domingo the religion of the state is the Roman Catholic, but other forms are allowed under certain restrictions.

The established religion of Uruguay, partially supported by the state, is the Roman Catholic, but other forms are tolerated.

I

The Roman Catholic Church is practically the only church in South America, though in some of the countries other churches are nominally tolerated. In other countries no church but the Roman Catholic is permitted. Such mediæval intolerance seems especially incongruous in what are alleged to be republics. I believe there are but three Protestant missions in all Venezuela, none in Bolivia or Ecuador; that there are but one or two in Peru, and few in Chili, Argentina, or Brazil. Even in Mexico, where not the slightest legal distinction is made between churches, there are very few Protestant denominations, and the influence of these is limited. The Roman Catholic Church is

thus a force of vast importance in South America, and commands the most serious thought in connection with the development of these countries.

In South America the adherents, the defenders, of the Roman Catholic Church are called the Conservadores; their opponents, the Liberales. Of the ceaseless outcrop of revolutions, many are considered in the histories as conflicts between the Liberales and the Conservadores. The stranger unfamiliar with the vain imaginations of these people, with their extraordinary illusions, their absurd exaggerations, their incomprehensible ignorance; and moved by their exquisite politeness, their protestations of sacred and undying honor, and by such appearances of heroism or martyrdom as would seem to reduce Kosciusko to a star of the sixth magnitude, — such a person might readily suppose that there was some just ground for placing these revolutions on a higher plane than that of merely mercenary ventures. But he would find, as his experience broadened, that a marauding band calls its members Liberales, Conservadores, Nationalistes, Federalistes, Restauradores, or by any one of a dozen other high-sounding but hollow names, as its grasping fancy prompts.

Occasionally Liberales will tell in American or European newspapers of wrongs as committed by the Conservadores, and as if the Roman Catholic Church were responsible. The writer remembers one noted Colombian whose eyes rolled in fine frenzy and whose voice rang with vows of vengeance as he described how the Conservadores had come into power, had annulled the existing marriage laws, and had declared marriages under such laws null and void; how his brother-in-law had thus been enabled to desert his sister and marry another woman, etc., implying, as he ran on, that the Church was in some manner a party to an outrage committed on the institution of marriage.

Now the Roman Catholic Church regards marriage as one of its sacred functions, a rite, a divine ordinance, which can be celebrated only through its exclusive prerogative. The Church, therefore, denies, and has always denied, the validity of a civil marriage ceremony. But if the Church acquires temporal power through the triumph of the so-called Conservadores, or otherwise, and influences the government to make void marriages which were civilly valid when performed, such act deserves the severest censure, even though the Church has always declared such marriages to be null and void. An ordinance of a church, however wholesome and salutary in itself, may be both unjust and harmful if incorporated into the civil law of the state, and grossly so if made operative upon non-communicants, and retroactive.

Certain political relations, however, the Roman Catholic Church in South America, as the supreme religious factor of that continent, could not avoid, even if it wished to do so. Within its fold are most of the distinguished families and most of the few respectable educa-

tional institutions. Such semi-political relations between Church and state as exist in the departments of education and charity are of unquestioned public utility, and are seldom molested, even during periods of the bloodiest revolutions. In like manner are the persons of the clergy and the buildings of the Church regarded as inviolable.

II

Regarding the strictly political activities of the Church as wholly pernicious, and its semi-political connections as ordinarily beneficent, or at least not harmful, let us now consider its moral and spiritual influence.

The Roman Catholic priests in South America comprise the best-educated class of men in the community. I think all of them understand Latin and Spanish, many of them speak French, Italian, Portuguese; not a few understand English and German. In historical and literary knowledge they are pre-eminent. In natural science very few are broadly proficient, but among them are many good mathematicians, and some have a fair working knowledge of astronomy. In the subtleties of logic and philosophy these priests have few superiors, even among our best-trained college men. In the mountain fastnesses, in the great wildernesses, where white men have seldom trod, one may find Roman Catholic churches and missions, and often priests of culture and fine intellectual power.

For the simple, pious, moral lives these men lead, they are worthy of all praise. Public sentiment in South America demands less social restraint than does that in England or the United States, and the temptations are great to lay aside the teachings of virtue and fall in with the semi-dissolute mode of life everywhere prevalent. The climate, the very atmosphere, invites moral as well as physical relaxation. And yet it is the writer's deliberate opinion, based upon personal acquaintance with a large number of priests and upon many years of constant observation, that in the practice of pure morals and ascetic virtue the Catholic priesthood of South America is not surpassed by any body of clergy of equal number in any part of the world. Their moral example and influence, not only by virtue of their authority as functionaries of the Church, but by virtue of their personal and private character, are emphatically for good.

Let us discuss briefly a few of the many phases of the work of the Roman Catholic Church as a great civilizing agent in South America.

In spite of the thunders of the Church and of its dogmas of eternal damnation, "*la querida*" is rife, and an alarming proportion of the people ignore the marriage ceremony; and yet the Roman Catholic Church, refusing absolution to men and women who live together out of matrimony, inculcating always and everywhere the sacred-

ness and indissolubility of the marriage bond, exerts a great and beneficent power.

Another noble influence of the Church lies in its stern and unrelenting attitude in favor of law and order, of stability, and of security to life and property. That in South America bloodshed and anarchy run riot, that its many governments are as unstable as the waves of the sea, is due neither immediately nor remotely, directly nor indirectly, to the Church, but to forces entirely beyond its control. The Church stands for law and order, at all times and under all circumstances. Its teachings are of the strictest and severest morality, and it is one of the mightiest bulwarks of the world against anarchy.

Again, in works of charity, in a land where the demands on charity are so great, the resources so small, the Church deserves the greatest credit. Go to any leper hospital or colony in South America, and there will you find *Las Hermanitas de los Pobres* (The Little Sisters of the Poor) devoting their lives to ministering to these sad, pathetic outcasts of the world. Human love and devotion can do no more. Sublimest of all heroines, these infinitely blessed women make us feel, even in our darkest hours, the divine essence in humanity. The church in whose name and under whose authority they labor deserves and will receive for such noble work the admiration and respect of all just, broad-minded men.

Moreover, the Church in South America is the most earnest champion of the cause of education. What little effort has been made to establish an efficient system of schools has sprung from the priests, and if the methods of education are deficient and inadequate and the facilities for education limited in comparison with those in civilized countries, it must not be forgotten that the Church is not the government, and cannot be blamed for the constant political disorder that not only prevents the establishment of any efficient system of popular education, but also heavily handicaps all commerce, all industry, everything that makes for civilization as against barbarism.

III

Perhaps the most transcendent of all deficiencies in the political life of Spanish America is the lack of stern morality. This lack may be attributed in no small degree to the great scarcity among the people of the Bible, whose value in implanting positive doctrines of morality and in forming sound character is incalculable. The Church falls far short of accomplishing all that it should accomplish in spreading broadcast this Book of books, — this work of profound philosophy, this unrivalled storehouse of literature, this vast reservoir of history, this infallible guide in pure morality, this beacon of eternal hope. I am satisfied that at the present time not one family in a hundred, in

Spanish America, has a copy of the Bible in the house. No one could do a greater service to humanity than to place a copy in every family of the land.

IV

The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America fully deserves high praise, even in broader terms than are here employed, but unqualified approval it cannot receive. There is a blemish, — the religious intolerance prevailing in Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and some other countries, where, under concordats established with the Holy See, or from other causes, the free development and exercise of Protestant beliefs are hindered, Protestant missions harassed, and their schools molested.

This policy is so short-sighted, so narrow-minded, so indefensible, that one may well feel that the various states, rather than the Church, are primarily responsible for it. The influence of the Church in South America is a wondrous blessing, a vast power for good; but religious intolerance on its part is the very thing of all things that might undermine or destroy that power. The progress of the Church in the United States demonstrates that its marvellous development is not incompatible with the widest religious freedom and mutual tolerance.

The true strength of the Church is not in fanatics or in bigoted adherents, but in the sincere veneration of broad-minded, thoughtful men. The Church in South America should use its influence with the powers of state, to the end that religious intolerance shall cease.

CHAPTER XLIII

AN ESTIMATE OF THE INFLUENCE OF SPAIN ON THE LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

IN the United States it is common to blame, for the manifold disorders of Latin America, not its inhabitants, but Spain. Thus, it is said that if they have not yet learned the art of self-government, it is because they as colonists have been oppressed and ground down, and have been given no opportunity to govern themselves. Dr. Freeman Snow, in his lectures on International Law before the Naval War College, said:

"In palliation of their condition, it might be said that when they began their existence as independent states seventy years ago their people had never had the slightest experience in self-government. They were ruled by governors appointed by the King of Spain, and they had existed largely, if not solely, for the benefit of the mother country."

It is true that Spain has neither ever understood nor attempted in good faith to practise the basic principles of good government, — justice and "a square deal" for all men. But Venezuela, Colombia, and Central America (excepting Costa Rica) were better governed by the Spanish viceroys than they ordinarily have been governed since. The Spanish colonial system was by no means ideal, — in fact it was indefensible, but under it life and property were safer than they have been under the dictatorships.

I

When Spain is mentioned to an American, he thinks of, first, her religious intolerance, as typified in the Inquisition; second, her bloody and tyrannical career all through Latin America, notably in Peru and Mexico, exemplified in the Conquistadores, and in Weyler in Cuba; third, the evidence of a cruel spirit, shown even in her national sport, the bull-fight.

This indictment is severe, and justified by the facts. But let us consider the matter a little further.

The Inquisition was horrible, beyond the powers of description and of condemnation. But Spain had no monopoly of fanaticism and bigotry. The record of our own witchcraft persecutions, in enlight-

ened Massachusetts, constitutes a chapter of horrors which makes one ashamed of his race. Nor was England blameless. For instance, David Lewis, Bishop of Llandaff, a Roman Catholic priest, for the sin of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, was hanged, disembowelled, and quartered August 27, 1697. On the scaffold this sainted man said:

"But why again this untimely death? My religion is the Roman Catholic religion. In it I have lived above forty years. In it I now die, and so fixedly die, that if all the good things in this world were offered to me to renounce it, all should not move me one hair's breadth from my Roman Catholic faith. A Roman Catholic I am, a Roman Catholic priest I am, a Roman Catholic priest of that religious order called the Society of Jesus I am; and I bless God, who first called me, and I bless the hour in which I was first called, both unto that faith and function. Please now to observe, I was condemned for reading Mass, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, anointing the sick, christening, marrying, preaching. As for reading the Mass, it was the old, and still is the accustomed and laudable, liturgy of the Holy Church; and all the other acts which are acts of religion tending to the worship of God; and for this dying, I die for religion. . . . Whomsoever, present or absent, I have ever offended, I humbly desire them to forgive me. As for my enemies, had I as many hearts as I have fingers, with all those hearts would I forgive my enemies."

Anglo-Saxons about to condemn the Spanish people for religious intolerance, ponder well these words: "Let him that sinneth not, cast the first stone!"

The cruelty practised by the Conquistadores, and thenceforward down the long line of Spanish generals even to Weyler, has been grave and indefensible. But it has been mild, indeed, as compared with the unspeakable outrages wrought by the military Dictators and Jefes of Latin America, since the "Independence," — crimes (practised under the pretended authority of government!) which make one heart-sick to contemplate.

We call the bull-fight cruel; so it is, and no thoroughly civilized people could enjoy it. But while we Americans regard with horror the bull-fight, with its disembowelling of noble horses, its stabbing of goaded bulls, we yet persist in that infinitely more savage and barbarous crime against humanity and Christian decency, — the execution of men and women by process of law. Think of a people that pretends to be moral and civilized, taking a helpless, trembling fellow creature and torturing him or her for weeks or months, through the devious and inscrutable processes of the "law"; think of its holding the horror of the scaffold ever before the imagination of the threatened victim and then slitting "the thin-spun life"; think of its terrifying the hearts and shaking the reason of the victim's wife and children, his father or mother; of the daughter, begging the executive to spare her father's life, but begging in vain; think of the unspeakable infamy

of hanging an innocent man, and I believe that hundreds of them have been hanged in the United States through the fatal mistakes of judges and juries who claimed to be God-fearing, law-abiding citizens; — think of all of this damning, deadening horror; and while it stalks beside us, let us prate no more of Spanish bull-fights!

II

Let us now consider what Spanish influences, in addition to the forces and instruments of government, have affected the Latin-American peoples.

The permanently beneficial influence of the Roman Catholic religion (elsewhere more fully set forth) may properly be credited to Spain.

The language and literature of Spain are a priceless inheritance. The Spanish language is the most exquisite form of human speech, — soft yet sonorous, rhythmic yet flexible. Free from the barbarities that play havoc with English spelling and German declensions, it is susceptible of the most delicate inflections, the most varied intonations. Exuberant yet precise, lithe and graceful, musical, luxurious, it is a beautiful medium for the expression of philosophy, of art, of poetry, and of love. On the other hand, it is inapt for intense concentration, for thundering invective, for terse commercial terminology. It is, indeed, an ornate and delicate tongue, stealing insensibly into one's affections and remaining there.

The literature that has come down to Latin America from the mother country is, of course, worthy of profound study and admiration. Calderon and Cervantes are but two of the many great names that adorn her literary annals.

Another heritage from Spain, worthy of all praise, is that stately courtesy, that fine politeness, which everywhere obtains, even among the lower classes. Latin America contains unnumbered assassins, but the coarse, loud-mouthed bully is rare. It is unusual to hear one man swear at or abuse another, and when the affair reaches that pass, the dagger is certain to be ready in the background. The influence of good manners, even on the worst of men, is of no mean value. The real Spanish gentleman is the very quintessence of good breeding, courteous hospitality, sincerity. He is a very high type of man, — not rare by any means; and one regrets that he has not had the physical power necessary to control the state policies of Spain.

There are many states whose ideals and methods of government correspond very closely to what might reasonably be expected, in view of the intellectual, moral, and physical development of their inhabitants. The United States, England, France, and Switzerland are examples. The government of Mexico is far in advance of, and the government of Spain is far behind, what might be expected under

such a test. The people of Spain as individuals have higher principles of morality, higher ideals of conduct, than might be inferred from a study of Spain's government policies. And so with the countries of Central America, with Colombia, and with Venezuela; their peoples socially and morally are far better than their "governments." If this were not so, civilized existence would be quite impossible in these countries. It is then in government that Spain has made the most complete failure. Her governing class has been corrupt and tyrannical, destructive rather than constructive.

Spain has not known how to govern colonies. This, however, is a deficiency to be judged leniently; and it is not at the root of the weakness of the Latin-American governments. Even the mighty United States is still feeling its way, in the administration of colonial possessions; in governing the Philippines and Porto Rico, it has proved that it yet has much to learn. England, the greatest colonizing power of the world, had to serve a costly apprenticeship. Her bitter experience in losing the American colonies taught her more than a century ago that the more she should foster and benefit her colonies, the stronger and greater would she herself become.

But if the bandit governments of Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia do not owe their present depravity to the mother country (France as to Haiti, Spain as to all the others), then to what do they owe it? To one and the same cause, in every country (but Haiti) of Central and South America, — miscegenation. Of Haiti, a negro colony, no advance in government could have been expected, for the African race up to the present time has plainly shown its incapacity for self-government. The future capacity is beyond the scope of certain prediction; but up to the present time this race, saving noted individual exceptions, has not been a factor of importance in the world's civilization. We may now consider, as one group, all the other countries of Latin America.

Ethnologists divide the human family into three great branches, — the Caucasian, the Turanian, and the Ethiopian. The Turanian branch includes the Chinese, the Japanese, and the American Indians. China for thousands of years has had a government of a relatively high degree of civilization. Japan is now accounted one of the great powers. The Aztecs and Incas, in Mexico and Peru, even in their isolated condition, remote from all exterior influences, attained a considerable degree of civilization. I believe that Mexico and Peru, even before the discovery of America, had better, more stable, and more civilized governments than the present governments of the countries of Central America, of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, with the possible exception of Costa Rica. Good governments, then, have been established by the Caucasian race; relatively good governments by the unmixed Turanian race;

but no civilized government has ever yet been established by the Ethiopian race or by the mixed breeds.

Here is the mainspring of Latin-American degeneracy, — not Spanish example, not even Spanish tyranny, but the mixed character of the Latin-American blood. These countries are suffering from the endemic mongrel, — by this miscegenate product of white adventurers, red Indians, and black Ethiops they are attainted to the core.

III

Returning now to the heritage of Latin America from Spain, it is relevant to note here some of the striking defects in Spanish character.

Perhaps the most conspicuous of these defects, among the so-called better classes, is their radically mistaken notion of labor. They regard labor not only with aversion, but with contempt. It is beneath the dignity of a Spanish gentleman to engage in productive enterprises. A man may hold his position among the Creole aristocracy, if he be a gambler, an intriguing scoundrel, a polite blackmailer, or a murderous military chief; but if he once soils his hands with honest labor of any sort, he is placed beyond the pale of social recognition. Of course, a community imbued with so disastrous a prejudice as this cannot thrive; and to this characteristic of those who should be national leaders, combined with the slow, almost arrested, intellectual development of the Spanish women, is largely due the weakness of Spain.

A man bent on getting rich quick, without the drudgery of labor, finds it an easy descent to intriguery and scoundrelism. From Spanish contempt for the dignity of labor springs easily corruption, so rife in Spanish official circles.

PART V—BUSINESS CONDITIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

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CHAPTER XLIV

CONCESSIONS AND MONOPOLIES

THE government "concession" is a peculiarly distinctive feature of Latin-American business life. It somewhat resembles the special charter granted by a state legislature in the United States, where, however, the special charter system has now been largely superseded by general incorporation acts, uniform in operation and effect. It is essentially a special privilege conferred by the government on a person, firm, or corporation; a privilege not conceded by the general laws, or at least not exercisable except by special permission of the government.

A United States patent bears a certain analogy to a concession; but a patent is granted by virtue of general laws, and not because of special favoritism; and while it creates an artificial monopoly, it does so only under wholesome restrictions, for a limited period, and in the product of one's brains.

Concessions are of all classes, for all purposes, and embrace all objects. They are granted by the executive department of the government, and although they nominally require the approval of the Congress, yet as this body is always actually, if not theoretically, appointed by the Dictator, such approval is only a matter of the wishes of that exalted personage.

To attempt to carry on, without a concession, mining, transportation, or manufacturing, would be, in most Latin-American countries, a highly dangerous venture, resulting eventually in great difficulties, and probably in the loss of all the capital invested in the enterprise. Even if one wishing to embark in some such business should find that no one already had a concession for the same, still he would be very unwise to start without a concession of his own. Although the general law of the country may give him a clear right to embark in the desired line of business, he must not rely upon the general law. If no concession had already been granted, giving to some person the exclusive right for a long period of years to develop or operate in this line, it is simply an oversight, which will be remedied just as soon as the Dictator's attention is called to it. If our business man should without a concession begin to make tallow candles or straw mats, or to dig guano, or to smelt copper ore, no sooner would his business be established with a reasonable prospect of success than

he would be surrounded by a horde of hungry, envious politicians and military chiefs, who would go to the limit of human craft in devising schemes for robbing him of the reward of his efforts. A more decisive fate would await him, however, for to a certainty the government would grant to some member of its clique a concession, giving to the favored henchman exclusive privileges and unlimited power, and killing all competition in the line of industry initiated by our hapless friend. He would have to buy that concession, or go out of business. And as attention had been called to the profits in the business, the concession would cost very much more than it would have cost had he bought in the first place. To appeal to the courts in such a case would be idle and preposterous; to appeal to his legation, almost equally so. Thus caught between the millstones, he finds little sympathy in any quarter, least of all at the legation of his own government, where all too frequently there are concessions for sale. He is regarded as legitimate prey, as fish that come to the net.

A short time ago the government of Venezuela granted to some one the exclusive privilege of grinding corn-meal in the Federal District. The monopoly of importing flour had previously been granted to some one else, and the price of the cheapest grade had risen to fifteen dollars a barrel, as against three dollars a barrel in New York. (Doubtless the Dictator and his clique received a continuous income from this monopoly, or they would have abolished it, after the first payment.) So far, only the middle and upper classes had been pinched, but with the corn-meal concession came the turn of the miserably poor. The great mass of the peons, who live on a cent or two a day, had been in the habit of grinding their corn themselves on a concave-shaped stone, called a *metata*, and making from the pulp a kind of corn-cake (*arepa*). Thousands of people, reduced to the ragged edge of starvation, could still keep soul and body together on that wretched stint of corn which in the ultimate is necessary to support human life. But now came the omnivorous concession, and grasped, as with the tentacles of an octopus, even this poor, unpromising field. Somebody in the clique was given the exclusive right to grind corn, and when a conscientious newspaper editor cried out on behalf of the poor and asked for the rescission of the concession, he was promptly locked up in jail, where he might thank his stars if he could get an *arepa* even at the price asked by the concessionaire.

The number of these concessions surpasses all comprehension. A foreigner of creative energy who desires to develop an industry is met at every point of the compass with obstacles in the shape of previously granted concessions which he must buy up, or whose holders he must in some way appease, often before he can even start. For instance, he proposes to purchase and operate a mine situated ten or fifteen miles away from a navigable river. He examines the titles and plans of the mine, gets the opinions of the best lawyers he can find, and finally suc-

ceeds in getting the titles in strict conformity with the mining law. It may be that it will take him months, or even years, to do this, for if any one interested believes the mine to be valuable, a thousand obstacles will be thrown in the way of the correction of the most trivial defect in the titles, in the hope that the purchaser may buy with the flaws still outstanding, and thus may later be thrown into litigation. But let us suppose that he has overcome these preliminary difficulties, and is now ready to operate his mine. Before cutting a tie, or laying a rail, or even making a survey, he must get a concession from the government. Here will come waiting, conferences of generals, of statesmen, and of *autoridades*, more waiting, and then — *mañana*. He might feel that, as he had bought his mine and paid for it, and was ready and willing to pay for any land his railroad might occupy, he ought to have the right to build his road and work his mine; "but nay, not so fast."

The government will probably begin by demanding that its intended victim purchase at least $50,000 worth of government bonds (documents usually of value — as souvenirs of misplaced confidence!), and that he then deposit them somewhere as an "evidence of good faith," a pledge that he proposes to work his prospective concession. The trend of further negotiations depends largely upon the skill and patience of the "victim." If he knows exactly how to deal with the "gang" that confronts him, if as a keen analyst of human nature he knows its weak points and when to take advantage of them, if he throws in with his cash a lot of soft-soap and flapdoodle about the noble aspirations and patriotic impulses of the Dictator, and the great benefit to be derived by the dear people, he may, in the course of six months or a year, and after a cash expenditure of $10,000 to $20,000 for lawyers' fees, etc. (bribery included), get the coveted privilege of laying down his own rails on his own land to his own mine! He probably feels sure now that he is "out of" his most dismal "woods," but again he counts without his host. His concession doubtless concedes that he may bring in his rails and machinery free of duty. This is but a confirmation of the law of the land. However, he would better realize first than last, that there is nothing "free." For each invoice that comes in "free of duty," one must petition the government to release such duty, and each petition must be covered with revenue stamps; and the luckless importer frequently finds it cheaper to pay the duties than to buy the stamps! Furthermore, even the most trivial clerical mistake in the "freeing" process would subject him to a fine enormously disproportionate to the offence.

But now that the railroad is complete, and our "Captain of Industry" is ready to operate his mine, — ah! now have his troubles really begun. The Constitution and the laws provide that there shall be free navigation forever of all the rivers and navigable water within the national domain. In fact, the navigation of the river our friend has

planned to utilize has been free for the past hundred years. But in fondly thinking it free as the ocean he has made a huge mistake. No sooner is he ready to use this river extensively, on a scale appropriate to his enterprise, than some one bobs up with a concession, running thus:

"*Considering* that the Supreme Head of the Republic, in the exercise of his constitutional attributions, has, with profound wisdom and inspired patriotism, ever sought to encourage and develop the natural riches and resources of the country, thus being a constant and perennial source and fountain of inspiration to industry; and *considering* that the rich and magnificent district lying adjacent and contiguous to the River So and So, is deserving of the nation's most ardent efforts to aid it in the path to glory; and *considering* that the highly cultured people of that region are entitled to the highest benefits which come from great public works splendidly conceived and magnificently executed; *now therefore*, in obedience to the wishes of, and in compliment to the exalted merits of, the people of the District So and So, State So and So, the Constitutional President of the Republic has made the following contract," etc.

Then will follow the concession, probably granted by the Dictator years before, in anticipation of just such a case as this; by which Señor So and So agrees to canalize and clean such river, and in return for the great public benefit thus conferred, is given the exclusive right and privilege to navigate this river for, say, fifty years. The river has never been either canalized or cleaned, probably has never needed either operation. But of course the concessionaire, who is one of the ring, and is collecting toll for the Dictator, claims that he can prove that he has performed his agreement and that the concession is in full force and effect. What is our would-be navigator to do? Go to law about it, or go to see his government's legation? Either course would be time and money wasted, and would lead him straight to the poor-house or the insane asylum. His only sane plan is to put on the boldest possible front, to pretend that he will fight to the finish, will make an international question of it, etc.; and then let him make the best compromise he can, and "settle up."

Alas, poor "foreign pig"! Another "sticking" is at hand. It turns out that his concession yet lacks the approval of Congress! When the Dictator approved the concession, he, of course, "felt satisfied" that Congress would approve it; in fact, there was no need at all for doubt or fear on that point. Now that Congress is actually in session, however, the case is somewhat different. Great opposition has developed. The interests of the country must be protected. It now appears that this concession is very much more inimical to the interests of the country than was at first imagined. It might lead to smuggling, a thing no one had thought of at first. Exciting debates will now take place in the halls of the statesmen, while the newspapers will ring with the outrages this "foreign pig" is trying to commit on

the sacred rights of the *Patria*. In the mean time one of the members of the cabinet will offer to the "pig" his good services in trying to allay the opposition in Congress — for a small consideration, such as personal friendship might dictate — say, $15,000. The negotiations will probably result in their finally "getting together" at $10,000; whereupon it will be found that although the concession has some bad features, yet on the whole it is beneficial to the country, and therefore should be approved.

Even yet the gantlet is not wholly run; the weary steeple-chaser has yet to take the banner hurdle — is the concession constitutional? We have elsewhere discussed the ephemeral and unstable character of the Constitution, and have shown it to be extra-judicial, something apart from the law, rather than a vital organism of principles forming the groundwork of the law, the essence of the body politic. Its elasticity is very convenient when the Dictator thinks that the patient purchaser is inclined to be a bit niggardly in his payments. Now can the Dictator strike at his very heart, for if the concession be unconstitutional, then of course it is worthless; and who is to expound and interpret the Constitution, — who but the Court, controlled and appointed by the Dictator?

The foregoing is no fanciful sketch. It is a fair description of a commonplace experience, understated rather than exaggerated. The swarm of concessions which have been granted by any one of these Latin-American governments is beyond all enumeration, past all belief. On every side human action is held down, bound, and gagged by this monster of governmental greed and graft. Gulliver on the shore of Lilliput was no more securely bound by the thousands of threads that everywhere tightened around his limbs than is industry in South America by the thugs and parasites of the dictators. The breath of life of all enterprises save some of the simpler forms of mercantile business is government sanction and favor. Everything, from the conclusion and ratification of an international treaty to the appointment of a doorkeeper in a calaboose, must receive the personal attention and approval of the Dictator. A member of the cabinet is merely a messenger boy for his Mightiness, the Head of the "Republic."

Many a concession (perhaps some monstrous "castle in the air") stands ready for the Dictator's approval, of him, for him, held by a henchman for his benefit; and hence it is usually cheaper and much quicker to buy one of these ready-made affairs, if one can be found exactly fitted to the necessities of the case, than to undergo the interminable delay and expense of having one made to order.

The writer has a collection of thirty or forty large volumes, of five hundred to a thousand pages each, of concessions granted by the government of Venezuela. That nine hundred and ninety-five out of every thousand of these concessions are mere soap-bubbles, held without the slightest intention of ever putting them into practical opera-

tion, is evident at a glance. Many have yet long periods to run. Some would be of immense value if lived up to by the government. Many have been sold to foreigners and afterwards cancelled, but by far the larger number of them remain in the hands of this "Doctor," that "Colonel," or the other "General."

The doors of prosperity are forever closed to a country oppressed by such an incubus as this. There may now and then be an exception, as Mexico, with its great Dictator, mighty for advancement, Porfirio Diaz. But generally this system is fatal to progress, — even more fatal than are revolution and disorder. Where a man cannot safely proceed with his business plans without first spending months, even years, in getting the consent of the government, — a consent which should be free as the sunshine, absolute as gravity, — where the success or failure of his business is more a question of government favoritism than of individual enterprise, in the land infested with such government there can be no great and stable industrial development. The blessings of liberty are nowhere more fully exemplified than in the multifarious relations of commerce. As men are left free in their contractual relations, free to embark in any business not immoral or detrimental to the public good, free to labor as they will and reap the reward of their efforts, will they — yes, and the country where they labor — become great and prosperous. There is no better example than business of the doctrine that the best government is that which subjects the individual to the least interference consistent with sound public policy.

I. The Salt Monopoly

Curaçao is a little island in the Caribbean Sea, near the Venezuelan coast, controlled by the Netherlands. Here salt is obtained from the ocean by means of "salt pans," — large shallow depressions into which, to a depth of about three feet, the salt water flows through sluices from the sea, and where it evaporates by the sun's heat. After evaporation (the process taking several months), the salt residue is removed and put into bags, and is then ready for shipment. These bags of salt are sold alongside in Curaçao for 30 cents each, or $2.10 gold per ton. Oddly enough, the salt from the pans on the east end of the island differs greatly from that from the pans on the west end, about thirty miles away. The east end salt comes in large lumps and coarse grains, while that from the west end is in fine particles. This difference has never been accounted for. In Venezuela, only a night's sail away, the price of this salt has risen from 30 cents per bag to $15 per bag, or $105 gold per ton! In order to buy even a pound of salt, one must get a certificate from the Administration of Salinas that it is not contraband, must stamp documents, sign statements, and go on and on through a mass of red tape. And the salt is always coarse and filthy. Venezuela is full of

salt mines. Salt there ought to be dug out as cheaply as sand out of a sand bank. And it is. But there is a monopoly. Dictator after Dictator, Jefe after Jefe, has lined his pockets with money, the monopoly always readily paying the money, the Dictator or Jefe always drawing the noose tighter and tighter. Of the vast gross amount of money obtained by the monopoly, a little goes into the government treasury, some goes as interest on salt scrip, much more goes as net to the monopoly, and the lion's share, as usual, goes to the ruling Dictator. The old issues of scrip represent what the former Dictators have stolen; the newer issues stand for the requirements of the ruling Dictator. The shameful price charged by the monopoly stands for the last drop of blood that can be squeezed out of the public.

Maracaibo Lake and the rivers of Venezuela and Colombia are filled with fish. Years ago fishing was a considerable industry. Many hundreds of poor men fished day and night from their little *cayucas*. Their catch was salted and shipped into the interior, into the mountains, where the people have to eat salt fish or none. But the salt monopoly put an end to that, for now salt fish became so dear that the natives in the interior could not afford to buy it. Many a poor fisherman, knowing where in abandoned salt wells worked neither by the government nor the monopoly salt was lying like sand in heaps, would venture after dark to go and get a bagful of it with which to cure his fish. If he was caught in the act, he was shot; if he was found out afterwards, a long term of imprisonment awaited him. They would not give him a Mauser and put him into the army, as they would an assassin, but he would be locked up in a filthy cell and left to rot.

Again, the fishermen's wives tried to get a little salt by washing it out of the sands of the seashore, but the government put a stop to that, and locked up some of the women. And in Venezuela, to-day, punishment swift, severe, monstrously disproportionate, is meted out to the man who takes a tin cup of salt out of an abandoned mine for the use of his wife and children!

In Colombia the price of salt is 70 cents per pound, $1400 per ton!

In Ecuador the government-protected salt monopoly is a little more tolerable. The price here is but $20 gold per ton (only nine or ten times the Curaçao price), but the restrictions, the search-warrants, and the countless other exactions devised by these vampire despotisms are no less atrocious in Ecuador than in Venezuela or Colombia.

In the latter part of 1905 the government of Peru decreed the formation of a "Limited Liability Company" for the purpose of controlling and monopolizing salt.

"ART. 1. The Executive Power is merely authorized to contract the administration of the salt with a limited liability company, under the conditions which it may consider most convenient for the Government's interest

with a charge for commission not to exceed 6 per cent, and for such a length of time as may be necessary for the more effective execution of the laws Nos. 43 and 44, of December 30, 1904.

"ART. 2. For the purpose of fixing the prices for the sale of the salt in the different places of its consumption the Government shall consider as a tax the same rate which now rules: viz., 5 cents per kilogram for that used for domestic consumption, and 1 cent for that used for industrial purposes."

II. SAMPLE CONCESSIONS AND MONOPOLIES

Ice manufacture is one of the most intolerable of monopolies, — another "divvy" with the "powers that be." Ice in Maracaibo, Cartagena, Puerto Cabello, La Guaira, — in fact, in the entire torrid district, — costs from ten to twenty times as much as it does in New York. One buys ice as in the States he would buy candy, by the pound, and it costs four or five cents a pound at that. Ice from the United States could be laid down in any of these places at six or seven dollars a ton; but no, for ice of the poorest quality the people must pay at the rate of sixty or seventy dollars a ton. Pearl fishing is a monopoly; so is the slaughter of cattle, and one of the most abominable of them all. Both the manufacture of matches and that of cigarettes are monopolized. In Venezuela the importation of chewing-tobacco is prohibited, and the home-made stuff which masquerades there as such is the filthiest imaginable. The making of soap — the making of almost everything a man with a streak of white in him needs! — is monopolized.

That the reader may get at least a glimmering of the enormity of this incubus upon business, a few samples, from the tens of thousands, follow. They are Venezuela cases, as I have a transcript of Venezuelan records; but a similar or worse condition exists in practically all of the other Latin-American countries, especially those of Central America and the northern part of South America.

Concession No. 6245, May 10, 1895, granted a monopoly of the navigation of the river Tocuyo to General José T. Madriz, on the pretence that he was to canalize it.

Concession No. 6441, March 10, 1896, relating to immigration, granted to Dr. Manuel M. Galaois, under which he agreed to bring into Venezuela within the period of seven years at least sixty thousand German, Swiss, North American, Spanish, Irish, Italian, and Dutch immigrants. Who was the concessionaire — not some millionaire philanthropist who wanted to benefit the human family? He who knows conditions in Venezuela will see at once that this "concession" is nothing but arrant tomfoolery and bad faith. There are no millionaire philanthropists in Venezuela. How does "Doctor" Galaois (who doubtless holds his concession for the benefit of the governing Military Chief) make anything out of it, or even get his money back? He appears grandly to contemplate the expenditure of millions on mil-

lions of dollars. In return for this vast outlay he is to receive about twelve acres of land per immigrant. Acres bring about fifteen cents a dozen; there are millions in Venezuela that would be dear at a dollar a square mile. The scheme is, to lure a vast herd of guileless families who have been impressed by our Sister Republic, Venezuela, who dream of our glorious Monroe Doctrine, who have assimilated much literary material concerning the "Pan" Conventions and the Bureau of American Republics, who sympathize with the roseate imaginings of the consuls, and who therefore believe in liberty and justice in Venezuela, — the scheme is to get such families as these down there, to rob them of all they have, be it fifty dollars or five hundred dollars, and then, with brigandage and starvation surrounding them, with disease and death facing them, to leave them to the mercy of the tribunals of the Sovereign State of Venezuela, sheltered by the Ægis of International Law!

Concession No. 6546, May 27, 1896, granted to Frederico Bander, for the preparation of smoked meat.

"Frederico Bander agrees to introduce and to implant in the Republic, in the course of one year, counting from the date on which this contract shall be approved by the National Congress, the industry unknown in the Republic, of preparing and conserving meat smoked, cooked, or in any other form, and for this purpose will establish in the Republic of Venezuela, in those places which he may consider most appropriate for the enterprise, the establishments and factories required by said industry, so as to be able to furnish such meat products not only for consumption in this country, but also for exportation, which is to be the principal business of the enterprise."

It would seem that one might build a smoke-house without being subjected to a rigmarole of documents, stamps, and other red tape; without being in the immediate keeping of him who also guides the Ship of State, — but not so, in Venezuela.

Nor may a man establish even his own chicken roost without the paternalistic approval of the Unwashed Authorities. On October 4, 1895, Concession No. 6371 was granted to General J. Gualberto Hernandez for the acclimatization and fattening of fowl and other small animals. The contract was drafted with as much ceremony and formality as an international treaty. General Hernandez "agrees to introduce and acclimatize the classes of fowls and other small animals advantageous for fattening," etc.

Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll used to say that Tammany had two objects of existence, — grand and petty larceny. It is fair to say that even Tammany's broad grasp has never compassed the poultry business. A longish step for the General, from the pinnacles of statesmanship, "God and Federation," and the immortal glory of the *Patria*, to — hen-farming. But it is to be feared that the General had his eye on somebody else's fowls, not his own. We note, as we go on, that all

the doubts and controversies arising under this contract will be resolved by the alleged tribunals of the alleged Republic, and will not give rise to international reclamations. This at least is reassuring, because it would be sad indeed if General J. Gualberto Hernandez's hen-roost should lead to an imbroglio among the Great Powers.

Concession No. 6353, August 14, 1895, grants a monopoly in the "exploration of Free Lands," to one Alcala, for the Section Guayana, State of Bolivar. The milk in this cocoanut is found in Article II: "As soon as gold or any mineral shall be discovered, Adriano Regino Alcala will fulfil the requisites prescribed in the Code of Mines then in force as necessary in order to acquire the mining concession."

The Dictator probably had learned that some foreign explorer had discovered mines in this region. Forthwith he granted this concession to one of his henchmen. So long as it should remain in the hands of the Dictator or his clique, it would be held to supersede, in the specified district, the general mining law; but should the enterprising explorer buy it, and begin operations, he would find himself at the mercy of the ruling military Jefe, for lo! this capricious concession would soon turn out to be in conflict with the Code of Mines, or the Constitution, or something else.

Some wonderful fancies float through the minds of Latin Americans. Windbags, "castles in Spain," are as solid as Gibraltar beside many of the concessions of Venezuela. They used to obtain millions of dollars from "financiers" of the United States and Europe on veritable "South Sea Bubbles." Concession No. 6428, February 3, 1896, was granted by Venezuela to José Machado Pinto and Rodulfo Salazar Manrique, for the colonization of the High Orinoco. The project involved establishing vast banks, building railroads, bringing in immigrants by the thousands, mining in vast sections, developing agriculture over millions of acres of wild territory; it was as fantastic and illusory a "pipe-dream" as one could devise. Was this concession granted in good faith? Did ever anybody intend genuinely to work it? If so, why are its terms so vague, so vaporous? Why does its bombast profess to grant almost everything — why is it yet so cunningly worded that it might turn out to grant nothing? One familiar with the history of the Orinoco Concession, of the Manaos Concession, and of a hundred other similar delusions, perceives at a glance the true inwardness of such a scheme. It is to sell out to the simpletons of finance, to fill the foreign investor with fond hopes of enormous prospective profits, and then, when his funds are fast within the net, his money-bags squeezed dry, why then let who will prick the bubble, and relegate the guileless unfortunate to a doubtful claim before the State Department at Washington.

III. Concessions granting Monopolies in Colombia

General Rafael Reyes, President of Colombia, on March 6, 1905, granted an odious monopoly to the Central Bank. It embraced liquors, hides, cigars, cigarettes, and matches. It was preceded by a decree, on March 3, 1905, of which some of the principal articles are as follows:

"Art. 1. For revenue purposes there are hereby established the following government monopolies:

"1. On liquors.

"2. On hides.

"3. On tobacco and cigarettes.

"4. On matches.

"Art. 2. The revenue on liquors consists in the monopoly of the production, introduction, and sale of distilled intoxicating liquors, and embraces:

"(*a*) Cana aguardiente and its compounds.

"(*b*) Brandy or cognac, whiskey, champagne, chartreuse, *cremas*, curaçao, kirsch, and similar liquors, and the extract of cognac and concentrated spirits for the manufacture of said liquors.

"Art. 3. The revenue on hides consists of a tax on the hide of each beef slaughtered and offered for consumption in the republic.

"Art. 4. The revenue on cigarettes and tobacco consists of a tax placed on the consumption of the former, and in the monopoly of the manufacture, introduction, and sale of the latter.

"Art. 5. The revenue on matches consists of the monopoly of their manufacture and sale, as well as of their importation or that of the materials for their manufacture."

Three days after making this decree, General Reyes entered into a contract with the Central Bank, the concern issuing the paper money of Colombia and composed mostly of government officials and other men in the ring, giving to it the exclusive authority (in conjunction, of course, with General Reyes) to carry the decree into effect. On September 4, 1905, General Reyes issued a further decree establishing the prices of hides, matches, etc. One of the articles of this decree reads thus:

"Art. 8. The prices for hides for industrial purposes shall be as follows: In the Capital District, Cundinamarca, and Quesada, $13 per quintal; in Antioquia, Caldas, Tolima, and Huila, $13; in Bolivar, Atlantico, and Magdalena, $14; and in Narino, $11 per quintal."

At a later date the price was fixed at $13 per quintal in Santander, Galan, Boyacá, and Tundama.

On June 12, 1905, the following decree of General Reyes was published regarding the tobacco monopoly:

"Art. 1. The sale and exportation monopoly of tobacco is established as a national revenue, and shall be merged with the monopoly for the manufacture and sale of cigarettes.

"1. From September of the present year no tobacco can be exported and sold on account of private persons.

"2. From the same date the importation of tobacco and cigarettes in any form whatsoever also is prohibited, but this prohibition shall not affect other articles necessary for manufacturing and putting up cigarettes."

To conclude the discussion of concessions and monopolies, it must be evident to the business man who has devoted any attention to the subject, that hope is dead in communities in which governmental monopolies are practically everywhere, as they are in the Latin-American dictatorships. In many of these countries a farmer who raises a patch of tobacco must pay tribute to the governmental monopoly or go to jail. Every act of life, every branch of industry, every effort of inventive genius, every useful project of commercial enterprise, is throttled by these atrocious concessions and monopolies. This rank, hydra-headed disease cannot be cured; the only hope is extirpation. Where this accursed system flourishes, there civilization cannot exist.

CHAPTER XLV

STAMPS AND TARIFFS

IN all South American countries, petitions to the government, checks, drafts, receipts, promissory notes, invoices, and all other documents require government stamps. If the stamps are omitted, or a mistake is made in the amount, a heavy fine is imposed, not by a court of competent jurisdiction, but by the stamp officer. It often occurs in the interior, that no stamps are available, and the inconvenience then is especially great.

A characteristic trick of the various governments of these countries is to issue a decree declaring null and void all stamps of certain issues. A business man in the interior must necessarily carry a large stock of stamps or render himself liable to great inconveniences or heavy fines. He therefore buys, as opportunity offers, sufficient stamps to last until his next return to the base of supply. But now the government, seeing that a certain issue of stamps is thus pretty completely in the hands of merchants, issues a decree declaring the issue void. Thenceforward no one would dare to use one of those stamps, for, if he were discovered, he would be not only fined, but locked up in jail. The government never gives a reason for the decree, nor redeems the stamps. It is simply a "confidence game."

A merchant had $3000 American gold in his safe, and the Venezuelan government knew it. This government wanted gold, and had stamps for sale; so it went to the merchant, told him how highly it esteemed him and how imprudent he was to carry such a large amount of gold in that way, and gave him to understand that he would better trade the gold for stamps. The merchant was inclined to protest, but a man who is days away from a war-ship, and who knows that the government of the United States has no conception of these bandits, cannot see things as he would if some haven of refuge were near. So he finally yielded, as all foreigners in those robber countries sooner or later yield, and gave up his gold and received the stamps. A few weeks later he picked up a copy of the *Gaceta Oficial*, and read of the cancellation of a certain series of stamps. The cold sweat started out on him, for he instantly thought of the series he had in his safe, and this it proved to be. He never got back a dollar of his loss through this infamous "hold-up," and as long as the great United States of America continues its present policy, he never will. Indeed the foreigner in Venezuela who complains and protests only lays himself open to a second onslaught far more severe than the first.

During that very week in which Mr. Herbert W. Bowen made his famous declaration at The Hague that Venezuela was as highly civilized as England or France, and that its courts were entitled to as much faith and credit as the courts of those countries, a German business man, agent for some fire-insurance companies, wrote policies on certain houses in Maracaibo for about $150,000. The law relating to stamps did not specify fire-insurance policies, but as it was supposed to cover all cash transactions, he stamped the contracts at the legal rate, according to the premiums, which constituted the cash payment in the matter. His lawyer, one of the ablest in Venezuela, considered that the law was strictly complied with, and this opinion was unquestionably correct.

The government of Venezuela, however, decreed that the policies should be stamped according to their face, thus imposing stamps to an amount even greater than the premiums! Not content with this arbitrary act, the government fined the agent $3800 gold, and ordered that he be locked up in jail. The agent appealed to the German consul, and learned to his dismay that the exequatur of that gentleman, one of the most highly honored business men in South America, had been revoked by Venezuela for no reason assigned.

Here is another case. A spy for the government of a country of South America called upon a business man, a heavy importer, and demanded that the importer submit for examination his invoices for the past six months.

The importer replied, "They are in the custom house."

"But," said the spy, "the law requires you to get them back every six months."

The importer: "I can't get them back unless the customs authorities give them to me."

The spy: "Did you stamp them as the law requires?"

The importer: "Yes, every one of them. Go to the custom house and see them."

After much talking the spy went to the custom house and asked to see the invoices. The administrator said that they had been sent to the chancellor of the exchequer, but, after several days of contentious debate, he produced some of them. The documents produced had only a few stamps on them, — the three or four across which the importer had written his name in cancellation. In the case of a document calling for twenty dollars' worth of stamps, those cancelled by the importer would not amount to more than a dollar. The other stamps, which should have been cancelled by the administrator, were missing. (The law differs somewhat in the different South American countries on this point. In Mexico the importer has to write his name across every stamp, and thus cancel it. In other countries the administrator, or a judge, may cancel the stamps.)

Of course the value of the stamps so seized were part of the per-

quisites of the office. The stamp officer took the opportunity to demand that the importer replace the stamps. The importer flatly refused, and the government officials let the matter drop. The importer had positive proof that he had fully stamped the invoices, and indeed, unless this had been done, the invoices could not have been received in the custom house.

Until they have had some experience of these stamp laws, Americans cannot realize the extent of the nuisance. Every page of the cash book and ledger must have a stamp. Every contract, will, deed, or other conveyance, must be plastered over with stamps. It is almost impossible to turn around without putting a stamp somewhere.

That a government should issue stamps, sell them, cancel them without refunding the money paid, and fine even those who used them simply through mistake, seems incredible; yet Venezuela and Colombia have done this many a time.

I. The Tariff

The tariff may be a dry subject in the United States, but it becomes a very live issue the moment one sets foot in Latin America. By studying the methods of one of those swarthy Dictators, one could almost learn how to draw blood out of a turnip; for there is no method devisable by human ingenuity for extracting a dollar from a man's pocket, which they have not already adopted. The tariff, on both imports and exports, is one of their favorite modes of extortion. Although their "Constitutions" prohibit export charges, what is a little thing like a Constitution when a Dictator wants a dollar?

No sooner do the small farmers, miners, or manufacturers produce for exportation in considerable quantities, with some show of profit, cacao, divi-divi, coffee, hides, fruits, nuts, or anything else, than along comes the ruling "Military Boss" with a little "decreto" imposing an export duty, large enough to absorb at least one half the prospective profits, perhaps two thirds. In Latin America tariff laws, like all other "laws," are made by edicts of the "Military Boss." This simplifies matters greatly, and means quick work. If some one be preparing to export a goodly cargo of cocoanuts, or fibre, or dyewood, or balata gum, on which it is reasonable to suppose that there may be a profit of $10,000, it might be difficult to get "Congress" together in time to pass an export tariff which would cover that particular shipment; besides the game would not be worth the candle; so the Dictator serenely "passes the law" himself. He merely calls his secretary, begins his decree with "Considerando," dashes off a column or two of flapdoodle about the sacred interests and destiny of the country, and his own holy and patriotic intentions, and concludes by imposing on the outgoing goods an export duty sufficient to make the disgusted exporter wish he had been content to live on fish and bananas rather than tempt the hazardous paths of commerce.

A sample of these *decretos* is shown in the following Consular Report to the State Department.

II. Export Duties in Colombia

Minister Hart sends from Bogotá, October 3, 1902, a translation of a recent decree, as follows:

"Art. 1. From the arrival of the present decree to the knowledge of the respective managers of the customs of the Republic, and until new orders be given, the charges for the export duties will be made in gold, in the form and amount below expressed:

Clean coffee	per quintal	$0.70
Coffee in husk	"	.50
Rubber	"	3.50
Hides	"	1.00
Goatskins and the like	"	3.00
Tagua, or vegetable ivory	"	.25
Divi-divi	"	.08
Tobacco:		
Raw	"	.40
Plug	"	.50
Prepared	"	.80
Cotton:		
Raw	"	.30
Clean	"	.35
Seeds	"	.15
Bananas	per bunch	.01
Stuffed birds	per kilogram	1.50
Heron feathers	"	15.00
Orchids	"	.30
Tortoise shell	"	2.50
Balsam	per quintal	1.20
Dye:		
Mora	"	.80
Brasil	"	.80
Construction woods (cedar, galiavo, or any other)	per 1000 superficial feet	2.40
Cocoanuts	per 1000	1.00
Cattle	per head	8.00
Straw hats	per kilogram	.50

"Art. 2. Articles not mentioned, declared for export, will be valued by the Section of Inspection of the respective custom, with the approval of the Manager, and will pay 5 per cent of the value in gold.

"Art. 3. The Government will charge for the freight of export cargo: In the Upper Magdalena, $1 gold, in the lower Magdalena, 80 cents gold — for every cargo not exceeding 10 arrobas (250 pounds). . . . "

An outsider would scarcely discover the true inwardness of the above. But the chances are that the Dictator had learned that a large shipment of cattle or of goat skins was about to be made, and that he included the other schedules merely for the purpose of covering up his tracks. It will be observed that the Colombian government proposes to charge, for "freight of export cargo" on the Magdalena River,

$1.80 per 10 arrobas, or $14.40 gold per ton. This is in addition to the export duty, which, on cattle, is "expressed" as $8 per head.

Even if the government should actually carry the goods, freight charges of $14.40 per ton would be outrageous. The Magdalena is as large and quite as navigable as the Ohio, and there are many fine steamboats, owned by an American company, plying on its waters, — that is, when the Dictator is in a complaisant mood.

After this brief exposé, any business man can see that this export schedule was made simply for blackmailing purposes; several of the articles it would be impossible to export under the conditions named. Moreover, further on in the same decree are some really luminous clauses. Read carefully the following (the italics are the author's):

"ART. 9. *Exporters who are willing to do so* will be exempt from the payment of the export duties and of the freight [the Government freight charges] if they will deliver to the Government, as a loan, a sum double the value of the duties and freights.

"1. The said loan will be returned *in the manner and terms which the Congress of the Republic shall determine*, or before, if the Government can do so.

"2. The duties, freights, and loans with which this decree deals will be paid in Colombian gold, according to law 73 of 1867.

"ART. 10. Special passports and safe-conducts will be issued by the Ministry of War for all those conducting cargo for export to river ports.

"The civil and military chiefs, as well as the commanders and chiefs of operations in the field, will order the necessary measures to quicken and facilitate export; will give strict fulfilment to Decree No. 1202 of 1901, and for no reason will put contributions on export articles."

Couched in delicate phrase, this is *per se* duress, sheer and shameful; nor are the claws far beneath the velvet!

III. PORT CHARGES IN HONDURAS

The Dictator of Honduras is rather more modest than his Colombian compatriot; still, there is a smack of rapacity in his ways.

The following report was made by Alfred K. Moe, United States Consul, Tegucigalpa, October 14, 1903:

PORT CHARGES

On every package or bale of merchandise unloaded at a port of entry in Honduras there must be paid certain fixed port charges, in addition to the customs duties and the commission merchant's fees.

Description	Charges	
Charges at Amapala on goods imported:	Pesos[1]	Cents
Manifest in detail	0.75	28.8
Poliza, or customs permit of entry	1.50	57.6
Transfer fee, custom house	0.50	19.2
Sanitary fee on goods to interior	0.10	3.8
Sanitary fee on goods to the port	0.15	5.7
Municipal duties or imposts on goods destined for the port only:		
Cotton goods, etc., per 100 pounds	1.00	38.4
General merchandise " " "	0.50	19.2
Flour " " "	0.15	5.7
On exports (shipping permit from custom house)	0.75	28.8

[1] Silver.

In order to give an idea of the expense attendant on the entry of merchandise at the ports in Honduras and the shipment thereof to Tegucigalpa, the introduction of a "lot" of 125 pounds of flour at the port of Amapala is illustrated below:

Description	Cost	
	Pesos	
Agent's fees, including all port charges	4.00	$1.536
Duty	2.50	.96
Depot fee, San Lorenzo	0.25	.096
Freight to Tegucigalpa	2.50	.96
Municipal imposts, Tegucigalpa	2.50	.96
Total	11.75	$4.51

But the port charges merely give the leeches an appetizing send-off. The customs duties, the "freight," the stamps required by every invoice, every receipt, and every other bit of paper, all conspire to make the staff of life a luxury, even to the rich.

IV. Increase in the Import Duties of Guatemala

Another sample oppression:

"A decree recently issued by the Government of Guatemala makes a decided increase in the duty collected on imports. The law provides that 30 per cent of the customs duties be paid the Banco de Guatemala for certain bondholders. Until this decree was issued importers paid this 30 per cent on a basis of 10 to 1 United States gold, according to a former decree; but now the 30 per cent must be paid in gold or its equivalent in exchange. To illustrate: Formerly, where the duty amounted to $100, it was necessary to pay 30 per cent at the rate of 10 to 1, or $300 Guatemalan and the $70, or a

total of $370 in Guatemalan currency; while now one must pay 30 per cent in United States gold, which at the present rate of exchange (16 to 1) means $495 Guatemalan currency, and the $70, making $565, — a difference of $195, or an increase of about 53 per cent in the real duty paid. This is a very considerable increase on what was already a heavy burden, and it has had a very depressing effect on all foreign business." — ALFRED A. WINSLOW, Consul-General, Guatemala City, Guatemala, September 7, 1903.

V. OUR "SISTER," PARAGUAY

Those American citizens who have that sure mark of superiority, a belief in anti-imperialism, should move to Paraguay and embark in the exportation business. A recent decree of the Dictator of that "Republic" contains the following, as reported by John N. Ruffin, United States Consul at Asunción. (The italics are the author's.)

"ART. 14. The exportation of hides is subject to duties as follows: Half the hides which will be presented for exportation *are to be delivered to the administrations of the custom houses of the Republic, which will pay for them a discount of 60 cents gold each*, according to the following prices:

"For each kilogram of dry hide, 26 cents gold; for each kilogram of salted hide, 16 cents gold; for each kilogram of fresh hide, 12 cents gold; for each kilogram of imperfect hides, one third the preceding prices, according to the class.

"The administrations of the custom houses will pay these prices in effective gold or its equivalent in paper money at the current rate of exchange of the day, *not to exceed 900*. If the prices of the hides suffer variations that exceed 10 per cent in the consuming market, the Executive Power will proceed to the revision of prices established, in proportion to these variations.

"From the 1st of January, 1904, at each time that the quotation of gold shall go above 900 the exportation of *yerba-maté* will be subject to the following conditions:

"Besides the taxes already in vogue and created by this law, half of the yerba-maté that may be presented for exportation to the custom houses of the Republic will be delivered to them, [the exporter] paying therefor the prices established in the tariff of values, in gold, or paper at the rate of 900, *according as the government wishes*. The exporters of this article will be free from the preceding disposition if they should sell to the government drafts in gold *at the rate of 900*, up to the value of the amount of that part of the yerba comprehended in this [clause of the] law."

In other words, the exporter must sell to the administration one half of his hides at 60 per cent of their "price" (said price being established by said administration) — and then the lordly purchaser will pay in what? Gold? No, Señor; the Dictator says he will pay in gold at his option, but that if it please him he will pay in paper money at the rate of 900. And "please him" paper at that puny rate surely will; no one in his right commercial mind would pay in gold if he could choose Paraguayan paper money at only 900 exchange.

The hide exporter, like a half-baked pancake, is now ripe for the opposite exposure. For the other half of his hides — that half of which the good Dictator graciously omitted to relieve him — he must pay an export duty, and not a centavo of it in paper. Gold, gold, is what "the government wishes," always wishes. Payments by the genial administration may be, will be, in paper; but payments to it may be, must be, in gold! To this baiting add the transportation and stamp duties, the permits, the "gratifications" to this, that, and the other Jefe, the fines (surely a few fines will crop out here and there to vary the monotony), and all the other obstacles thrown in the way of commerce by systematized blackmail; and in the end the agonized exporter not only realizes that all his commercial hides have been squandered, but feels as if his personal one had accompanied the others.

VI. Enormous Import Duties

Space has not permitted the writer to do more than give a few instances of the myriad annoyances and obstacles which, masquerading as export duties, have harassed and hampered the producers of Latin America, and have thus oppressed consumers throughout the civilized world. Yet export duties are "unconstitutional" in almost every Latin-American country. Why their Dictators, who make, alter, and abolish constitutions at convenience, do not have a new set of constitutions to match the export duties, is shrouded in mystery.

The constitutions, however, hold import duties in great favor. No man fully realizes what an oppressive tariff on imports is until he encounters one of the Latin-American variety. The tariff on clothing is so high that only the rich can afford to go decently clad. All clothing, food, and other necessities imported into Latin America cost the residents there at least four times as much as the same articles would cost in New York. From the hotbed of these enormous tariffs would soon spring forced local industries, were it not for the discouraging political and economic conditions. As things are, a civilized man must import the goods or do without them. Moreover, not only are the tariffs extreme, exorbitant, but they are subject to the whims of the Dictators, and changed without a moment's warning. Often the Dictator's mood is not so innocent as a whim, — he is planning to squeeze the last dollar out of his victims.

All importers in Latin-American countries are subjected to a scandalous, iniquitous system of fines. Here are some instances which occurred under the observation of the writer.

An American citizen in Mexico imported from the United States 1000 kegs of nails, each keg weighing 100 pounds. The invoices were all correctly made out; the weights, size of nails, numbers of kegs, value, and all other items were noted with scrupulous exactness. But the Mexican consul in the United States, on his consular certificate,

inadvertently placed the kegs figure in the weight column and the weight figure in the kegs column, so that his certificate read 100 kegs of 1000 pounds each. The importer knew nothing of this innocent error until the administrator of the custom house at the Mexican port of consignment called him into his office and fined him $5000 off-hand without argument or ceremony. For the remission of this fine nearly a year's time, the expenditure of over $1000 for lawyer's fees and travelling expenses, and finally an appeal to General Diaz personally, were required. And this in Mexico, which is as far ahead of the other Latin-American countries as Massachusetts is of Korea!

A gentleman importing a saddle into Venezuela was fined $195, because a mistake had been made in the box number. The saddle was correctly described in the invoice, but the clerk had written box No. 3 for box No. 4.

In a shipment of provisions imported for personal use there were six bottles of pickles; the invoice stated that there were six glass bottles of cucumber pickles, one quart each, but the overlord of the custom house said that the invoice should have stated whether these pickles were put up in mustard or vinegar, and for the omission so to state he fined the importer $100.

Another, making a similar importation, was fined $80 because a five-pound box of candy was scheduled in the invoice as a five-pound box of candy; the Jefe said that the nature or ingredients of the candy should have been indicated.

These are but samples from thousands of such cases. The saddle, pickles, and candy fines were all paid without a murmur, for the victims had long since learned that protests only made matters worse, and that an appeal to the United States consul would be unavailing, for he could not grant redress even were he so disposed. An English railway company in Latin America paid a fine of over $3,000 because of a clerical error in the invoices of a shipment of no more importance than those above indicated. The railway manager thought that it would be better to pay the fine without protest, feeling that a protest would simply jeopardize the railway's standing with the local military "boss." The victims might appeal to the courts; but, as there is no independent judiciary, such a course would be a waste of time and money.

VII. Foreigners pay the Bills

All exports from the United States to Latin America are subjected to very heavy import duties. Normally, Latin America should buy of the United States, and buy freely, flour, meats, agricultural implements, ironwork, petroleum, cotton goods, clothing, electrical and other machinery, rails, locomotives, wagons, harnesses, drugs, and a thousand other things. But Latin America's port and customs charges, its

freights, in short, its import duties, are so exorbitant that the United States sells to it, in fact, comparatively little. On the other hand, the United States imports from Latin America hides, coffee, cocoa, rubber, sugar, etc., all of which come in free of duty, or at a merely nominal tariff rate. The remarkable spectacle is exhibited of the countries of Latin America imposing vast export duties, however "unconstitutional," on their own productions (which we admit here free of duty), while at the same time imposing exorbitant import duties on our exports to them.

For illustration, our imports from and exports to Brazil for five years were as follows:

	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Imports . .	$57,875,747	$58,073,457	$70,643,347	$79,183,037	$67,216,348
Exports . .	12,259,036	11,578,119	11,663,574	10,391,130	10,738,748

The balance of trade against us, since 1861, in dealing with Brazil, has been $1,750,000,000.

Here we have in figures the concrete result of the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism to date. All duties, import or export, fall on the consumer. Of the eleven million dollars' worth of goods sent by the United States to Brazil in 1903, what proportion was bought by the native Brazilians, and what proportion by the civilized foreigners there resident? The great majority was bought by the civilized foreign residents of Brazil (Germans, English, Americans, Italians, French, Spaniards) and only the small minority by the native Brazilians; so that the civilized foreign residents paid most of Brazil's *import* duties on those goods. And the United States in buying Brazil's products necessarily paid Brazil's *export* duties thereon. Behold the interesting result: Brazil collected revenue both ways, on our exports to it and on its exports to us!

To sum up, the government revenue of these Latin-American countries falls roughly into two classes, — that derived from their export duties and that derived from their import duties. Their export duties fall on consumers who are *civilized foreigners* non-resident; their import duties fall on consumers who are *civilized foreigners* resident. The money, then, necessary to carry on these bandit, semi-barbarous governments is kindly furnished by civilized foreigners. These gentle people who furnish the sinews of government, do they share in the governing? Ah! that is different. Specialization is the order of the day. The real native Latin Americans are past masters in the science of government — *they* do the governing!

CHAPTER XLVI

CURRENCY AND FINANCE

SHORTLY after Colombia refused to accept the offer of fourteen million five hundred thousand dollars that was made by the United States for the Panama Canal, the writer noticed a newspaper despatch from Baranquilla, Colombia, stating that the town had been devastated by a great fire, and that the loss had been fifty million dollars. On the face of it this was impossible, for it is a town of thirty or forty thousand mostly half-breeds, Indians and negroes. Its buildings are mostly mud huts, and there are but few business blocks of any importance. A subsequent paragraph stated that the figures referred to paper money. A few weeks later the writer made a landing at Baranquilla, and therefore he was able to investigate the extent of the burned section. One block was burned, worth at a fair valuation fifty thousand dollars — the balance of the report was exaggeration and paper, as much paper as exaggeration. The writer, on going ashore, was told that if he were intending to remain on land for two or three hours, he would better have from five hundred to a thousand Colombian dollars about him, as he might want to take a tramway ride and get some luncheon. Think of paying fifty dollars for a bottle of beer, or a thousand dollars for a pair of shoes! These people offer you this worthless paper at a discount of ten or fifteen thousand per cent, and you are compelled by law to take it.

The following is from a Bogotá newspaper:

FABULOUS RESULTS

The *Banco Internacional*, of Bogotá, has just published its statement of cash movements for the second period of six months of the year 1903. Its cash on hand, according to the balance, is to-day $128,973,936.25. It has obtained in this period a credit of $78,416,666.30, which the Director-General proposes to distribute thus:

For a dividend to the shareholders of the bank at $1000 each . . .	$40,000,000.00
As a gift to the employees of the bank	139,000.00
As a gift to charity	500,000.00
For a reserve fund	37,777,666.30
Total	$78,416,666.30

Seventy-eight millions of dollars profits made — but how? By grinding on a printing-press. Formerly Colombia had its paper money made in New York, but it soon found that the cost of printing it there was about as much as the stuff was worth; so, in order that the margin of profit might not be cut down, the noble Colombians decided to print it themselves. Now, when they want a few thousand million dollars, they just print them on their imported printing-presses, and the Dictator with his army gently makes the people give up their valuables in exchange. If a Colombian general wants a drove of burros or cattle belonging to some poor peon farmer, he does not have to take them disagreeably by force. He simply shows the peon the advisability of his accepting a few hundred thousand dollars for them, and presto! whoop-la! on they all go in the path of imperishable glory!

It is hard for one to take those people seriously, when one thinks of them as a congeries of volatile individuals; but national dishonor, the utter ruin of the national credit, unparalleled dishonesty and incompetency in the management of finances, the pall which shrouds the future — these are sad and serious conditions.

No other country in Central and South America is as rotten in its finances as Colombia, but each one of them, save Mexico and Peru, is saturated with the same rank poison of inflation.

Who knows what to expect in Paraguay, where exchange yesterday was 700, where to-day it is 900, where to-morrow a revolution may break out and it may be 9000 — who knows?

The laws of Venezuela declare for a gold standard, and prohibit the importation or coinage of silver; but what of that? Whenever a Venezuelan Dictator wants a million dollars he has two million silver dollars coined, either in Paris or in Philadelphia. He forces this into circulation as if it were on a parity with gold, pays for the bar silver and the cost of coinage, and pockets the profit — about a million dollars silver. The big foreign houses (largely the German houses) have to handle these forced issues, or run the risk of incurring the enmity of the government — a serious matter.

In Guatemala they have a currency, the value of which is illustrated by a decree of the Dictator issued in September, 1903. By this decree all farmers, and other employers of labor, were compelled thenceforward to pay their laborers $1.50 a day, Guatemalan currency, instead of 75 cents to $1, which had been the customary wage. The American walking delegate would zealously applaud this brave friend of the proletariat, but on learning that $1.50 Guatemalan currency is worth but 9 cents American gold, he would apprehend, with a touch of sadness, that even in Guatemala there was still room for a rise.

The following report by Chester Donaldson, United States Consul,

Managua, under date of December 12, 1902, gives a suggestion of the currency situation in Nicaragua:

President Zelaya has this day issued a decree asking for a loan of 1,000,000 pesos ($361,000) from the merchants and business men of the country, both native and foreign, for which the government will issue bonds, to be offered in quantities of not less than 1000 pesos ($360) to the business men who, on November 2, agreed not to buy silver at a higher rate than 100 per cent premium. In consequence, chiefs of custom houses will liquidate policies with an increase of 100 per cent on the present tariff. For about one month the increase had been 180 per cent.

The new bond to be issued is to be used to retire the national paper currency from circulation. Twenty-five per cent of all customs duties shall be payable in these bonds.

The loan shall be distributed between the different departments of the Republic as follows:

Department	Amount	Department	Amount
Leon	$200,000	Jinotega	$20,000
Granada	140,000	New Segovia	10,000
Managua	120,000	Chontales	10,000
Chinandega	80,000	Department of Zelaya, including Cabo Gracias á Dios and San Juan del Norte	300,000
Rivas	40,000		
Massaya	80,000		
Matagalpa	80,000		
Carazo	20,000	Total	$1,000,000

How beautiful is the language of diplomacy! "Issued a decree asking for a loan . . . from the merchants and business men."

But suppose the merchants and business men did not respond to this gentle request; suppose the amount attempted to be levied on commerce in each department were not forthcoming? Every business man in Spanish America knows the answer — confiscation and destruction of his property, oppression, imprisonment, intimidation, and possibly assassination for him; protests by his government, possibly even a battle-ship — and then the Monroe Doctrine!

Here, in a nutshell, is the financial system of most of the South American republics. The Dictator makes a "forced loan" — that means that the foreign merchant must "lend" gold. He will never see it again. He will be paid in paper (if paid at all), paper which he will be forced to accept, the rate of exchange on which may be 100 per cent, or 10,000 per cent. In this way hundreds of millions of dollars of bonds, paper currency, and other worthless obligations of these pretended governments have been foisted into circulation, or forced upon Europeans.

Chili is said to have fifty million dollars of paper currency in circulation, authorized in 1898. The financial disturbances there have been so great that the period for the conversion of this currency has been extended.

Argentina is the "favorite home" of wildcat currency — and wildcats in general. Frank C. Carpenter says:

"All the provinces are in debt, and but few of them pay their interest. The internal debt of the country now amounts to almost $200,000,000, and in 1895 the provincial debt, including unpaid interest, amounted to more than $137,000,000 in gold. At present (1899) the city debts foot up more than $24,000,000 in gold, while the country has a national debt of over $350,000,000.

"Some of the greatest scandals of the Argentine Republic have been in connection with the misuse of the public funds by government officials, and this especially as to the national banks and stocks. There has seldom been such corruption as there was in connection with the National Bank of the Argentine, which failed for many millions. The bank was largely political, and a prominent official could cause it to pay out money to almost any one. Many of the congressmen drew upon it for their support. I heard of one deputy who borrowed a million dollars from the bank and with this built a palace at Belgrano, one of the suburbs of Buenos Aires. In getting the loan he agreed to repay it in instalments, so much every three months. When the first payment came due, the bank directors sent for him. On his appearing they presented the note; he looked at it and coolly said that he had no money. They then asked him to pay the interest, but he nonchalantly replied, 'I have nothing.' He was then asked if he could not pay some of the interest, whereupon he burst out in a rage, saying: 'I have no money, I tell you. I doubt whether I will ever have any for you, and I want to know right here and now whether you expect me to fight the battles of your bank in Congress and then pay back the money I get from it just as other people do?' The last accounts indicate that the million dollars and accumulated interest were still outstanding, and that the indebtedness will probably remain until the end of time.

"Another instance of the looseness of the business methods of the bank is shown in the case of an irresponsible army officer of Cordoba, who wanted to borrow $6000 to build a house. He knew Julius Celman, who was then president of the Republic, and called upon him for a note of introduction to the officials of the bank. President Celman not only introduced him, but recommended that the money be lent him, and by a slip of the pen, I suppose, asked that he be given $60,000 instead of $6000. The officer went to the bank, showed the letter, and signed an application, which the clerk made out for him, the clerk putting in the $60,000 as requested by the president. The bank directors voted that he should have the money, and the papers were made out, the officer signing the note without scanning the figures. When this was done, the teller of the bank handed out $60,000 to the officer, whereupon he replied that he had not asked for $60,000, but only wanted $6000. Whereupon they showed him the papers. The army officer pointed out the mistake and asked what he should do. They replied that he had better take the $6000 and leave the remainder of the money on deposit, and that when the first payment came due he could pay the whole note. So, leaving the $54,000, the officer went

away. Later on, however, he met a friend who persuaded him he would be a fool not to take all the money, as he could certainly make more by using it for speculating. The result was that he did take it and lost the whole, and the bank was never repaid.

"Orders like this for money from public officials were frequently given to the national banks. The standing of the man who was to receive the money was seldom questioned, although cash was given in exchange for his notes. I have heard of common peons who thus got money on their worthless notes at the instance of politicians, who paid them for the use of their names.

"The bank would accept drafts twenty or thirty times greater than those which its directors authorized. One of the directors was always to be bought by a bribe. False balance sheets were periodically published to deceive the public, and dividends which had never been earned were paid out of the bank funds. The bank at its inception had a capital of $8,000,000; ten years later this was raised to about $20,000,000, and it was afterwards increased to $50,000,000. In one year its deposits were $253,000,000, and its loans were $412,000,000. It had in its vaults $432,000,000 of national treasury bills, and it had a savings department in which $1,400,000 were deposited. The bank went down in the panic, as did other banks of similar character. One was a mortgage bank whose business was lending good money on bad property. The government was also interested in this, and many a swamp lot was used as security for a $10,000 loan. To-day such banks have passed away, and the man who makes money out of the government must do so either through bribery or by getting a fat contract." (CARPENTER'S *South America.*)

Brazil also has an enormous amount of paper currency afloat, amounting, according to statements made June 30, 1903, to 675,000,000 milreis. The milreis ought to be worth 54 or 55 cents American money, and so it would be if it were made of silver. Brazilian paper is not quite so base as that of Paraguay; the exchange is around 400 or 500. Whenever a crisis arises in finance, it is met by issuing a few million more milreis, and thus the merry wheel goes round.

There is no occasion for discussing the monetary systems of Uruguay or Bolivia, or for further discussion of those of the other Spanish-American countries. With the exception of that of Peru, these systems are all vicious. An irredeemable paper currency is, as we have already suggested, the menace that hangs over so many of these countries. Peru seems to be a commendable exception, and there are prospects that its currency may be eventually upon a sound basis.

The following statement gives the latest obtainable figures showing the debts of the various South American Republics. The figures show that the credit of Mexico and Chili is excellent; of Argentina, good; of Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, poor; and that Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay should have no credit whatever.

Indebtedness of the Latin-American Countries.

ARGENTINA

The external debt of Argentina on July 31, 1905, was given as follows:

	Pounds sterling
National loans	42,297,050
Provincial debts assumed	30,395,916
National cedulas	11,763,923
Total	84,456,889

The internal debt was:

Consolidated	Gold	$16,544,000
	Paper	79,174,400
Treasury bills, about		1,000,000
Other bills		3,332,594
Floating debt, about		1,000,000
Total		$101,050,994

The estimated revenues of Argentina for 1906 were $47,000,000 gold and $72,000,000 paper, while the estimated expenditures were $24,000,000 gold and $122,500,000 paper.

BOLIVIA

The internal debt amounted in 1905 to 6,243,270 bolivianos, each valued at about one dollar silver. The expenditures of Bolivia have been for several years greater than the revenues, as follows:

	Revenue	Expenditures
	Bolivianos	Bolivianos
1901	7,965,350	7,810,555
1902	9,148,350	9,274,152
1903	7,013,350	7,461,860
1904	7,231,700	8,555,103
1905	7,928,730	9,473,577

BRAZIL

The foreign debt of Brazil on January 1, 1905, was 65,918,121 pounds sterling. The internal debt was as follows:

	Milreis
Funded	598,743,287
Floating	180,408,805
Total	779,152,092

In addition there was 674,400,000 milreis of paper money in circulation. The gold milreis — coined in pieces of 5, 10, and 20 milreis — is valued by the United States mint at about 55 cents. The revenues and expenditures of Brazil are given as follows:

	Revenue		Expenditures	
	Gold Milreis	Paper Milreis	Gold Milreis	Paper Milreis
1900	49,955,000	263,687,000	41,892,000	372,753,000
1901	44,041,000	239,284,000	40,498,000	261,629,000
1902	42,904,000	266,584,000	34,574,000	236,458,000
1903	45,121,000	327,370,000	48,324,000	291,198,000
1904	50,566,000	342,782,000	48,476,000	352,292,000

CHILI

The foreign debt of Chili in 1905 was 17,799,960 pounds sterling, and the internal debt 103,815,821 pesos. The revenue of Chili exceeds the expenditures, as follows:

	Revenue		Expenditures	
	Gold	Currency	Gold	Currency
	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos
1902	105,072,832	33,434,346	25,882,702	108,844,693
1903	108,503,565	32,490,145	12,508,075	84,721,437

COLOMBIA

The external debt of Colombia in 1905 was 3,051,000 pounds sterling, with arrears of interest amounting to 351,000 pounds. The country on this date had the enormous amount of 746,801,420 pesos of paper currency in circulation. Its internal debt was said to be 7,398,817 pesos. The expenditures of this country continue to greatly exceed the revenues.

	Revenue	Expenditures
1902	$51,235,000	$85,555,000
1903	54,552,000	104,649,000

It will be seen that the finances of this country are in a deplorable condition.

COSTA RICA

The foreign debt of Costa Rica in 1905 was 2,600,000 pounds sterling. This government has been continually in default with its creditors. Its internal debt in 1905 was 7,868,777 colones gold (a colon is worth about 45½ cents American).

ECUADOR

The foreign debt of Ecuador in 1905 was 9,315,000 sucres, and the internal debt over 5,000,000 sucres. A sucre is valued at about 48.7 cents by the United States mint. This country is, and has been since it separated from Colombia, in default with its creditors. Its expenditures usually exceed its revenue.

	Revenue	Expenditures
	Sucres	Sucres
1904	10,516,900	12,329,146
1905	11,715,700	12,238,460

Whether these figures are at all accurate it is impossible to determine.

GUATEMALA

In 1905 the external debt of Guatemala was 1,868,328 pounds sterling; the gold debt was 9,939,511 dollars, and the currency debt $49,327,070. This government is usually in default with its creditors. The expenditures usually exceed the revenue. For 1905–1906 the revenue was estimated at 23,000,000 pesos, and the expenditures at 27,317,659 pesos.

HAITI

On January 1, 1905, the debt of Haiti was as follows:

	Dollars	Pounds Sterling
Gold debt	26,304,975	5,260,995
Paper	14,107,245	608,070
Total	40,512,220	5,869,065

The expenditures of this government are usually in excess of the revenue. Thus the revenue for 1904 was 3,359,759 United States gold dollars, and 2,166,943 gourdes valued at 96½ cents each; while the expenditures were 3,478,874 gold dollars and 7,549,976 paper dollars.

HONDURAS

The external debt of Honduras in July, 1905, was stated to amount to 20,615,082 pounds sterling. No interest had been paid upon the foreign debt since 1872. The internal debt was stated to be 1,317,380 pesos. These figures do not include large claims by foreigners for indemnities. It is claimed that the expenditures and revenues balance each other at from three to four millions of pesos a year.

MEXICO

In 1905 the debt of Mexico was as follows:

	Pounds Sterling		Dollars
External gold debt	30,045,432	Internal debt	143,694,340
City of Mexico loan, 1889	1,897,830	Floating debt	1,291,887
Total	31,943,262	Total	144,986,227

The following exhibits the receipts and expenditures of Mexico:

	Receipts	Expenditures
1903–1904	86,473,801	76,381,643
1904–1905	92,083,887	79,152,796
1905–1906	88,104,000	85,474,315

The obligations of Mexico are promptly met, and its credit is excellent.

NICARAGUA

In July, 1905, the external debt of Nicaragua was 253,600 pounds sterling, on the interest of which the government was in default. The internal debt on January 1, 1904, was stated to be 13,662,436 pesos. These amounts do not include indemnities claimed by foreigners. The revenues and expenditures approximately balance at from six to seven millions of pesos a year.

PARAGUAY

The external debt of Paraguay amounted in 1905 to 881,550 pounds sterling. This had been made the subject of numerous compromises and defaults. There was a debt also of 1,442,509 pounds sterling, being a guarantee to the Paraguayan Central Railway, also the sum of $22,312,690 owing to Brazil and Argentina. In addition there was an internal debt of $20,411,795, notes in circulation. Statistics of revenue and expenditure are apparently unreliable. The paper currency is at a great discount, and the credit of the government is very poor.

PERU

In January, 1890, the foreign debt of Peru was 22,998,651 pounds sterling. At this time, with the consent of the creditors, the so-called Grace-Donoughmore contract was made with a private corporation, under which contract Peru was released from this debt in consideration of its cession to the syndicate of all the State railways, of the right to export 2,000,000 tons of guano, of certain mineral concessions, etc. Peru was to pay an annuity of 80,000 pounds sterling for thirty-three years, but it defaulted on the fourth payment. There have been subsequent compromises. The internal debt of Peru amounts to over 3,000,000 pounds sterling. Its annual revenue of about $9,000,000 is practically equal to its annual expenditure.

SALVADOR

The external debt of Salvador in 1900 was 726,420 pounds sterling. The internal debt amounted in 1905 to $8,401,690. The expenditure and revenue each amounts to eight or nine millions of dollars annually.

SANTO DOMINGO

This government is bankrupt. Its foreign debt was stated in 1904 to be 3,885,350 pounds sterling; due to the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, $4,481,250 U. S. gold, and to other creditors, $5,890,229. The financial condition of Santo Domingo is fully explained in President Roosevelt's message to Congress, *infra*, Vol. II, Book III, chap. v.

URUGUAY

In 1905 the foreign debt of Uruguay was 20,564,080 pounds sterling. The official statement of the public debt on January 1, 1905, was as follows:

	Dollars
External	97,023,416
Internal and international	25,702,281
	122,725,697

The estimates of revenue and expenditure about balance each other at approximately $17,000,000 a year.

VENEZUELA

In 1905 the foreign debt of Venezuela due to bondholders was 5,177,980 pounds sterling. In addition to the bonded debt were awards of 1,009,639 pounds sterling, for damages to foreign subjects, made by the Joint Commissions. The internal debt of Venezuela is stated to be about $20,000,000 United States gold.

Mr. Herbert W. Bowen, American Minister at Caracas, made, on January 22, 1905, the following report to the State Department (Foreign Relations, 1905, p. 1019):

DEBT OF VENEZUELA

	Bolivars [1]
To the British bondholders, principal and interest	78,771,705
To the German bondholders	61,553,452
	140,325,157
French, Spanish, and Dutch (diplomatic debt)	11,320,264
Total exterior debt	151,645,421
Internal debt (60 per cent held by the French)	92,983,668
Total exterior and interior debt	244,628,509
Total amount awarded by mixed commissioners, about	38,428,580
Grand total debt	283,057,089
Venezuela's expenditures amount yearly to about	50,000,000
And her income to about	70,000,000

What becomes of the 40,000,000 surplus is not officially told.

[1] A bolivar equals twenty cents United States gold.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE LABOR PROBLEM AND AGRICULTURE

I. Labor

THE labor problem is a serious one everywhere. What with labor agitators, walking delegates, union bosses, and man's natural disinclination for work, it is a difficult matter, even in the United States, to secure effective labor. In these days, when the natural indolence of mankind is often stimulated by labor unions, of whose leaders many make their living by fomenting discord, and appear to prosper in proportion as they succeed in their pestiferous efforts, the questions confronting manufacturers, contractors, and other employers of labor are indeed serious.

In South America, however, there is much mutual distrust, one man of another; nor do the people there begin to appreciate the value of cohesion, the power of the mass operating as a unit; so that the labor union has not become an important factor there, and the employer seldom has to deal with the walking delegate.

The difficulties with which employers of labor have to struggle in South America arise from (1) the character and inability of the peons; (2) the appalling frequency of the *fiestas;* (3) the political conditions.

In South America all the manual labor is performed by the peons. No white man, no half-white, would condescend to soil his hands by "work." Those hands were made to "sway the rod of Empire," or, at the least, to write poetry. He is seldom interested in becoming a machinist, a carpenter, a locomotive engineer, or in following any other similarly useful occupation. The height of his ambition is to become a "General" or a "Doctor"; and although it often requires considerable ingenuity to keep up appearances, he usually manages to do it.

The employer of labor is therefore relegated to the ignorant, untrained peons. They are ignorant not only of the commonest machinery, but also of many of the simplest utensils and tools. I have seen a peon given a wheelbarrow and a shovel, and told to remove dirt from one place to another. Left to his own brain-power, he filled the wheelbarrow, placed it on his head, and carried it to its destination!

In the wooded districts the peons are very handy with axes and machetes, but ignorant of other classes of tools. They know but little

of hammers, saws, and nails. The walls of most of their houses are tied together with *brujuca*, a sort of vine, or built of *adobe*, a mud brick. The walls of buildings even of considerable size are dovetailed together, laboriously and tediously, without the use of nails.

The labor habit is transmitted, in most cases, from generations of ancestors. It is rarely acquired offhand. The muscles must not only be trained; they must be strengthened and accustomed to the kind of labor called for. Nutrition is a vital element. The food of most peons is wholly inadequate to heavy labor. To them a fish, a banana, and a few black beans (usually all cooked in the same pot together), and a little black coffee, seem to be quite a hearty meal. This food is not sufficient in quantity or quality to sustain heavy labor; and it is literally true that if one wishes to teach these men to work, he must begin by teaching them to eat.

A large number of these peons are willing to work, provided the labor be not too severe, and under teaching that is firm as well as patient and kind, they become fairly good laborers. They have not the physical strength of the Italian, nor are they like the Chinese peasant, in whose very "warp and woof" the spirit of toil has become ingrained.

There is a marked distinction between the peons of the town and those of the country. The greater number of the former are worthless, vicious, and depraved. They work but a day or two at a time; and their purpose is to get a little money for gambling or *aguardiente*. However, there are few enterprises furnishing employment to men, and many men who are idle, so that an employer can usually get, even in the towns, a few trustworthy men. The peons from the country, however, are commonly kind-hearted, simple-minded people, and under even tolerable governments might become a large factor in carrying forward public works and other enterprises. True, they must be taught to work, how to handle tools, the value of time, habits of punctuality, and the many other things that unite to round out the competent workman; but all this can be done with men of reasonable intelligence and good disposition who sincerely wish to learn to work. The country peons — the small farmers, fishermen, cattlemen, woodsmen, etc. — are the most promising element in South America; they are the foundation upon which to build civilization.

One of the great obstacles to all industrial enterprise in Latin America is the continuous stream of *dias de fiesta*. Every day in the Roman Catholic calendar of these countries is a saint's day — it is always the day of Saint Santiago, or Saint Cipriano, or Saint Simon, or Saint Somebody. Now not only will Saint Santiago's Day be cherished and celebrated by Santiago Smith, but all of Smith's friends and relations will gladly unite with him on that day in refraining from work. Moreover, the general government has many a *fiesta*, and each particular State has a goodly number. There is the day of "Independ-

ence," and the day of "Federation," and the day some battle was fought, and the almost innumerable days when the Saint did something or other, or at least ought to have or might have done it. Then there are the birthdays, not only of the members of one's immediate family, but of his *compadres* and *comadres*, his *cuñados*, and all the rest. And so the whittling down of working days goes on — a cheery comic business on the surface, a serious one at the core.

But the gravest problem of all inheres in the attitude, the conduct of the government. No sooner have a number of men been gathered together for any organized enterprise, such as the building of a railroad or the operation of a mine, than they are liable to be descended upon by the government and impressed into the army. The perennial recluta is the sword of Damocles hanging over the head of every peon in South America who tries to make an honest living for his family by honest work. For condemnation of the recluta, language is inadequate; it is an outrage that beggars description.

In addition to the curse of the recluta, there is the difficulty, at times, of maintaining law and order among the workmen. For generations revolution has been running in the blood. As far as all efforts to maintain order in the camp are concerned, the representatives of the government are a detriment rather than a benefit. The manager's best plan is to get permission of the authorities, and establish his own police department.

It is plain that to organize an efficient and well-disciplined company of workmen in South America under present conditions is impossible. Observe the excessive cost of labor there. Though the peons apparently get but starvation wages, the aggregate cost of labor in South America is from four to five times what it would be in the United States for the production of the same result. The calculation of the cost of labor must be made exactly as one would measure the power of a steam-engine — how much per hour does it cost to produce a horse-power? In the United States a cubic yard of embankment can be handled, on an average, for 12 cents; in South America it will cost 50 cents gold. South American "cheap" labor is the most costly in the world. Cheap labor is the dearest and most unsatisfactory kind. The peon and coolie systems will be found only in the less progressive countries. High-priced labor is the most economical in the long run, and is the labor that is most consonant with sound public policy. High wages mean skilled labor, efficiency, intelligence. He who drives a cultivator or a gauge-plough is a skilled workman. If his employer should hire a Mexican peon in his stead, the employer would soon realize that it requires both practice and intelligence to run these machines.

In the production of brute energy, the muscles of man can never compete with coal and water. Nor with the muscles of beast; if the work to be done is on the fifty-cents-a-day level, the chances are that

a burro or a donkey can do it as well as a peon can, and at less cost. Man's high value to his employer is measured by the energy he exerts, not by way of his muscles, but by way of his brains. An intelligent workman, receiving five or six dollars a day for operating a machine, will do more work than fifty peons, each receiving fifty cents a day.

II. Agriculture

Agricultural methods, in all South American countries, are exceedingly primitive; yet there are no arid tracts of any importance in South America — the soil is wonderfully fertile, and abundant crops of almost all staple agricultural products could easily be raised.

One can travel thousands of miles through these countries without seeing even a plough of any kind; without seeing any lister, drill, corn-planter, or corn-sheller; without seeing anything but a machete!

In Venezuela, Colombia, Central America, and Santo Domingo combined, there is not so much agricultural machinery as in one township in Wisconsin. The people do not want agricultural machinery; their governments would not let them have it even if they did want it — the import duties, fines, taxes, and a swarm of other exactions would prohibit it. And yet agriculture is the basis of civilization!

The nearest approach to roads are the burro trails. One may travel thousands of miles without seeing any kind of a wagon but the two-wheeled carts in the towns. Everything is borne on the backs of burros. The limit of the burro's burden is 250 pounds, 125 pounds on each side.

Burro trains make journeys that continue for weeks. One behind another, Indian file, over the mountains and through the forests these patient, suffering, cruelly treated beasts follow the serpentine trail. Weary, sore, crippled, half starved, they plod on their way — the hardiest animals in the world.

Two crops of corn a year can be grown almost anywhere in the American tropics, and each would rival a banner Kansas crop. Here and there in Mexico, Chili, and Argentina they use in corn cultivation rude ploughs made usually of forked trees, but in the other countries the only implement used is the machete. With the machete a hole is dug, in which the grains of corn are planted; and sometimes the machete cuts down the weeds, but more often, after the corn is planted, it must take care of itself. In the tropics one man will plant and harvest an average of no more than two acres (about a hundred bushels) in the year. Compare this with the work of a farm-hand in Iowa or Kansas, who each year will cultivate easily sixty acres of corn, each producing fifty bushels (a total of three thousand bushels), and then have at least six months for other matters.

Corn is always dear and scarce in the American tropics. Some ten

years ago the writer was in Huajutle, a place in Mexico about one hundred and fifty miles from the coast, in the State of Vera Cruz. There the people were dying of starvation; corn was twenty-four pesos per *fanega* (three dollars gold per bushel)! In the United States corn was worth at the time less than forty cents per bushel. The enormous tariff and the cost of transportation were mainly responsible for this difference. After the lack of food had reduced thousands to mere skeletons, and many had died from starvation, the government temporarily suspended the tariff, and admitted American corn free of duty.

The principal reason why the growing of corn in Spanish America is so costly is that there is neither agricultural machinery nor the ability to use it. Corn raised with a machete will always be dear, however cheap the labor. Another scarcely less potent cause is that the farmer has no incentive to amass wealth. He knows that, as soon as he should have an uncommonly good crop, a few extra head of cattle, a band of revolutionists or the government troops would come to ravage the crop and despoil him of the cattle. If he should have the reputation of being well-to-do (and reputations are easily acquired in these countries), he would be liable to be held by one side or the other for a large money ransom, perhaps larger than he could raise. He knows that, should he import agricultural machinery, the government would pounce down upon him for excessive import duties. There would be the extortionate tariff, and stamps, and the inevitable fines; and in the end he would wish that he had never heard of agricultural machinery.

But supposing the farmer should endure all these things, and should import the machinery? It would simply lie sprawling about, a prey to "rust and rot and mildew," a pathetic object of curiosity; and the peons would continue to prepare the earth for the planting by digging holes with a machete — or a stick.

In Venezuela, some years ago, it seemed as if cocoa were about to become an exceedingly valuable crop. Many farmers began to plant it; and especially in the vicinity of Merida, where cocoa is indigenous, was it believed that an era of prosperity was about to dawn. But not so. The government made one of its lightning changes in the "Constitution," which had heretofore prohibited export duties, and then levied an export duty sufficient to absorb all the profit that there was in cocoa raising. It was the old, old story, — and the agriculturists found themselves drudging that the military Jefes might fatten.

The producer of coffee has "a long row to hoe." From many plantations the coffee must be carried on burros for a journey of five or six days or more, to the nearest river or railroad. The cost of transportation thence to the nearest port for shipment is usually several times as much as the cost of like service would be in the United States. At all events, by the time the coffee has been sold and the expenses have been paid, the profit of the coffee-planter has dwindled to very little.

Scattered throughout Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela lie thousands of abandoned farms and plantations which were in a state of relatively high cultivation during the rule of the Spanish Viceroys. Indeed, all those countries possessed under Spain much more material wealth than they possess now. More than that — all Central America except Costa Rica, and all South America except Peru, Brazil, Chili, and Argentina, were better off, were more advanced materially and socially, were better governed, before independence, than since. There has been a retrograde movement, not an advance, and they are nearer barbarism to-day than they were one hundred years ago.

III. Essential Elements of Good Citizenship

S. Ponce de Leon, in his *Estudios Social*, says:

"The South American nations, which are yet in their infancy, battling painfully for their social and political reconstruction, need imperiously to develop as much as possible this powerful civilizing element; and especially because, under the conditions in which many of them are to be found, labor has come to be not only an element of welfare and progress, but a condition essential to life. Because of tendencies which have ruled up to recent times, it is believed that labor is odious and humiliating for certain classes, and by a strange aberration it is also believed that indolence and vice must be the condition essential to nobility, because education has not extended to all classes the knowledge of the moral and social duties, and because the extraordinary fertility of our zone offers bread for the smallest effort and creates habits of indolence, and because finally of the political corruption which has extended more and more, and destroyed the love of work and developed a desire for the lazy life of the cafés, or for the more indolent and abject life in the departments of government; the result is that labor is far distant from being treated with the importance it deserves and receiving the development of which it is capable. We have the profound conviction that dislike of labor, indolence, is one of the most productive causes of the revolutions which dishonor and destroy us. There is so intimately united the sentiment of property ownership and the love of peace and public order, that whenever every citizen becomes an owner of property, revolutions will be impossible; and whenever we cease to exhibit to the world the spectacle of our bloody and shameful warfare that proud day will mark the beginning of the greatness to which is destined the world of Columbus. What do we lack? The consciousness of our destiny? That we shall acquire; we have for it imagination, vivacity, activity. In our valleys abound beautiful flowers, aromatic plants, odoriferous trees, and in our forests birds of brilliant and varied plumage and harmonious song; we have our diverse latitudes, all temperatures, and all altitudes; rivers which are seas, lakes which are oceans; we have hydrographic areas, such as that of the Orinoco in Venezuela, which is not inferior to that of the Nile; there are in our agricultural zones an exuberant vegetation and extended pastures limitless in horizon. We want for nothing in our grand, rich, and poetic America. We are born in a halo of gold and crystal;

abundance surrounds us on all sides; the aroma of a thousand flowers sweetens our atmosphere; we have a natural heritage of talent; and the mild heat of our sun and sky, always filled with light, and the beautiful panoramas unrolled before us by nature in the splendid tropics, always develop in the South American countries the powerful faculties of genius.

"What do we need in order to make ourselves worthy of the scenes in which we live? Labor, and only labor. But we sleep on our laurels and confide too much to the generosity of our soil; we do not ask of labor the illumination of spirit, or the joys which come from the possession of material wealth. And as we have not arrived at the height where each man has the consciousness of his duty and his destiny, those who are interested as leaders of the American community should intervene with power to make this duty a moral and legal obligation, making labor obligatory, and compelling each individual to say how he lives, and to produce at the least as much as he consumes.

"It has already been objected against previous writings in which we asked for a law of vagrancy, that this law would curtail individual liberty and kill the republic.

"And what republic? we reply. Can there be a republic, a real genuine republic, without labor or education? Whether or not individual liberty is curtailed, is of little importance; the thing which is of vast importance is to build up, little by little, a united republic, seeking by all possible methods to establish social harmony. Why have we failed to establish it in these fifty years and more? We have not solved the problem? Well, then, here is the solution: compulsory education, obligatory labor. There is no need to seek it anywhere else, for we shall not find it. Let us convert all the citizens into property owners and then shall we have peace, stable and solid, which shall be based on general public sentiment and necessity; and we shall gain much also in morality. An industrious man is universally honored, is moral, a good father of a family, and a good citizen. Dominated by the worthy ambition to acquire an estate, employing for this end honest methods, he does not seek it in the perturbations of public order, in disturbances engendered by the venom of vagabonds; he seeks it in agriculture, the arts, industry; he does not seek to enrich himself with the property of others, or from the treasury of the nation, but with the vigor of his arms and the sweat of his noble brow; he does not teach his children that the tools of prosperity are the sabre or the Remington, but he teaches them to put their hands to the pick or the plough; and the citizen who thus comprehends his duty to society will form a family honored, industrious, and worthy to become citizens of their country.

"We have already said that for the South American nations work is not solely a question of progress and welfare, but also one of life and death. To live in constant civil wars, devoured by anarchy, is not to live; where there is no property or income, for lack of honesty and labor; where there is no public morality because of the failure of the administration of justice; where social harmony cannot exist because there is no authority in the law; — such a condition is mere existence, not life. Now the love of peace, order, honor, public morality, the supremacy of the law, and things else that make for social harmony, are created and fostered by work. Legislators should devote themselves to the study of this vital question, and they should fully realize that while there yet exist in our society large numbers of individuals who do not work, for whom no principles exist, who consider peace as a calamity and war as the natural element of life, and consequently are disposed to aid a

revolution, whatever the flag it raises, it will be a puerile illusion to have confidence in the permanency of peace.

"Thus is explained how men entirely unknown can be leaders of a revolution without possessing the influence which comes from wealth or valor, without natural prestige or the glory of talent; it is because they instigate those elements who await but a signal to burst into the flame of anarchy; and this could surely not happen if compulsory labor had converted the vagabonds into proprietors; then these individuals who threaten the destruction of the present social order would become solid columns of stability, and efficient elements for the social regeneration."

CHAPTER XLVIII

MINING AND MINERALS

I. Venezuela

IN South America there is a certain river flowing through Colombia and Venezuela. The sand of this river is laden with gold. Analyses made in Paris and in New York show that this sand contains from five to six ounces of gold per ton. An ounce of pure gold is worth $20.67; hence a ton of that sand is worth from $100 to $120.

A friend of the writer, a conservative, hard-working business man, who has been plundered by these Latin-American governments for the past twenty-five years, until now he has but little left, had hopes of recuperating his fortune by working the wondrously rich alluvial deposits of this river. He asked the writer to go with him into this business. The writer answered as follows:

"That river-bed is paved with gold for miles; no doubt there is as much gold there and in that vicinity as there is in the Klondike, — but how to get it out?

"There has been no mining law in Venezuela for more than three years. It was suspended in the year 1900 by a decree of General Castro. No public reason was ever given for that suspension, for the Dictator of Venezuela does n't have to give reasons for his acts. From that date to this, January, 1904, there has been no possibility of obtaining a title to a mine in Venezuela. The mineral industry, which ought to be one of the most important in Venezuela, has been completely destroyed, — not paralyzed, but annihilated.

"Now, suppose you try to get a special concession, as has been done hundreds of times before, authorizing you to extract gold from the sands of that river, what would happen? The minute the word 'gold' was used, Castro and his gang would prick up their ears, and you would find yourself in the midst of a hornet's nest.

"A concession would be granted, but not to you. It would be put in the name of some henchman of the administration, for the sole and exclusive benefit of Cipriano Castro. It might be that in a few weeks his 'heelers' would come and offer the same concession to you for sale, but, if so, they would talk 'millions' for it. The probabilities are that you and all your friends combined have n't enough money to pay the price they would ask for the concession by that time.

"Suppose that you still believed in that property and still desired to work it? You would wait six months or a year, until their pretensions had cooled somewhat, and then perhaps you would come to terms with them by giving them so many thousands of dollars cash, and say two thirds of the net product. Your troubles would now only have commenced, because when your machinery was all in and at work and you were doing a big business, they would not be satisfied with two thirds of the profit, but would want it all; so they would confiscate your machinery, under one pretext or another, and in the end you would lose all the money you had put into it, and would be very fortunate if you were not 'accidentally' killed by their soldiers. If this sand were worth a thousand dollars a ton, my advice would still be — keep out of it.

"That gold will have to stay in the sands of that river, for, under present conditions in Venezuela and Colombia, it is impossible for anybody to get it out."

In the Callao district, in the eastern part of Venezuela, there are millions of tons of ore that would assay one and a half ounces of gold ($31) per ton. But nobody could work this ore, nor could it be worked even if it should assay ten times as much.

The sands of the Yuruari River are literally full of gold. An American engineer, Josiah Flournoy, of Georgia, whose company purchased a concession, held by some Venezuelan general, for taking this gold out of these sands, took dredges, sluices, and all the apparatus necessary for pumping the sand from the bottom of the river and working the gold out of it. The gold was there — and it is there yet. Mr. Flournoy, a typical hard-working American engineer, was at last accounts holding possession of his dredge and machinery with a Winchester and some six-shooters. The General, having got all he was entitled to, wanted more, and of course Caracas was "out for booty," while the government troops and the revolutionists took turns in using this modern up-to-date machinery for target practice.

The quantity of gold sent from the Yuruari district, from 1884 to 1889, is stated as 1,394,480 ounces, and 49,355 ounces is the figure for 1901. Little or nothing is being done there at the present time.

There are silver mines in the States of Los Andes, Lara, and Bermúdez; and iron mines at Imataca, on the Orinoco. Salt in abundance is found in many parts of Venezuela. Asphalt is an important mineral product of the country, and there are doubtless immense petroleum fields, as yet wholly unworked.

Comparatively little mining exploration has been done in Venezuela, and the country is still, as to minerals, largely *terra incognita;* but there are not wanting indications that, under a stable and liberal government, Venezuela might become one of the great mineral-producing countries of the world.

II. Colombia

Colombia is unquestionably one of the richest mineral countries of the world. The fact that the total production of gold and silver in the country is only about $4,000,000 annually is due to the political conditions, and not to any lack of wealth in its mines. The principal gold and silver mines are found in Antioquia, Cauca, Bolívar, Tolima, and Magdalena. Colombia has also mines of copper, lead, mercury, and platinum. It is stated that there are in operation in Colombia at the present time fourteen mines of cinnabar, thirty-two of emerald, and seven of manganese. Important emerald mines exist in Muzo and Coscuez. Considerable quantities of coal, iron, etc. are found, and the Pradera iron works near Bogotá have a capacity of thirty tons of pig iron per day.

The "Bulletin of the Bureau of the American Republics," Vol. I (Washington, 1893), is authority for the following:

"Don Vicente Restrepo, in his valuable book entitled *Estudio sobre las minas de oro y plata de Colombia* (A Study on the Mines of Gold and Silver of Colombia), printed in Bogotá in 1888, states upon official information that the total production of the mines of Colombia ever since the Conquest may be estimated at $672,000,000; of which $639,000,000 are of gold and $33,000,000 of silver.

"The same learned writer says that this total production can be distributed as follows:

Antioquia	$250,000,000	Bolívar	$7,000,000
Cauca	249,000,000	Cundinamarca	1,800,000
Panama	94,000,000	Magdalena	1,000,000
Tolima	54,000,000	Boyacá	200,000
Santander	15,000,000		

The total production of gold by periods of time may be stated in round numbers as follows:

Sixteenth century	$53,000,000
Seventeenth century	173,000,000
Eighteenth century	205,000,000
Nineteenth century (up to 1886)	208,000,000
Total	$639,000,000

"Colombia holds the second place in the list of the gold-producing countries of Latin America. Brazil comes first, with a total production of gold, since the discovery, of $684,456,750; Bolivia is the third, with a total of $183,303,000; Chili is the fourth, with $175,839,750; Mexico is the fifth, with $153,507,900, and Peru is the sixth, with $106,717,500."

III. Peru

Peru also is one of the richest of mineral countries. Its inexhaustible mineral wealth was developed by the Aztecs long before

Columbus discovered America. Pizarro seized and sent to Spain quantities of gold and silver of fabulous worth. At the present time there are about ten thousand mineral concessions in Peru, of which five or six thousand are being operated.

Doubtless the stories of the production of the precious metals in Peru have been greatly exaggerated, but nevertheless the production has been great, and but for the almost continuous revolutions of a century, would have been vastly greater.

In 1903, 37,086 tons of metal ores, valued at 952,812 pounds sterling, were exported from Peru; in 1904 the exports were 33,879 tons, valued at 767,148 pounds sterling.

Gold is found in every department of Peru. In the department of Loreto gold is found at Alto Amazonas. In the department of Amazonas gold is found in Suya, in Chuyurco Hill, Hovaluena, Rio Neiva, and Marañon. In the department of Piura there is alluvial gold at Hualcarumi, and also a vein at Frias, province of Ayabaca.

In the department of Cajamarca there is gold near San Ignacio, Rio Chicipe, Capan, and Chirinpata. In the department of Liberdad gold is found near Huamachuco, and at Pataz, Parcoy, and Tayabamba, in the province of Pataz, and also at Salavery, Rio Cajas, Chinchal, Gallinero, Corrito Blanco, Tajo, etc.

In the department of Ancachs there are alluvial deposits of gold in Chysgoran. There are gold mines at San Cristobal near Uco, Jauca, Quilla, Pamplona, etc. In the department of Huanuco, at the Boca del Sapo near Huallanca, quartzose rock yields one ounce of gold to the ton. In the department of Junin the Cerro de Pasco mine yields from one to one and two-thirds ounces of gold per ton. In the department of Lima gold is found nearly everywhere, but not in paying quantities. In the department of Huancavelica there are silver mines at Julcani, and gold mines at Corihuacta, also at Coris. In the department of Ayacucho there are numerous abandoned mines. Two mines, Chaipi and Luicho Hills, are in operation.

In the department of Cuzco in the province of Paucartambo, is the region whence, according to tradition, the Incas got their immense stores of precious metals. The Carhuays is the only mine in the district now in operation, and it is worked on a very small scale. There are other mines in this department, — at Uama, on the Churo River, at Cerro Carnante, and in Colquemavaca, — but none of them are being extensively worked. In the department of Apurimac, at Ayahuaya in the province of Antobamba, Indians take out about 250 ounces of gold a year.

The department of Arequipa is said to be the richest department in Peru. The Palmadera mines near Huayllura yield five and one-half ounces of gold to the ton. There are rich mines at Montesclaros, at Picha near Chacana, at Huanzo near Antobamba, and at many other places, which for one reason and another have been abandoned.

In the department of Puno gold exists in the provinces of Carabaya and Sandia, near the southern boundary of Peru.

Silver exists in practically unlimited quantities in Peru. In the Cerro de Pasco district there are between 350 and 400 silver mines in operation. At Yauli there are 225 silver mines; in the province of Huarochiri, 120.

Lead is found in abundance in Peru; also copper, tin, gypsum, coal, salt, guano, asphalt, petroleum, etc. The petroleum beds of Peru are supposed to cover 30,000 square miles. The principal guano deposits are on the island of Lobos de Afuera.

The mineral development of Peru, while even under present conditions extensive in comparison with that of Venezuela, Colombia, and Central America, would be greatly increased if a permanent, stable, and liberal government were assured.

IV. Ecuador

The mineral resources of Ecuador are mainly undeveloped. Placer gold is alleged to be found in considerable quantities in the Western Cordilleras, under conditions which make hydraulic mining possible. The gold mines of Cachabi, Uimbi, and Playa de Oro in the province of Esmeraldas are well known, but the ore is low-grade. American syndicates are endeavoring to work the mines of Cayapas and Cachabi. In 1891 the Zuruma Gold Mining Co. was operating the Portobello mine, with but indifferent success. It is said that placer gold is found in considerable quantities in the valleys of the Amazon district of Ecuador. Quicksilver is mined at Loja and Azogues. It is stated that Ecuador is also rich in copper, iron, lead, and coal, but little has been done in the way of development.

V. Bolivia

Bolivia is one of the richest mineral countries of the world. The records of the public mint at Potosi show that the mountain of Potosi has produced the following enormous amounts of gold and silver:

From 1545 to 1800	$1,532,948,142
From 1800 to 1864	1,386,951,258
Total	$2,919,899,400

The total mineral production of Bolivia from 1545 to 1800 is given as $3,339,262,032.

The mining industry in Bolivia to-day is not nearly so flourishing as it was a hundred years ago. Of the several causes for this decline, the chief one has been the many abominable governments under the military Dictators.

The following tables give the number of Bolivian mines abandoned, and the number in operation, in 1848. They were prepared by Mr. José Maria Dalence, and published in *Bosquejo Estadistico de Bolivia* in 1851. It is said that the number of mines in operation is about the same now as in 1848.

SILVER MINES IN BOLIVIA, 1848

District	Abandoned	In Operation
Potosi	1,800	26
Porco	1,519	33
Chayanta	130	8
Chias	650	22
Lipez	760	2
Oruro	1,215	11
Poopo	316	15
Carangas	285	4
Sicasica	320	9
Inquisivi, La Paz	160	5
Ayopaya, Beni, Santa Cruz, Other Sections	2,845	0
Total	10,000	134

GOLD MINES IN BOLIVIA, 1848

District	Abandoned	In Operation
Oruro	200	0
Araca	500	4
Sorata	500	7
Argue	100	2
Total	1,300	13

The Bolivian mountains producing silver and tin are found in a territory a thousand miles long by more than two hundred miles wide, extending from the Sotolaya district of La Paz to Tupixa, the capital of the province of Chichas. Everywhere throughout this region will be found mines abandoned since the days of the Spaniards. The mining operations now carried on there are absurdly crude. Usually the "mills" used for crushing the ore are large boulders. Lashed to the boulder is a pole, which the Indians work up and down like a pump-handle. A flat stone is used for a bed, and the ore is crushed by the to-and-fro movement of the huge boulder. Other equally antiquated

contrivances are in general use. A few of the larger foreign mining companies, such as the Huanchaca Company and the Real Socavon de Potosi, operate modern machinery.

Copper is found in vast quantities in the mountains adjacent to Corocoro, near the Desaguadero River. The annual production already exceeds 4000 tons, although copper mining in Bolivia has hardly begun.

The tin mines of the department of Oruro are among the richest of the world. The present output is about 6,000 tons per year. Tin is frequently found in ore of 40 to 60 per cent purity, and in lodes ranging as wide as six or eight feet, and averaging perhaps two feet. Large tin deposits are known to exist at the base of Huaina Potoso, a snow peak in the La Paz Cordillera, and to the south in the Quimsa Cruz Cordillera, and in the ranges east of Oruro and Lake Poopa. Pozoconi, a mountain in the Huanuni district, is traversed by many lodes and veins. Other important lodes exist in Negro Pabellon, Morococola, Avecaya, Berenguela, etc.

Lead, zinc, bismuth, antimony, wolfram, borate of lime, and common salt are also found in Bolivia.

If Bolivia had a good, stable, and liberal government, its mining development would go forward on a broad scale, and it would become one of the greatest mineral-producing countries of the world.

VI. Chili

The value of the total mineral products of Chili for 1903 was 178,768,170 pesos, or 65,250,371 dollars U. S. gold (a Chilian peso being equivalent to 36½ cents). Out of this, a total of 140,102,012 pesos was nitrate, leaving all other mineral substances valued at 38,666,158 pesos. Of the metals, copper leads in value at 21,438,397 pesos, while of gold and silver there were respectively 1,745,115 and 1,284,308 pesos produced. Coal is an important product, the production in 1903 being valued at 8,250,720 pesos. Other products are lead, cobalt ore, manganese, borate, salt, sulphur, sulphuric acid, and guano. There are about 12,000 mineral concessions on which dues are paid to the government, but the number in actual operation is much smaller.

In the production of nitrate Chili leads the world. The enormously rich nitrate deposits were originally owned by Peru, and made that nation rich; but they were seized by Chili at the end of the war with Peru-Bolivia, in 1883. The raw nitrate of soda is called *caliche*. The region that produces it extends from Camarones to Taltal, a distance of 393 miles from north to south. The nitrate beds are very narrow, having an average width of about two miles. The most important *salitreras* are near Iquique in the province of Tarapaca and Pisagua. Iquique is the great port of export.

The entire nitrate region is a barren desert. Usually the nitrate beds are at or near the surface. The material is blasted out, and hauled by mules on tramways to the works where it is treated. More than $100,000,000 of foreign capital, mostly English, is invested in these immense works. The annual output of nitrate is given as follows:

	Tons
1884	550,000
1885	420,000
1886	443,000
1887	702,000
1888	773,000
1889	903,000
1890	1,009,000
1891	877,000
1892	804,842
1893	938,871
1894	1,082,285
1895	1,220,000
1896	1,092,000
1897	1,064,075
1898	1,254,000
1899	1,360,000
1900	1,490,000
1901	1,267,800
1902	1,419,400
1903	1,441,360
1904	1,513,090

Chili's principal revenue is derived from the export taxes on nitrate. This tax is $1.60 Chilian per metric quintal of 100 pounds, and the total exceeds all the other revenues of the government.

VII. Uruguay

The mining industry of Uruguay is in a very backward condition. In the department of Rivera about 72,000 grams of gold are produced annually. The mineral resources of the country are thus described in *Anuario Estadistico de la Republica del Uruguay*, 1890:

"The soil is very rich in minerals, — metals, clay, and combustible minerals. Gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and mercury are found among the first. Granite, mica, feldspar, various and precious agates, calcareous stone, mountain rock crystal, marble of different colors, slate, lithographic stones, alum, gypsum, cobalt, calcareous cement, loadstone, marble basalt, and columbite of great value, discovered by Mr. Lettson. A quantity of flints and crystallizations similar to rubies, topaz, zirconite, and emerald, which appear in glittering points in pyramidal shapes, are found in abundance in our mineral kingdom. The mineralogist, Henry Petivenit, found gold, topaz, and diamonds in the river San Francisco, which runs through Minas; and Mr. Lettson, gold in the departments of Salto and Tacuarembo.

"From 1852 up to date, several mines were denounced, and samples of minerals were extracted from Godoy, Barriga Negra, San Francisco de Minas, Arapey, Chico, Acegua, and other places.

"The working of a lead mine was tried in Soldado, department of Minas, and at present a French company works the gold mines of Cuñapiru in the auriferous region of the department of Tacuarembo. Another company works a copper mine in the department of Maldonado.

"In the hills of Arequita, Penitentes, Campanero, Mahoma, and Marincho, since last century the existence of gold has been ascertained.

"Gold in veins is found, also in quartz and in nuggets. Near the source of the Arepay and Gueguay rivers, and especially of the Catalan and Pintado, begins the region of the quartz stone and agates, amethysts, and glittering flints."

VIII. Paraguay

Practically nothing is known of the mineral resources of Paraguay. There is said to be iron in many parts of the country, but whether or not it is pay-rock is unknown. Gold exists near San Miguel. The government reports of Paraguay state that "iron, copper, manganese, gold, marble, and building stone of the best quality are found in Paraguay in the greatest abundance." These, like most of the other government reports of South American countries, must be received with exceeding caution.

IX. Argentina

There have been many extremely optimistic reports sent out about the mineral wealth of Argentina, but up to the present time the mineral development of that country has been relatively insignificant. Gold and copper are found in Catamarca and San Juan, and silver in various places. Several companies are at work in a small way dredging the rivers for gold, but without important results.

The province of Jujuy in the extreme northwest is said to be rich in minerals. There are more than one hundred mines there, mostly gold mines; but little or no development work has been done.

Veins of auriferous quartz are stated to exist at La Rinconada, Timon Cruz, and Santa Catalina. At the last-named place there are three mines known as Eureka, Belga, and Suripugio, which Mr. H. F. Garrison, a mining engineer, writing in *La Nacion* of December 7, 1891, denotes the richest in the world. As the total mineral production of Argentina in 1890 was only about $1,700,000, Mr. Garrison's report should be accepted with a grain of salt.

As many mineral concessions have been granted in Argentina as railroad concessions in Venezuela, and to as little purpose. The larger number of these concessions are located in the provinces of San Luis, Rioja, or San Juan, and Jujuy.

It is reported also that argentiferous lead, iron, salt, borate of lime, bismuth, coal, and petroleum are found in Argentina. Coal is being mined in the province of Mendoza, and petroleum in the territory of Neuquen.

X. Brazil

Brazil is a mighty empire, comparatively quite undeveloped. Its mineral resources are doubtless fully equal to those of the United States. Compared to the immensity of its territory and its vast wealth, its mineral development to date seems almost insignificant. The "Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics," Vol. I, Washington, 1893, says:

"The existence in Brazil of copper, manganese, and argentiferous lead ore in considerable quantities and in widely extended localities has been demonstrated. Mines of iron, coal, gold, and diamonds have already been worked there. Amethysts, topazes, beryl, garnets, and agate are found in various parts. Gold is found in every State of Brazil, and is systematically mined in Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sul, Goyaz, Bahia, Matto Grosso, Paraná, S. Paulo and Maranhao. The product of the mine of S. Joao del Rei, operated by an English company since 1835, in the year 1875 was 4,774 pounds; the average yield of metal per ton of ore, 535 grains. The Ouro Preto mine furnished, in 1887, 594 pounds of gold. D'Eschwege estimates the amount of gold produced by the mines of Minas Geraes, from 1700 to 1820, at 1,404,965 pounds troy; and Henwood calculates at 171,000 pounds the amount produced from 1820 to 1860. Corcieux estimates the quantity obtained from 1860 to 1888 at 132,000 pounds. Castelnan thinks the production much greater in this State, and puts at $100,000,000, the value of the gold produced in the States of Bahia, Maranhão, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Goyaz, and Matto Grosso. Diamonds are coextensive with the gold deposits, and, like that metal, are most abundant in Minas Geraes, where they have been found since 1789. The most important locality known for the production of this gem is the district of Diamantina, in the above-named State. They are found in Paraná in the gravels of the river Tibagy, and in the beds of streams dry during the summer. Since the discovery of diamonds at the Cape of Good Hope the Brazilian production has greatly diminished. The amount of these stones found in Minas Geraes during 1887 is estimated by the director of the school of mines at Ouro Preto at 5673 grams."

Iron is found in abundance in Minas Geraes and elsewhere, but little has been done in the way of development.

The exportation of bar gold from Brazil in 1902 was 3,989,982 grams; in 1903, 4,322,043, and in 1904, 3,871,426. Much is said of the production of diamonds in Brazil, but the exports are relatively unimportant, amounting in value to but $200,000 to $300,000 per year. In 1904 there were exported 610 tons of copper ore, and 2122 grams of platinum. Mica, talc, rock crystal, agate, and petroleum are abundant.

XI. Haiti

As to the mineral resources of Haiti but very little is known. It is alleged that there are gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, antimony, nickel,

coal, and gypsum in the country; and extensive mineral districts are declared to exist in the communes of Dondou, Limonade, St. Michel, Plaisance, Mirebalais, Banica, and Lascahobas, but these statements are very unreliable. To operate mines in Haiti under present conditions would be practically impossible.

XII. Santo Domingo

Santo Domingo is doubtless rich in minerals, but owing to its wretched government the development of its mineral resources has hardly begun. The interior of Santo Domingo is mainly a wilderness.

The most reliable information obtainable on this subject is the report of William P. Blake, geologist, printed as Executive Document of the Senate, No. 9, Forty-second Congress. In this report Mr. Blake says:

A brown ore of iron is very abundant over considerable areas in the interior, either in beds or lying in detached blocks upon the surface. It is the species known as limonite, but it is combined with silicious sand and gravel, forming a solid cemented mass. Whether it has phosphorus or other hurtful impurities can only be ascertained by analysis or trial. There is an abundance of limestone for flux, and charcoal could be had at a moderate cost, but I doubt whether, even under favorable circumstances, pig-iron could be profitably produced there in competition with localities where a variety of ores can be obtained and where skilled labor is abundant.

There is a very considerable extent of gold-bearing country in the interior, and gold is washed from the rivers at various points. It is found along the Jaina, upon the Verde, and upon the Yaqui and its tributaries, and doubtless upon the large rivers of the interior. Some portions of the gold fields were worked anciently by the Spaniards and Indians. There are doubtless many gold deposits, not only along the beds of rivers but on the hills, which have never been worked, and there probably is considerable gold remaining among the old workings. The appearances of the soil and rocks are such as to justify the labor and expense of carefully prospecting the gold region. The conditions for working are favorable. The supply of water for washing is unlimited, and sufficient fall or drainage can generally be had. The women in the interior obtain a small quantity of gold by washing the gravel in *bateas*, and it is said that there are two or three Americans in the mountains engaged in gold washing, and that they occasionally visit one of the towns to buy provisions.

Ores of copper occur on the southern flank of the mountains between Azua and the river Jaina. Samples obtained by me are yellow copper ore of fair richness, and some samples are of the species known as variegated copper. The beds are said to compare favorably with similar deposits of ore in the foothills of the mountains in California. I was not able to visit the mines, but samples were obtained for assay.

The lignite deposits of the Samaná peninsula have already been made the subject of a special investigation and report. No evidences of the existence of older and true coal could be found.

Considerable salt is also said to exist in the island.

XIII. Costa Rica

It is stated that most of the Costa Rican rivers contain auriferous sands. The most important gold mines of the country are at Mount Aguacati. Here are three mines owned by English and American companies; the *Trinidad* has a 40-stamp mill and the *Union* a 20-stamp mill. In the Ciruelitas district some twenty mines exist, but few of them are in successful operation. The mining industry of Costa Rica will remain quite undeveloped under present governmental conditions, although the government of Costa Rica is far superior to that of the other Central American countries.

XIV. Nicaragua

The principal mines of Nicaragua are in the Mico, Tunkey, Cuicuina, and Pizpiz districts. Gold was produced in 1903 to the amount of $556,000 U. S. gold. There are one silver mine and several gold mines in operation, worked by Americans and English. There are many abandoned mines.

XV. Salvador

It is stated that there are about ninety mines in the department of Morazan, about twenty-five in the department of Chalatenango, and about thirty in the department of Santa Ana. Practically all of the Morazan and Chalatenango mines are of gold, or of gold and silver. Copper, tin, and lead are found in the department of Santa Ana. There are some important gold mines in La Union. The total export of minerals for 1904 was given at 68,674 pounds, gold and silver being the most important in the list.

XVI. Honduras

Honduras is extremely rich in mineral resources. Despite the atrocious "governments," and the never-ceasing uprisings and political disturbances, considerable is being done in the way of mining. In 1902 there were exported from Honduras 23,235 ounces of gold and 1,010,204 ounces of silver. A few strong foreign mining companies are in the field.

In addition to gold and silver, Honduras produces platinum, copper, lead, iron, zinc, antimony, and nickel. Rich copper ore is found at Coloal, in Gracias, containing 58 per cent of copper and about 80 ounces of silver per ton.

The "Honduras Mining Journal," February 10, 1891, says:

"As regards mineral resources, Honduras ranks first among the Central American States, and this is shown by the old Spanish records of the royalty

of one fifth levied by Spain on all mineral productions in these States. Gold-bearing quartz, in well-paying quantities but small veins, is found all over Olancho, and its rivers, Jalan and Guayape, with their numerous tributaries, afford a comfortable living to the native gold washers with their *bateas*. The Yuscaran district contains quartz which yields silver in profitable quantities, mixed with gold. Here is the celebrated old Guayabillas mine, which from the last century to within a few years back has yielded largely; in fact, the whole district is full of metalliferous veins running through quartzose rocks. I may mention also the San Juancito mine, between Tegucigalpa and Cantarranas, now paying largely; and many others, both gold and silver, in active operation and remunerative; the Minas de Oro, near Comayagua; the famous Opoteca, now, like many other old Spanish mines, practically unworked, but containing immense masses of ore still unextracted; and between the capital and the Atlantic seaboard, many mines worked by American and English companies. The country abounds in old Spanish mines now abandoned, but the old workings show that much ore has been extracted and reduced."

XVII. Guatemala

Considerable placer gold is found at Las Quebradas, near Yzabal. In Motozintla, of the Pacific Coast range, low-grade gold ore is found. In the department of Huehuetenango, in the Chuchumatanes mountains, auriferous copper ores are found. At Chiantla, near Huehuetenango, according to Mr. Rea, the Indians work lead mines, the ore of which produces 40 to 60 per cent of lead, and in addition $10 to $15 worth of silver per ton. At Todos Santos, about fifty miles north, the same formation yields even richer results. Mr. Rea states that at Santa Cruz de Mushtli there is a vast deposit of the same class of ore, which looks as if it had been vomited forth by a volcano, and which assayed from $10 to $60 per ton silver, and eighty per cent lead. Auriferous gravel beds are found in the Rio Grande River. Mica, asbestos, copper, magnetic iron ores, and gypsum are plentiful. Considerable quantities of silver are mined in the departments of Chiquimula and Santa Rosa. Chalk beds are found near Coban. Salt is produced in Alta Vera Paz and Santa Rosa.

While Guatemala is exceedingly rich in minerals, little has been done or can be done in the way of development, under present conditions. Mr. Rea's report, above quoted from, says:

"On reference to the old archives of the colonial days we find that between the date of 1627 and 1820, 1322 mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, tin, and one of mercury were opened and worked."

It will thus be seen that in mining (as it has been in almost every other industry), Guatemala was more advanced under Spain than it has been since.

CHAPTER XLIX

RAILROADING AND STEAMBOATING

SOUTH AMERICA is perhaps the only continent where quite a number of railways, constructed at enormous expense, under prolonged effort and in the face of inconceivable obstacles, have been completely abandoned.

The building of a railway in South America is a task which may well try the stoutest nerves. The climatic conditions, bringing fever and other diseases in their train; the material obstacles arising from the conformation and condition of the earth's crust; the impossibility of obtaining competent labor (or any labor, for oftentimes the recluta sweeps the field bare of laborers); the stupidity and meddlesomeness of the government, — all these things bring down an avalanche of difficulties about the railway builder's head, and make it well-nigh impossible for him to accomplish anything in railway work.

Little, indeed, has been accomplished. Kansas has more railway mileage than has all South America, exclusive of Argentina and Brazil. The cost of building a railway in South America is, like the cost of almost everything else, disproportionately high. Before commencing work, the contractor will hear that labor is exceedingly cheap, perhaps fifty cents a day will be the price given, and he will probably figure that the work will cost relatively less than it would in the States. But the "cheaper" labor is, the dearer it turns out to be, and the contractor will find that a common earth railway embankment, which in the States would cost eleven or twelve cents a cubic yard, will cost from forty to fifty cents anywhere in South America.

He will be compelled to bear many needless and even wicked expenses. Although the railway mileage in South America is unimportant, considered relatively to the extent of territory, yet it is more extensive than the people or the governments desire. Most of those South Americans who have seen railways (a vast number of them have never even heard of one) do not like them. Railways bring foreigners into the country; they call for the occasional intervention of a foreign government, and, speaking generally, they bring into a place an atmosphere different from that to which the people have been accustomed.

According to consular and other reports, the railway mileage of South America is as follows:

	Year	Miles
Argentina	1902	11,000
Bolivia	1904	700
Brazil	1902	9,370
Chili	1902	2,800
Colombia	1901	411
Ecuador	1901	128
Paraguay	1902	156
Peru	1902	1,035
Uruguay	1901	1,026
Venezuela	1898	315

But the data relative to South American railway construction and mileage are exceedingly unreliable. Thus, to consider the above statement of over four hundred miles of railway in Colombia, it is difficult to learn of railways totalling more than half of this amount. Colombia has half a dozen small sections of railway track scattered over the country, which appear to begin nowhere and end nowhere. Some of these sections are eight or ten miles long, others are thirty or forty; they are all little narrow-gauge affairs, forming no adequate or connected system of transportation.

The Venezuelan report for 1898 stated 505 miles of railway in operation, and 1000 miles under construction. However insignificant these figures are, compared to the needs of an inhabited and to some degree civilized country as large as Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Belgium, and France combined, yet would they be reckoned, if true, a hopeful sign, an indication that Venezuela was at least moving, if but slowly, in the right direction. But the facts are that not a mile of railway was under construction in Venezuela in 1898, nor has a mile of track been built there between 1898 and January 1, 1904, save some 28 or 29 miles built by the author of this work. This track was purely an accessory to an asphalt mine to which it led; it was built through a vast wilderness, and without the remotest design of using it for general passenger or freight service.

But though next to no railways were built in Venezuela during this period, there was no lack of the granting of railway concessions. One can scarcely inquire as to any two of the most insignificant Indian villages in the country, without learning that a concession has at some time or other been granted to build a railway between them. If the word were the deed, if construction followed hard upon the heels of concession, Venezuela would soon be gridironed from one end to the other with steel rails. These concessions, however, have in every instance been granted to local generals or friends of the ruling Dictator,

with the idea that some foreigners may be induced to buy them, or at least to put up some money for "preliminary expenses."

A concession for a railway projected to start in the woods and end in the swamps, and which could never earn enough to pay for its axle grease, will be held up and pictured in the most glowing terms. One such fakir scheme has been pushed and boomed by an American consul through dozens of pages of puffs appearing in the consular reports to the United States government. The "concession" stands in the name of a citizen of the country, but is unquestionably for the benefit of the consul, who has worked hard to get American business men to put money into the scheme. The road could never earn enough to pay for the firewood of its engines, yet the concessionaire under the terms of the concession is bound to begin the road within one year from the date of the concession and to finish it within two years from said date, under pain of forfeiture, and the concessionaire promises to carry the mails and government troops free, to adopt schedules of freight and passenger charges as fixed by the government, and finally to donate the road in fee simple, free of all debt, to the government at the end of fifty years. The promise of the government on its part — a promise which it would never keep, but which is of little or no account in any event — is to give the concessionaire every alternate block of land on both sides of the railway to the depth of 500 metres. This amounts, for every 1¼ miles of railway, to 247 acres of land — land for which the government's price to a native would be $400 a square league (5760 acres), or say 8 cents an acre.

It is upon such a basis as the foregoing that the governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, and Bolivia propose to build railways, — rather to put an end to railway building, for no responsible man would entertain such a concession for a moment. When a company has begun to consider seriously building a railway in one of these countries, the first thing it encounters is one of these fraudulent concessions, which is brandished like a club about its head. So the railway business in the greater part of South America is completely paralyzed; and under present conditions it must remain so. Even were there no concessions to be grappled with, even were the government and people friendly, even if everybody were wanting railways, still the problem of railway building in South America (or anywhere else for that matter) is a serious one. To build a railway requires a vast expenditure of capital, an organization of skilled men not always readily assembled, and, above all, a transportation demand at least prospectively sufficient to meet the heavy expenses of maintenance and operation. The railway's financial success, its dividend-earning power, depends upon stable conditions, political and social, such conditions creating the steady volume of business necessary for meeting its fixed charges and operating expenses. When Jay Gould was asked to aid in promoting a railway from the United States via Mexico, Cen-

tral America, and Colombia to Buenos Aires, he said that not even a century hence would the traffic and freight of such a line amount to sufficient to justify the expense of building it. It is true that Secretary Blaine entered heartily into the project, but however able Blaine was as a statesman, Gould was the abler railway man.

Railways are the barometers of civilization. Their condition, their security, the effectiveness of their service, the certainty of their dividends, the perfection of their mechanical equipment, their enterprise, originality, and liberality in making improvements, their freedom from political blackmail, the stability of their organization, — all these things show, perhaps more clearly than anything else does, the status of the communities that the railways serve. The facts that there are some railways in all South American countries, and quite a mileage in some of them, indicate that the inhabitants of these countries are in advance of the primitive savages. But the facts that the railways there have relatively small mileage, and are owned, built, maintained, and operated wholly by foreigners, that no company of native South Americans has ever built or operated a railway, that all of the railways are constantly in difficulties, and that some of them have been actually abandoned, — these facts all go to show that the inhabitants of these countries are not so much in advance of the primitive savages as they are behind the inhabitants of the civilized parts of the globe.

I. Comparative Mileage of American and Latin-American Railways

The State of Illinois contains 56,000 square miles of land, and over 11,000 miles of railway tracks, not counting a large mileage of switch tracks. Most of the track is rock-ballasted. Illinois thus has 1 mile of railway, standard gauge (4 feet 8½ inches wide), for every 5 square miles of territory. Other States are almost equally well supplied, averaging 1 mile of track to every 6 or 8 square miles of territory. France has 1 mile of railway for every 8 square miles of area; Belgium, 1 for every 4 square miles; Ireland, 1 for every 8; Scotland, about the same; England, 1 mile of railway in every 3½ square miles of area; Switzerland, 1 in 7; Italy, 1 in 11; and Germany, 1 in 6. Let us now turn to South America.

Ecuador contains about 125 miles of railway (from Duran, opposite Guayaquil, to Guamote) in an area as claimed of 273,000 square miles, or 1 mile of track for every 2730 square miles of territory.

Colombia is said to have about 411 miles of railway in an area variously estimated at from 455,000 to 505,000 square miles, or 1 mile of railway track for (approximately) every 1285 square miles.

Venezuela has about 500 miles of railway, all narrow-gauge, in a territory of 594,000 square miles, or 1 mile of railway track for every 1200 square miles.

In 1904 Brazil had 10,408 miles of railway. Her area is practically as large as that of the United States, or 3,218,130 square miles. There was, therefore, 1 mile of railway for every 318 square miles. There is in Brazil an expanse of territory as large as that portion of the United States lying east of the Mississippi River in which there is not a mile of railway track.

Bolivia has 700 miles of railway, or 1 mile for each 1000 square miles of area. The percentage is higher in Peru, Chili, and Argentina. Thus Peru has 1 mile of railway for every 460 square miles of area; Chili, 1 for every 100 square miles, and Argentina 1 mile for every 112 square miles.

The record of railway building in Chili and Argentina confirms what is said elsewhere in regard to the higher civilization of those countries as compared to that of the other South American countries. This record forms an admirable criterion. If one were required to pass judgment upon the relative state of civilization of two nations, he might confidently turn to the statistics of their railways, and, upon a comparison of the relative railway mileage, construction, and other conditions, form his decision. No other industry is so indicative of the real growth of a nation, for the railway is the focus of every other industry, and its statistics throw a high light upon the statistics of them all.

The discovery of South America and the discovery of North America were practically contemporaneous, and so were the beginnings of European colonization on these two continents. In healthfulness of climate, in fertility of soil, in mineral wealth, in natural resources generally, South America is in no way inferior to its northern neighbor. Yet the United States is to-day a Colossus among nations, a young giant, healthy, happy, rich, and free; while in many parts of South America coffee must still be carried a six or seven days' journey on the backs of burros before it reaches a market.

II. Railways in Argentina

(From Theodore Child's "Spanish American Republics.")

"In the days of the viceroys and of the palmy days of Potosi the shrinkage of the king's gold on the way between the mines and the royal treasury was always considerable. Nowadays the shrinkage is observable in the metallic deposits of banks, in the sums voted for the execution of great public works, and in the proceeds of English loans. A calculation of deep interest, which has never yet been made, would be to reckon how many of the millions lent, mostly by English bondholders, have been diverted from their destination to enrich politicians, and how many millions spent on public works have been misapplied. In his message, for instance, President Celman announced that the Republic in December, 1889, possessed a total length of 8074 kilometres of railway in service, 9914 kilometres in construction, 500 kilometres of which with the rails already laid, and 7332 kilometres in project. As usual in official

documents, President Celman neglected to put in qualifying clauses. In reality there are but two well-managed and adequate lines in the whole Republic, — namely, Buenos Aires to Rosario (548 kilometres), and the Great Southern (1328 kilometres). The rest are, for the most part, badly built, badly managed, and insufficiently provided with rolling-stock; and many have been constructed without any other object than land speculations and the government guarantee of seven per cent interest. The amount of guaranteed interest paid by the Argentine government in 1889 to railway companies was more than three million dollars. The railway system of the Argentine has not been rationally conceived; the nation has been exploited by companies and speculators; in the concession and tracing of new lines the interests of the public are frequently sacrificed to the interests of individual large landholders, who desire to increase the value of their property by having a railway across it. The latest folly is the building of railways in the Chaco, where the land is still, so to speak, in formation, and so loose that the track has to be relaid almost after every shower of rain. In short, the moment we begin to look into the railway system of the Republic, and to examine the reality and not the imposing figures of statistical tables, we find very little honesty and very little that is genuine."

III. Let the Governments adopt a more Liberal Policy toward Railway Men

There can be no such thing as modern civilization without railways; indeed, without railways there can be no civilization worthy of the name. Men of a literary rather than a practical turn will doubtless cite Rome and Greece in refutation of the statement that a high type of civilization is impossible without railways. But we know little of the actual civilization of those periods; the glamour of Greece and Rome, filtering through the pages of history, is what has come down to us, and "distance lends enchantment to the view."

It should be a matter of urgent concern to every South American government to encourage throughout its domain the building and operation of railways by private enterprise; and it should be the policy of these governments to give to railway men the widest possible latitude in the exercise of their ingenuity and the play of their individual resources. This policy has given to the people of the United States the finest and most progressive railways in the world, and the greatest mileage.

The adoption of such a policy, however, in South America would mean a radical antecedent change of attitude on the part of its governments toward railways and toward foreigners from whom South American railway projects emanate. Under existing circumstances, if a responsible company were seriously considering the building of a railway in Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Central America, or Santo Domingo (to instance several countries), the government of the country under consideration would conduct itself as if it were conferring the greatest possible privilege upon the company in granting

to it a concession to lay its own rails on land that it might purchase; and furthermore it is probable that the company would be required to turn over its railway, free of debt, to the government at the end of fifty years. It would be required in the mean time to carry the government troops and officials free and the government correspondence at half price, and to allow the government to make the time schedules and fix the tariff to be charged for freight and passenger traffic. Perhaps the government on its part would concede a strip of land five hundred metres wide on each side of the track, in alternate blocks, — land which under no circumstances would be worth more than $200 or $300 a track mile, — but this would be the extent of its munificence. The chances are the government would mulct the company for cash to the amount of four or five times the value of this land before it was even granted.

So much for what the government would do; now for what it ought to do. It ought to make a substantial land grant to the company. The government could very well afford to give a standard gauge railway every alternate mile of land on both sides of the track for a depth of five miles, or even ten miles. Land given to railway companies to encourage railway building is not land thrown away. The railway company is the greatest promoter of immigration that there is. It makes no pretence of patriotism or philanthropy. The matter is one of simply straight business — but business of a broad-minded and enlightened character. The policy of the railway men of the United States has attracted settlers by the millions; cities and towns have sprung up as at the call of a magician's wand; vast territories, hitherto barren and inhospitable, have become rich and fertile, and the American Desert, no longer "Great," has shrivelled to a fraction of its former magnitude.

A word may be said here as to the extraordinary climatic influence which may be exerted by cultivation. Where forestation, agriculture, education, and commerce have been established, nature seems at times to have risen to the occasion and to have modified her climate to meet the new conditions.

The wonderful development of Texas and the Great West north to the Dakotas has no equal in the history of agriculture. In this achievement the railways have played a part, the importance of which will probably never be appreciated. And a mighty support to the railways have been the government and the people, in giving the railways liberal land grants and extensive powers.

Similarly the mighty development of South America could be brought to pass. Capital always stands ready to blaze the way where there are security, stability, a progressive spirit animating the people, and a liberal governmental policy. Under the influx of capital, bands of steel would ere the lapse of many years link together the now *disjecta membra* of this rich continent from north to south and from east to west.

IV. Steamboating

The steamboating business in South America has its ups and downs — more downs than ups. The histories of the various steamboating companies, whether their boats ply on Maracaibo Lake, the Magdalena River, the Orinoco, or the Amazon, are pretty much the same.

A company in one of the South American countries has for some years been run by a personal friend of the writer. He had the management of six or eight big river steamboats, costing $15,000 or $20,000 each, and adapted to the navigation of all the large rivers within a certain territory. One after another these boats were seized by the government or by the revolutionists; and then ignoramuses were put in charge of the machinery, boilers were burned out or blown up, and the boats themselves were jammed into logs or rocks, and often, manned by opposite factions, were shooting at each other. As soon as a vessel's bottom was knocked full of holes or its machinery destroyed, the government (if it were in possession) would calmly return the vessel to my friend and order him to fix it — at his own expense — and be quick about it. The government people never paid him for the damage to his vessels nor for their use. Occasionally they would give him something on account, enough to buy cylinder oil or firewood, and stave him off for the balance. Their promises to pay were profuse; and a man who does not remain satisfied with promises to pay is liable to be considered an enemy of his country, a friend of the revolutionists, and therefore a fit subject for the jail. For six months or a year at a time this whole fleet of merchant steamboats would be engaged in unwilling but racking service, or tied up as if storm-bound, or out of commission owing to injuries received in so-called war.

V. Closing River Navigation

The Latin-American countries restrict navigation through the imposition of excessive duties or otherwise, and even close navigation, whenever it suits their chiefs to do so, on any and all the rivers of South America, not even excepting such great water-ways as the Magdalena, Orinoco, Amazon, or La Plata.

Such a case was reported from Brazil by the United States minister, Charles Bryan, in a despatch dated Petropolis, August 14, 1902. The Brazilian government issued a circular decree, dated August 8, 1902, suspending the free navigation of the Amazon. Foreign governments whose citizens had vast interests on the Amazon at once protested. The decree violated the "Constitution" of Brazil and injured all foreign interests. The decree was soon modified by limiting the prohibition to imports and exports to and from Bolivia. Its purpose

was to cut off a vast rubber district of Bolivia, whose only means of communication with the outside world was via the Amazon River.

The United States consul-general, Eugene Seegar, on January 20, 1903, wrote a protest to the Brazilian government, calling attention to the fact that the United States had always regarded transit on the Amazon as being free, and observing that he hoped that such changes in the decree would be made as "the strong ties of close friendship that bind us to your glorious country give us reason to hope for." The decree was soon afterwards revoked, and free navigation resumed for the transportation of all goods except arms and ammunition.

VI. Seizure of American Vessels in Colombia

(Extract from United States "Foreign Relations," 1903.)

Department of State, January 22, 1902.

Mr. Hay states that it has been represented to the United States government that the Colombian government has seized the vessels of the *Companía Fluvial de Cartagena*, and also that it has discriminated against the company in the matter of navigation regulations, sailing permits, and government competitions. Mr. Hart is instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Colombian government and say that an immediate restitution of the property, with full indemnity for damages caused by illegal acts of Colombian authorities toward said company, is requested by the government of the United States.

That it has also been represented that the Colombian government fails to afford reasonable protection to the Cartagena-Magdalena Railroad Company and its warehouses, and that the government interferes with the employés of the company, and impresses them into the service of the government, and that it discriminates against the company in respect to its traffic.

That it has also been represented by the Cartagena Terminal and Improvement Company that the Colombian government discriminates in the administration of law against it by requiring payment of port and light-house dues in gold at Cartagena and not at other ports.

Mr. Hart is directed to immediately bring these matters to the attention of the Colombian government and request just treatment of the American companies mentioned above.

Minister Hart, and later, Minister Beaupré, tried to get some redress from the Colombian government, but without avail.

On May 12, 1902, Felipe F. Paul, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, answered Mr. Beaupré, saying:

"Now, as formerly, during a disturbance of public order which has already been going on for over two years and a half, it has been found necessary to make use of private property in order to aid the re-establishment of order. The requisition of property by the legitimate authorities has been extended to foreigners, as is sanctioned by the principles of international law, as also by treaties.

"The government has no flotilla in the Magdalena River. This river is the principal means of communication with the interior. The defence of this river has therefore to be provided for in times of disturbance by the arming of merchant vessels. This has been done with regard to boats, the property of various fluvial companies."

Mr. Paul proceeded with a long argument to the effect that Colombia had, under international law, a right to seize these boats and use them in its war operations.

There are as many international lawyers in South America as there were marine lawyers on the old-time brig. Turn which way you will, somebody will quote "international law" at you, always in defence of spoliation. And in the mean while the "governments" seize some of the boats, the revolutionists seize others; and the *ensemble* blow up boilers, knock holes in the hulls, shoot the smokestacks off, and smash the machinery to pieces. In payment the luckless company receives long screeds on "international law," and its manager, if he "doth protest too much," goes to jail.

It is a great pity that Mark Twain never did any steamboating on the Magdalena River.

PART VI—GOVERNMENTAL BAD FAITH AND INCOMPETENCY

CHAPTER L

ENTIRE LACK OF GOOD FAITH AMONG LATIN-AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS

I. Peru repudiates her Contracts

PERU is anxious to make it appear that she keeps better faith with foreigners and foreign investments than the other South American countries do, and just at present the appearance is supported by the fact. Peru is in straits, financially and otherwise; and she must comport herself well, or the fly will not walk into the parlor. But not many years ago Peru made no pretence whatever of acting in good faith towards anybody. She was then as brazen in her exterior commercial relations as Venezuela or Colombia is now.

When Caceres came into power in Peru, his government at once sought to overthrow all acts of the administrations of Pierola and Iglesias from December 21, 1879, to December 2, 1885. Charles W. Buck, American Minister at Lima, on August 12, 1886, wrote Secretary Bayard:

"Also a bill has been introduced in the Deputies to annul all interior acts of the Pierola and Iglesias governments. Were such a measure to pass, it would, I apprehend, be construed here to reach with disintegrating touch contracts of the greatest importance heretofore entered into with foreigners, especially the railroad contracts by which the three most important railroads in Peru were placed under lease to Americans and the Callao Muelle y Darsena contract. In advance of definite outcome in the direction of the proposed action of the Peruvian government disregarding or annulling contract rights of American citizens in properties perhaps worth more than $100,000,000, which would in effect be confiscation, it seems desirable that I should be advised in an instruction of the views of our government."

On August 14, 1886, Mr. Buck wrote:

"The House of Deputies have unanimously adopted the report of the special committee appointed to investigate the Muelle y Darsena contract, by which the approval of Congress is refused to the renewal made by the Iglesias government, April 10, 1885, and it is declared null."

Plainly, this act of the Peruvian Congress was blackmail — nothing else. The contract in question had been made by the Iglesias govern-

ment, the only government which Peru had at the time; and it had been approved by the Iglesias Congress. It is true that the Iglesias government was an absolute military dictatorship, but such was the ordinary form of government.

However, as the Central or South American dictatorship ordinarily has a lax *morale* as to its own contracts, one hardly expects to find it imbued with a lively sense of responsibility for the contracts of its predecessors.

Upon the general subject outlined in Mr. Buck's report, the State Department at Washington on September 23, 1886, expressed the following opinion:

"Upon the general question of the binding effect upon Peru of contracts made by the Pierola and Iglesias government in accordance with the Constitution and laws of that country, the opinion of this department is that the performance of such engagements is obligatory upon the present Peruvian government, and that the attempt on the part of that government to avoid such contracts, thus denying the capacity of the Pierola and Iglesias government to contract, in violation or disregard of the vested rights of citizens of the United States, would afford just ground for complaint. For the greater part of six years, from 1879 until 1885, either the Pierola or the Iglesias government was recognized by foreign powers as the government of Peru."

On October 28, 1886, Mr. Buck wrote:

"I have to report that Congress, on the 24th instant, passed an act. . . . annulling all the interior acts of the Pierola and Iglesias governments. . . . The signing and putting into effect is perfunctory. The President has also signed the act annulling the Darsena contract."

It is not necessary for us to follow the tortuous paths of the diplomatic correspondence in regard to this matter. The Peruvian foreign minister wrote a long brief on the claim that Peru had a perfect right, under "international law" to violate the plighted faith of the nation as given by previous administrations.

There is little good faith among the pretended governments of South America; their very processes of thought and expression are as crooked as a ram's horn. Straightforwardness, common candor, and honesty are all but unknown. Yet there are degrees and degrees of sluggishness of the moral sense — and Peru is better than Venezuela!

II. Double or Triple Payment of Duties Demanded by Nicaragua

Between February 3 and 25, 1899, the government of the Bluefields district in Nicaragua was completely in the hands of General Reyes, of the revolutionary forces. This "general" compelled the local merchants to pay the duties on goods imported during that time

to him. Among the importers thus compelled to pay were Samuel Weil & Co., of New Orleans, the Central American Trading Co., Allen & Caldwell, Jacob Albert Peterson, Samuel Dean Spellman, and Orr & Laubenheimer.

When the rabble, headed by Zelaya and self-styled a "constitutional government," got possession of the Bluefields district, through the surrender of General Reyes to the British and American naval forces, it at once demanded a second payment of these duties. The merchants protested, but "Constitutional President" Zelaya wanted the money, and persisted.

Finally, on April 29, 1899, Joaquin Sanson, Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs, and William Lawrence Merry, American Minister, entered into a convention under which the sums claimed were deposited by the merchants in the hands of Mr. Bingham, English Consul at Bluefields, in escrow. This removed the entire question from the local authorities of Bluefields to the State Department of the United States and the Foreign Office of Nicaragua.

The stereotyped allegation was made by Nicaragua that the merchants had sympathized and aided the revolution. The United States government thoroughly investigated this charge, taking ample sworn testimony, and declared that there was nothing in this pretension. Secretary Hay then demanded the return of the money to the merchants.

Nicaragua refused its assent, and Mr. J. Sanson, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, wrote some letters. That one dated Managua, August 25, 1899, is a good sample of Latin-American diction and of Latin-American ingenuity in devising excuses for appropriating other people's money. Mr. Sanson said *inter alia:*

"The idea of a discussion in this respect does not enter to-day into my proposition, nor much less regarding the culpability the Americans may have incurred, that aided the revolt of General Reyes, — a circumstance that the government of Nicaragua has desired to forget in order not to give the matter greater proportions, and as a friendly act toward the United States of North America."

Again:

"With regard to General Reyes being he who commanded absolutely in the department of Zelaya, between the 2d and 23rd of February last, because General Aurelio Estrada, named successor, could not take possession of the post, and even took refuge in the American consulate, — that is no argument that excuses the payment of duties due to the custom house, because the rule of Mr. Reyes was illegal, not sanctioned by any law of right, or recognized by any foreign power."

If General Reyes' rule was illegal, where then shall we look for legality in Latin-American governments? They all are based on revolution, on force; there are but two kinds of "revolutionary"

leaders in Latin America — some are "in" and want to stay there; the others are "out" and do not want to stay there. "Legality" — "Constitutionality" — bah!

Secretary Hay took a firm and decided stand in the matter. The Nicaraguan government then concluded to try a new tack. So it brought an action in one of its alleged courts, and cited the foreign consuls, the merchants, etc., ostensibly to testify with reference to the alleged participation of the merchants in the "revolution." Secretary Hay decided that our consuls and our minister should not testify, or produce any document in the local court, because, so far as they were concerned, the matter was exclusively in charge of the State Department, but that the merchants should testify in the local court whenever called upon to do so.

Not long after this stage of the matter, Minister Merry received from Mr. Sanson a private letter in these words:

"I limit myself now to say to you that we have good reasons to expect that the Señor Judge Roman will absolve the merchants of Bluefields from the payment of duties, and that he will order returned to them the money deposited."

Feeling that the "Judges" in Latin America were hardly more than clerks to register the decrees of the "Military Jefes," Mr. Merry thought the case ended, and was rather inclined to criticise those merchants who, not imbued with ideas as optimistic as his, had displayed anxiety to evade the summons to "court."

On May 25, 1900, "Judge" Roman y Reyes rendered his "sentence" — which seems to have been suppressed until July, and under which no action was attempted until later — condemning the merchants to pay these perennial duties again. Thus was commanded, at the behest of this distinguished jurist, a third payment of the duties on one and the same bill of goods, the first payment having been already made to the General Reyes *de facto* government, and the second payment having been already deposited with the British consul in escrow. Executions were later issued for the collection of the moneys, and demands for payment were made.

On August 2, 1900, Secretary Hay wrote Mr. Merry:

"The course of the proceedings in this matter, in painfully marked contrast with the professions of the Nicaraguan government, cannot pass unnoticed, and the controversy has reached the stage where it can be settled only by action in accordance with the just expectation of the United States. The interested merchants should be advised that in the event of a renewal of any attempt to enforce the judgment, they should still refuse to pay."

Minister Merry presented a very stern note to the Nicaraguan government, in which he said:

"During my visit to Managua last April, I was advised both by your Excellency and Hon. Mr. Salcedo, Subsecretary of Foreign Affairs, that instructions had been sent to the Bluefields authorities to permit the return of the second payments alluded to by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul Bingham, to the merchants presumably in accord with the result of conferences alluded to at Washington. It now appears that Judge Roman, of the Bluefields local court, has issued his 'sentence' ordering a third payment of these duties, regardless and in violation of the international convention of April 29, 1899, which had been approved by both governments. The mere suggestion that the judge of a local court has the right to violate an international agreement, approved by both governments interested, is so subversive of international courtesy and equity that I am assured that your Excellency will agree with me that a discussion of the point is superfluous."

When the United States finally took a positive stand in the matter, it secured the return of the money to the merchants. The episode, which is one of many such cases (save that usually the money is not returned), illustrates the proposition that no man to-day can do business successfully in the semi-barbaric States of Central America, in San Domingo, Haiti, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, unless his own government is at his back at every moment, and, as this condition is utterly impracticable of performance, the proposition turns out to be merely an indirect mode of stating that the transaction of business successfully in those countries is to-day a practical impossibility.

III. How a Port's Usefulness may be destroyed

One of the innumerable acts of despotism by which Spanish-American Dictators visit punishment upon a whole section of country whose inhabitants may not have fully submitted to the yoke is to issue a decree closing the port or ports of such section of country. The execution of such a decree practically shuts off communication with the outside world. It renders staple imports so extremely dear that even the well-to-do, if dependent upon the products of other lands, find it very difficult to obtain what are for them the common necessities of life.

General Castro, Dictator of Venezuela, on May 27, 1903, closed the custom houses at La Vela de Coro, Guanta, Puerto Sucre, Guiria, Caño Colorado, and Ciudad Bolívar. The decree reads thus:

"Art. 1. The custom houses of La Vela de Coro, Guanta, Puerto Sucre, Guiria, Caño Colorado, and Ciudad Bolívar will be temporarily closed. The term allowed for merchandise that may arrive at the closed ports from Europe, the United States of North America, and the Antilles is as follows: For Europe, thirty days for steamers and sixty days for sailing vessels; for the United States, fifteen days for steamers and thirty days for sailing vessels; for the Antilles and Demerara, ten days, whether they are steamers or sailing vessels; and for Trinidad or Granada, two days, counting from the 1st of June, 1903.

"Art. 2. The custom house of the port of Juan Griego will be removed to the port of Porlamar, where it will have all the functions and will fulfil all

the duties that are set forth in the laws of finances. The custom-house guard of Porlamar will take the place of the one of Juan Griego.

"ART. 3. In each of the closed ports there will be established a custom-house guard with the duties and functions set forth in the code of finances.

"ART. 4. The jurisdiction of these custom-house guards will be the same as that of the suppressed custom houses.

"ART. 5. The suppressed custom houses of Guanta and Puerto Sucre will be submitted to the jurisdiction of the custom house of La Guayra; those of Guiria, Caño Colorado, and Ciudad Bolívar, to the custom house of Carupano; and La Vela de Coro, to Puerto Cabello."

Under this decree vast sections of Venezuela were deprived of all communication with the outside world save by a roundabout cumbrous method entailing the immediate supervision of the ruling Dictator, and bristling with difficulties so enormous as to put a stop to business. La Vela de Coro is a port hundreds of miles from Puerto Cabello, and has no more natural relation to the latter than Mobile has to Charleston; yet all merchandise for La Vela de Coro must now first be shipped to Puerto Cabello, and there reshipped, subject to large extra charges, — a heavy, perhaps almost prohibitive burden. A whole State is dependent upon La Vela de Coro as its natural port; but because this State had not prostrated itself in humble obeisance to Castro, he deliberately and with malice aforethought started to grind it into the dust. And the few foreigners in this State suffer more from the outrage than any one else does.

These ports having been closed and cut off from the outside world, any outrages or infamies heaped upon the helpless inhabitants of the vast territories appurtenant thereto may remain forever unknown to civilization. (Moreover, Dictators have been known to prohibit strangers and all other persons from writing about the internal or external politics of a country.)

What shall be said of the government of a country where one man, without the consent of an alleged Congress or of any one, can and does issue a decree closing almost all of the ports in the country, — the decree of one man, from whose whimsical and despotic conduct there is no appeal and no help except revolution?

CHAPTER LI

VALUELESSNESS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN STATISTICS

ALL statistics relating to Spanish-American countries must be taken with a grain of salt. One may read in official documents the following areas, in square miles: Brazil, 3,209,878; Argentina, 1,125,086; Bolivia, 597,271; Venezuela, 593,943; Colombia, 513,938; Peru, 463,747, and Ecuador, 273,150. If one should refer to the chapter in this book on surveys, he would see that all of these figures are mere estimates, not based upon anything like accurate calculation. It is not probable that any one can compute, from the data at hand, to within 1000 square miles of the true area of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, or Bolivia, or to within 5000 square miles of the true area of Argentina, or to within 50,000 square miles of the true area of Brazil.

Unreliable as are the statistics of land areas, much more so are the statistics of population. Never in any one of these countries has a census been taken. They usually simulate the common practices of civilized countries, but the writer has never heard of even a pretence of taking a census. Men guess at the populations of the component districts, and the sum total of these guesses is assumed to be the population of the whole country. These crude estimates are later dignified by the name of census and incorporated into official reports, as if entitled to full faith and credit. Thus the table following purports to represent the population of the Spanish-American countries. These figures give to Spanish America, including Mexico, a population of fifty-two millions; excluding Mexico, a population of nearly forty millions.

These figures, then, are founded upon guesses. Never, even in Mexico, has there been a census taken. There are no data for making a rational estimate which would be reasonably certain to be within 500,000 of the actual population of Venezuela, within 1,000,000 of the actual population of Colombia, within 1,000,000 of that of Mexico or of Argentina, or within 3,000,000 of that of Brazil. It seems very improbable that the population of any one of these countries is nearly as large as the figures of the estimates noted below. It is true that in the cities the swarming population are simply packed into their narrow little rooms, existing like rats in the hold of some rotten hulk; but

	Year	Population
Mexico	1895	12,632,427
Guatemala	1897	1,535,632
Salvador	1894	803,534
Honduras	1895	400,000
Nicaragua	1897	420,000
Costa Rica	1892	243,205
Haiti	1897	960,000
Santo Domingo	1888	610,000
Colombia	1895	4,000,000
Ecuador	1897	1,271,861
Venezuela	1891	2,323,527
Brazil	1890	14,333,915
Peru	1891	2,621,844
Bolivia	1893	2,000,000
Argentina	1895	3,954,911
Paraguay	1895	432,000
Uruguay	1897	840,725
Chili	1895	2,712,145
		52,095,726

even so, I think the above sum total is at least ten millions greater than would be borne out by the facts.

An idea of the difficulties experienced by the statistician in dealing with South American affairs may be obtained by the following, from the "Bulletin of the Bureau of the American Republics," Vol. IV, Handbooks, p. 1:

"The area of Bolivia, as hitherto published, presents an irreconcilable confusion of figures, ranging all the way from 106,180 to 832,176 English square miles. In his *Nociones de Geografia de Bolivia*, published at Sucre in 1889, Señor Justo Leigue Moreno gives the area of the country at 2,155,329 square kilometres, or 832,176 English square miles; the Handbook of the American Republics, 784,554 English square miles; the Statesman's Year Book, 772,548 English square miles; the American Encyclopedia, 697,288 English square miles; the Encyclopedia Britannica, 536,200 English square miles; the Bolivian delegate to the International American Conference, in his Railway Report, at 275,000 square kilometres, or 106,180 English square miles. The fact that no two of these authorities agree is perhaps explained, with the exception of the latter, which is clearly an error, by their including or excluding in whole or in part in their estimates the disputed territory claimed by the Republic."

Hon. Manuel Vicente Ballivian, of La Paz, one of the most scholarly and distinguished authors of Bolivia, and until 1890 director of the Government Department of Boundaries, gives the official estimates of the area of the Republic, and how determined. Under date May 26, 1892, he says:

"The total area of the Republic, not including the territory of El Chaco, claimed alike by Bolivia, Paraguay, and the Argentina, is 1,546,818.27 square kilometres, or 597,271 English square miles."

With regard to Ecuador the same authority says:

"The limits of this vast territory, which lies between Colombia on the north, Brazil on the east, Peru on the south, and the Pacific Ocean on the west, have never been surveyed, nor even determined. Article 2 of the Constitution contains a provision also that the boundaries shall be established by treaties. The governments of Ecuador and Peru reached an agreement in 1888 by which all questions in regard to their frontier were submitted to the decision of the Queen Regent of Spain. Her Majesty consented to assume the responsibility, but her consent was given upon the express understanding that her government would not undertake to consider the matter until after two cases of similar character, one between Colombia and Venezuela and the other between Costa Rica and Colombia, also submitted to her for adjustment, were finally disposed of. The case between Colombia and Venezuela was settled by the royal award of March 16, 1891, which both parties accepted. That between Colombia and Costa Rica is no longer before Her Majesty. Colombia withdrew from the arbitration on the ground that the time allowed by the treaty had expired. The Spanish government having, under these circumstances, abstained from taking any action on that subject, it was expected that the vexed and long-standing question between Ecuador and Peru would be speedily taken up and settled. But, according to the message of President Flores to the Ecuadorian Congress, June 10, 1892, some obstacles have been raised on the part of the Peruvian Congress, and the arbitration has been suspended.

"With Brazil there seems to be no question, because the treaty of 1777 between Spain and Portugal, which were then the owners of the two territories, marked the limits between them with tolerable accuracy. But even if there were questions in regard to this point, they would be of no practical importance — at least at the present time — because the boundary on that side passes through an uninhabited wilderness.

"As to the northern limit, which has been for a long time and is still in dispute with Colombia, an effort is being made diplomatically on the part of Ecuador to have it settled by treaty.

"It may be said, however, that independent of any changes which may be effected by virtue of the settlements above referred to, the territory of Ecuador lies between 1° 56′ north latitude and 5° 30′ south latitude, and longitudes 69° 52′ and 80° 35′ west of Greenwich. Its greatest length, from north to south, has been calculated to be in the neighborhood of 520 miles, while its greatest width, from east to west, is estimated at 740 miles. The ocean front, owing to its extended curvilinear projection, its indentations, and its sinuosities of all kinds, measures at least 2000 miles.

"The total area of the Republic, never ascertained by actual survey, has been generally believed to be 118,630 square miles. The geographer Villavicencio increases these figures to 127,205, while Hanemann and other well-known authorities, through planimetric calculations, have concluded to make it 248,580 square miles."

It is evident that he who would undertake to straighten out and elucidate these South American inter-country boundaries has before him a task worthy to rank with the labors of Hercules.

CHAPTER LII

BOUNDARY SURVEYS, COAST SURVEYS, AND LIGHT-HOUSES

I. Boundary Surveys

THE survey of India was begun not long after it came under English control. The establishment of the base line illustrates the care and accuracy of men skilled in topography and mensuration. The base line was run three times; extreme care was used in the adjustment of transits and levels, and all instruments were kept in the shade. In preference to the ordinary steel tape metallic bars were used, and posts were driven into the ground, with beams from post to post. These bars, also kept in the shade, measured from a pin point to a pin point; and magnifying glasses were used so that the correspondence between each bar and its pin point termini might be perfect. Three times was the distance measured thus precisely, with the result of a variation of one inch in ten miles. This inch was distributed equally among the three measurements, the point falling almost exactly on the terminus of one of them. The base line for the great English survey of India was now established.

Surveying in the United States may not have been quite so minutely accurate as the foregoing, yet the United States system is an admirable one. It was instituted at the very beginning of the nation.

While the English and Americans initiate and carry forward their surveys as a matter of course, the South Americans have never accomplished any surveying, nor have they even made a beginning.

In Mexico there have been some amateurish efforts to survey certain sections. For the last five years the government has been employing quite a number of graduates in engineering from the school in the City of Mexico, to make land surveys. The outcome up to now is "confusion worse confounded."

In the title-deeds of a tract of land in Mexico or any other Spanish-American country the boundary line will commonly be described as running from a certain old tree to the summit of a certain hill or mountain, thence in another direction to where a path crosses a certain ravine, thence in another direction to where two paths intersect, — one of them perhaps an ancient path to some Indian village, and the other probably a *Camino Real* (Royal Highway), in reality only

a miserable mule-path among the stones and stumps. As vague as this will be the description in the official records, if there is any record whatever of the conveyance.

In those exceptional cases where pretended surveys have been made there has been no system or uniformity, but each "engineer" has hit upon a happy-go-lucky scheme of his own; but though his measurements may lack accuracy and the directions of his lines may be somewhat doubtful, his maps will usually be resplendent in as many colors as those of Joseph's coat.

It is doubtful if there are five native engineers in either Santo Domingo, Central America, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, or Bolivia, who, given all the instruments and tables they desire, can, otherwise unaided, calculate their latitude and longitude within one mile of the truth; nay, more, it is doubtful if there is one who could run a straight line for twenty-five miles without a variation of at least thirty minutes of a degree.

Every map of South America is guess-work, — free-hand drawing. No South American government can turn to its maps and tell how far or in what direction one given point is from another. In all Spanish America there is scarcely a map (of any district, however small) that is even approximately accurate. There is no map based on a survey of any State, department, *condado*, or municipality, even in Mexico.

The atlases contain maps of South America, and show for the different countries definite boundaries, but there are none save those determined by Nature, — oceans, or rivers, or mountain ranges.

The boundary line between Ecuador and Brazil is, of course, in dispute; so is that between Ecuador and Peru; while Peru and Chili have been fighting so long over their mutual border that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

Who knows the Colombia-Venezuela boundary? On our maps it seems to commence at the Gulf of Maracaibo, in the Goajira peninsula, and thence to follow the summit of a chain of mountains southward until this chain intersects another chain at a point not far from San Cristobal, and thence to wander along in a southeasterly and southerly direction until it strikes the branch of the Orinoco River. Along this boundary, which has never been surveyed, there lies a vast frontier. A part of this region has no government at all; a part has two governments, both bad, and a part is in that vague, nebulous condition in which the inhabitants do not know to whom they belong.

Along this hazy border there are extensive districts where the natives (Indians) refuse to acknowledge any paramount authority whatever. The Indians of the Goajira peninsula have their own government, and refuse to recognize either Venezuela or Colombia; and incidentally one may observe that life and property are safer in

this quasi-Cossack jurisdiction than in either of the countries mentioned. Other large sections of country southwest of Maracaibo Lake are peopled by Indians no less savage, because white, who avoid intercourse with civilization.

A few years ago Venezuela and Colombia, after fifty years of discussions, patriotic resolutions, etc., finally appointed a joint commission to establish the boundary line between the two countries. These gentlemen met, drank much champagne, made many speeches, and had the bands play the national airs. There was dancing, there was revelry, there was a great jubilee. Of course things heroic and patriotic, and things transcendental were both said and done. After living a week or two in this seventh heaven, those buoyant but hard-worked men started upon the still more arduous labor of making the survey, or at least of establishing the line. Just how they proposed to do it is not so clear, for they were a bunch of doctors, generals, and politicians. Not a commissioner knew a transit from a Colt's rapid-fire gun. But at all events the Honorable Boundary-Experts started off on one of the biggest steamboats they could find at Maracaibo. Whether or not they intended to take this fairy shallop with them over the mountains cannot be told, for the only thing that history records is that they got up some river, ready to drink some more good champagne and then buckle down to work, when a body of revolutionists came blithely along, swooped down, took the boat and the good champagne away from them, and threw a lot of them into the water, while the terrified remnant fled to the woods. This little episode appears to have dissolved the commission, and no further efforts have been made to establish that boundary line.

We all remember the dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, and the message of President Cleveland, which suggested the possibility of war on the part of the United States against England because of the matter. In that controversy the pretensions of Venezuela were as vague and unfounded as they have been in many other similar cases. There was not a survey, not one authentic map, not one definite fact on which to base a tangible claim. The tribunal has made its award, giving to England all she claimed and more; but it would be hard, perhaps impossible, to find a man in the government of Venezuela who knows within fifty miles of where the line was finally located!

Throughout the southern part of Venezuela the authority of the Caracas government is more nominal than real; and no one has more than a hazy notion of the true divisional line between Venezuela and Brazil. Almost all of the inland border of Brazil is in doubt or dispute. There are large territories, such as the Acre district, over which both Bolivia and Brazil claim jurisdiction, while there are other vast regions that no country controls, where no white man has ever set foot. The district between the Madeira and the Papajos rivers,

branches of the Amazon, is hardly less *terra incognita* than the crust of the moon.

South America, the richest of all continents in natural resources, spreading over nearly seven million square miles, has yet not one authentic survey save those made by a few railroads; nor yet one map, of any district however small, save those drafted by guess-work!

II. Coast Surveys

The lack in South America of a system of land surveying is scarcely less deplorable than the prevailing ignorance of the coast lines, harbors, and obstacles to navigation along shore. The various governments have done but little toward light-houses and navigators' charts.

In the making of coast surveys and hydrographic charts Spain is much more in advance of the South American countries than England or the United States is in advance of Spain. In the days of Spanish dominion she had done something toward charting the obstacles to navigation along these coasts, and the present mariners' charts of the north shores of Colombia and Venezuela are largely based upon the original surveys and plottings made by Spain. But from Colon to the island of Trinidad there are only a few light-houses (and these are miserably kept), and neither Colombia nor Venezuela has made the slightest effort in the direction of such coast surveys as modern commerce demands. Spain had also established a very good system of light-houses off Cuba and Porto Rico. Her charts showed most of the rocks or other obstacles to navigation thereabouts; and although these charts were not as accurate as those of the United States Coast Survey, they were yet extremely useful to navigators,

The navigators' charts of the coast of Brazil are based not only upon English and American data, but also upon many surveys and soundings made by the French; whereas the plotting of the rivers, such as the Orinoco, Amazon, La Plata, and others, has depended, save for some work of little importance by the Brazilian navy, wholly upon English and American data.

Neither the United States nor England has ever systematically taken up the subject of a comprehensive coast survey of South America, for this work should devolve upon the governments of that continent to the extent that its coast falls within their respective domains. But these governments are too busy with schemes and intrigues, too busy thinking how to loot the few industries that are being carried on, to interest themselves in such altruistic enterprises as light-houses, buoys, bells, the life-saving service, harbor improvements, coast surveys, and navigators' charts.

III. Light-Houses

It is not necessary to describe the light-house systems of the United States, England, or any other civilized country. Every obstruction to navigation along their coasts is indicated in some manner, as by a light-house, a bell, or a buoy. On the coast of Maine there are more than 60 light-houses, all of them in first-class condition, and nearly as many bells, whistles, sirens, and trumpets for fog signals. On the Massachusetts coast are between 80 and 90 light-houses. Off Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York there are about 150; off New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware about 70; and thence along the coast to Key West about 200; in other words, on the east coast of the United States there are about 575 light-houses. Moreover, the fog signals are almost as numerous.

The following list of light-houses along the northern coast of South America and the eastern coast of Central America, noted from "Lights and Tides of the World," by H. D. Jenkins, shows how seriously inadequate is the protection afforded to navigators by the governments of these coasts:

Venezuela Light-Houses

Name of Light	General Remarks
Orinoco River	Exhibition of light and position of hulk unreliable.
Carupano Bay	Light-house destroyed 1892. Uncertain whether re-established.
Margarita Island	One fixed light.
Cumaná	Shows white to the westward, red northward, and green southward. Unreliable.
El Roque	On one of the northern islets of Los Roques group.
La Guayra	Not easily distinguished from the lights of the town.
La Guayra	Exhibition of light uncertain. Unreliable.
Puerto Cabello	Provisional pending the establishment of a flashing light.

Note. — At the entrance to Maracaibo Lake, at Vela de Coro, Tucacos, La Guanta, and at many other ports, or places where there have been ports, there are no lights whatever.

Colombian Light-Houses

Name of Light	General Remarks
Santa Martha	Particulars wanting. Formerly a light was exhibited in this place visible 24 miles.
Santa Martha	Belillo Point is the southwest extreme of Verte Island on north side of the harbor. Reported unreliable.
Savanilla	Duration of flash 3 seconds. Obscured when bearing southward of S. 36 E. Reported unreliable.
Savanilla	A feeble light.
Galera de Zamba	Visible from N. 67 E. through E. to S. 22° W. (135). Height of light above sea unknown.
Cartagena	A small fixed light is exhibited from Postelillo Fort to guide boats from the anchorage to custom-house wharf.
Manzanillo Point	Alternately red and white flashes. Reported irregular. 1895.

Nicaragua and Honduras, *East Coast*

Name of Light	General Remarks
Greytown	The former light, visible 14 miles, at the entrance to the harbor is extinguished, and the present light inside the port is unreliable.
Cape Gracias	Obscured by trees when bearing northward of N. 33° W.
Truxillo Bay	Light-house destroyed.
Roatan Island	Light-house destroyed in 1892.
Utilla Island	Unreliable.
Port Cortes	Shows white from S. W. through S. and E. to W., and red in other directions.
Puerto Barrios	Not easily distinguished from the town lights.
Livingstone	Unreliable.

CHAPTER LIII

LATIN-AMERICAN PRISONS

THE discomforts of South American living, even in the best hotels, have already been sufficiently indicated. The unsanitary conditions of South American cities, even of their best localities, are a matter of common knowledge.

The South Americans are a people of illusions and vain imagination. They glory in spectacular performances, they love adulation and display. And so outwardly their hotels and residences make a fine show, while inwardly they are uncomfortable, inconvenient, and unsanitary. But if even their "grand palaces" are unclean and unsanitary, and lack the ordinary modern conveniences such as sanitary plumbing and adequate baths, one may logically apprehend that their prisons are horrible dens — and they are.

To the prisons the love of vainglorious display has not penetrated. The prisons are the plain, unvarnished product of the natural unadorned South American, and their standard of maintenance shows him in the "lime-light" — for what he really is.

The writer has visited the prisons, not only at Vera Cruz but at San Carlos and elsewhere, but has no intention of sickening the reader by describing these hell-holes of iniquity; and, indeed, language would fail. The nauseating filth covering the cell floors, the thousand stifling, offensive, poisonous stenches, the countless germs of disease teeming in every crack and crevice, the abominable stuff forced in the name of food upon the prisoners, the intolerable heat by day, the awful chill by night, the unspeakable vermin, the loathsome sores that come so soon after this dreadful existence begins, the — oh, the mordant, or else deadening, horror of it all; sum of all agonies and fears, charnel-house of all crimes and villanies!

If the prisons of South America were made mainly to hold criminals, some one might attempt to argue prevention of crime, in possible extenuation of their condition, however contrary to modern humanitarianism such an argument would be. But these prisons were made mainly to hold political prisoners, — for the suppression and intimidation of those who are thought to be obstructing the "government" that chances to be uppermost.

Criminals! They may be walking at large, free as the daylight, or they may be detained for a short time in the "Carcel," and then, after a short investigation, turned loose. But opposers of the "gov-

ernment"! Many a stalwart man, suspected of this heinous conduct, has been flung into one of these iniquitous holes, and in a few months reduced to a decrepit, trembling skeleton, to which terror, disease, and cruelty have affixed their ghastly brands.

The following description of a Venezuelan prison is taken from the New York "Herald," January 1, 1905:

"From a Venezuelan prison, where he had seen scores of his fellows perish, Andres Duarte Level, once colonel in the revolutionary forces of his country, has gained his freedom and has come North to breathe the free air of the United States, of which he will soon become a citizen, and to tell a tale of scarcely credible cruelties practised with the permission and often with the active participation of President Castro upon his helpless enemies.

"It was due in no small part to his youth — he is only twenty-seven — that Level was able to escape from the oppression of the Dictator. His father, who had been Vice-President under Guzman Blanco, and who afterward held other offices of importance, left behind him — he is now in exile — friends who were more fortunate than he in preserving their balance on the see-saw of politics in the South American Republic. These friends put forth their efforts to obtain the release of the son from the fortress of San Carlos, where he had been confined in irons since the suppression of the recent rebellion, in which he had seen active service.

"Last week the 'Herald' published the text of a letter to President Roosevelt from a mother appealing for aid for her only son. She recounted some of the cruelties inflicted upon her child in a Venezuelan prison. This man was a companion of Level in misfortune.

"Death was not feared by the prisoners of San Carlos; it was the greatest boon they asked for. Shackled one to another with irons that often weighed fifty pounds, beaten, starved, denied an occupation, they saw their fellows drop one by one, and they counted them lucky, for, with escape out of the question and rescue impossible, it meant death or worse — insanity.

"Fifteen hundred men, the greater part of them political prisoners, were crowded into a space that would have been taxed by one third of that number. The cells were in the casements of the fort, and those facing the sea were swept by waves, there being several inches of water in them at high tide. The largest of the cells was barely twenty-five feet long, eight feet wide, and six feet high, and in these as many as fourteen to eighteen prisoners were cast.

"On account of the peculiar manner in which they were ironed and the lack of room, these unfortunates were compelled to assume half-sitting, half-lying postures, the while the heat, fearful during the day, became absolutely unbearable at times, with no water to quench their raging thirst. The average temperature on the bastion of the fortress is 105 degrees. It is not difficult to estimate how much higher it would be in a room without ventilation or sanitary appliances, crowded with human beings.

"Here Level spent eight months. Often ill, so ill that he moved about only with the aid of his shackle mate and others, it was only the vitality of his years that kept him alive. He had friends who supplied him with money. The tithes of the sums sent which eventually reached him, after passing through the sticky hands of various prison officials, enabled him to purchase food that barely kept the life in his withered body. Those prisoners without

money went without food, unless they were fed on the bounty of their friends, for the prison supplies no rations to its inmates.

"The fortress of San Carlos, which is the most important in the country, is on an island at the entrance to Lake Maracaibo, about twenty miles from the city of that name. It is built in the form of an octagon, with a sea wall following the same lines on the exposed side. It is in this wall that the cells are to be found, those at the farthest point often being flooded by the swells.

"The space between the wall and the sides of the fort is roofed over except for one little *patio* (yard) where the prisoners are herded from half-past six in the morning, when they are driven from their cells at the point of a bayonet, until five in the evening, when they are again compelled to return to their foul-smelling holes.

"A ditch sufficed for sanitation, of which the cells were guiltless, and that, with the hot sun and great humidity, bred pestilence that causes physicians to marvel that all were not exterminated. Illness was so common that it ceased soon to cause ordinary sympathy; the officials ignored the conditions unless informed that smallpox had developed, and then the prisoner afflicted was cut away from his companions and by two of his fellows — the officials never exposing themselves — rowed over to a deserted island, called Zapara, two miles away. There, without food, medicine, or shelter, patients were left to care for themselves as best they could.

"In those museums in civilized countries where instruments of torture are on exhibition may be seen the shackles now used to bind the prisoners of San Carlos, relics of what has been supposed generally to be a forgotten period. There, also, may be seen the whips that are still employed in the Venezuelan prisons, — whips made of bull's hide, which inflict so heavy a blow that Voltaire once described them at great length, being impressed with the malignancy of their invention.

"The shackles called *grillos*, some of which were brought over by the Spanish forefathers, vary in weight from thirty to sixty pounds, and are so made as to do duty for two prisoners at one time. The shackles consist of a heavy iron bar about two and a half feet long, with what appears to be a large staple at either end. Into these staples the right foot of one and the left of another prisoner are put, and then they are locked over the ankles. Sometimes, by the refinement of cruelty, the prisoners are ironed one facing forward and the other backward. To the centre of the bar is riveted an iron chain to which is attached a heavy iron ball.

"It is in the selection of the men who shall be bound together that the keepers show the development of their inhumanity. The extremes in contrasts are sought, — the well are shackled to the sick, the strong to the weak, the young to the old, the short to the tall, — in brief, the two best calculated to accentuate rather than relieve each other's miseries are selected to be companions for life, unless pardon, which is rare, or death, which is more common, puts an end to the enforced intimacy.

"When, from one or the other cause, a prisoner has been released, his iron is filed away and his companion is left to carry the double burden. It is not infrequent, Level declares, when a man has died from a contagious disease, for the keepers to sever his foot from the leg, so that the body may be the more rapidly disposed of. Then it is slung in a stretcher on two poles and buried in a shallow, unmarked grave on the beach scarce two stones' throw from the walls.

"Into this living death Level was plunged not quite two years ago. When he emerged, he was a changed man. . . .

"When for some real or fancied offence a prisoner was ordered to be whipped, a corporal's guard of ten men was detailed, and each of these gave a certain number of lashes to the victim. When the blows were not sufficiently severe in the opinion of the corporal, he would lash the soldier twice and then add three to the number the prisoner was to receive.

"When the punishment was finished, the unfortunate, unable to move, was carried to as shady a corner as could be found, and there ministered to by his fellow prisoners, who often could not obtain sufficient water to even quench his thirst. The whips used were made of skins half an inch thick, and inflicted a blow heavy enough not only to cut the flesh but to break a bone. During his term Level declared he had seen at least ten prisoners who had died as a direct result of the whippings they had received.

"Colonel Carlos Fortique was whipped into insensibility in the sight of Level. When Fortique regained consciousness several days later, he became a maniac. Two others were whipped to such an extent that they lost their power of speech and never regained it. Two other prisoners, Messrs. Nasaugo and Vina, who had refused to contribute to Castro's forces when he began his rebellion, were locked together in a fifty-pound *grillos* and were whipped on an average of once a week. Their imprisonment is for life, and they were committed without the semblance of a trial.

"When the gates of San Carlos closed upon a prisoner, he was absolutely shut off from the outside world. Letters which were addressed to him from friends were read by the officials and never permitted to fall into the hands of him for whom they were intended, for fear of secret codes in which plots might be formulated. When money was received from senders whose positions might engender trouble if an inquiry were started, the remittance was acknowledged, usually by General Jorge A. Bello, commandant of the fortress, but never was the full amount placed in the prisoner's hands. The average remittance was so much clear gain for the prison officials, who never bothered themselves as to whether the one for whom it was intended was starving for lack of money wherewith to purchase food.

"The price of food was in keeping with the conditions. For $7.50 a prisoner was supplied with so-called meat once a day for two weeks. The coffee for the same time cost him fifty cents more. The books of the prison caterer, who paid the officials heavily for the privilege of living off the misfortunes of the prisoners, were always in such shape as to show a balance against the customer, and therefore whatever money might be received by the prisoner was diverted to this end — at least thus was the explanation assigned when questions were asked.

"Just previous to the release of Level, which was effected through the friendship of General Velutini and Mendoza, Governor of the Federal district wherein Caracas is located, Castro paid a visit to the fortress, and great preparations were made to honor him. By some hook or crook a revolver had been smuggled into the prison, and the President was fired upon, the shot not taking effect. For this offence fifty prisoners were lashed and three of them deliberately whipped to death in the hope of extorting a confession as to the identity of the culprit.

"It was at this time that Castro gave a striking exhibition of his cruelty when he permitted the lash to descend upon the back of one who had been

his most trusted friend and adviser, but whom he had sent to prison because of a quarrel which originated over a question of the policy to be pursued in regard to the revolutionists, — General Desiderio Centeno, his former chief of staff. Centeno was already a victim of consumption when he was whipped, and that aggravated his case to such a degree that he died two weeks later.

"When Level was finally released, it was upon the understanding that he was to leave the country at once and to say nothing and write nothing against the government. He received his passport on May 28, and embarked just in time to escape an officer who bore a warrant for his rearrest, Castro repenting his decision to give him his freedom."

CHAPTER LIV

THE PASSPORT NUISANCE

IN Central America, Santo Domingo, Colombia, and Venezuela the would-be traveller must get permission of the local bandit called "Perfecto," or "Gobernador," or "Comandante," or "Resguardo," or by some other equally impressive title, before he can embark. Often the *visé* of two or more of these worthies is required. The challenging policeman or soldier is ubiquitous, and the held up traveller must give his name and destination.

I have seen a ship and its passengers detained in the broiling sun, all day, awaiting the pleasure of the swarthy Jefe in authority. He was drunk or taking his *siesta*.

The agents of these governments are stationed on board ship, and no one is allowed aboard unless he has all of his "Certificationes" with the "estampillas," duly signed by these representatives of our "Sister Republics."

To embark from, or undertake the simplest journey in, one of these countries is a serious undertaking. It involves days of preparation and interviews with one functionary and another. Oftentimes the officials refuse to certify a ticket, and then the unfortunate passenger is subjected to all the senseless and outrageous annoyance that results. Moreover, restriction on the liberty of movement is a serious matter; and detention in an insalubrious climate may mean not only injury to one's business but also the loss of one's health.

To see a gentleman approach, with hat in hand and every evidence of abject humility, one of these unwashed "authorities," and humbly beg a passport or to have his ticket *viséd*, and then to see the "authority" with a lordly air dole out this special favor as if he were one of the potentates of the earth and the passenger only a yellow dog, — ah! these are sights that "cannot but make the judicious grieve."

One of the practices of mediæval barbarism that has caused the civilized world to regard the government of Russia as a typical despotism is its system of passports and espionage, hampering the movements and delaying the plans of the traveller, and making life a burden to him. That any country calling itself a republic should adopt these methods of Russia, and even make them more harassing, is preposterous. But, speaking generally, the Latin-American Republics (so called!) have passport systems so bristling with annoying technicalities

as to make the Russian methods seem broad-minded and liberal by comparison.

I. Passports in Venezuela

Before a man can even take passage on a steamship for Venezuela, he must get a passport from the Venezuelan consul in the port of departure. Here is an exact copy of the form of the passport issued (on payment of a fee) by the Venezuelan consul-general in New York:

[SEAL]

Filiacion	El infrascrito Consul General
Nacionalidad	de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela
Edad	en Nueva York concede franco
Estatura	y seguro
Peso	Pasaporte
Ojos	al Señor
Pelo	
Nariz	para que siga libremente a
Color	en los Estados
Barba	Unidos de Venezuela.
Estado Civil	Se suplica a los autoridades
Señas particulares	Venezolanos prestarle todos las seguridades y proteccion acordades por los leyes de la Republica.
	Expedido, firmado y sellado en la ciudad de Nueva York,

[SEAL]

But it is even harder, much harder, to leave Venezuela than it is to enter it. For every move one makes there, a Jefe must be consulted, and a passport obtained, of which the following is a fair sample:

ESTADOS UNIDOS DE VENEZUELA
ESTADO ZULIA

Jefatura Civil Del Distrito Capital

Maracaibo: 14 de *enero* de 1907
93º y 45º

[SEAL]

PASAPORTE

que se concede *al* ciudadano *Gaorgull Cuuhfilla* para que pueda . . . trasladarse á *New York*

Dios y Federación

Felipe Gonzalez S.

II. Restrictions in Commerce

But if it is difficult for a person in such a country to move about, hedged in by the edicts of military despots, and confronted on every corner by murderous half-breed soldiers, armed with Mausers, whose stereotyped shout of *Quien viva?* grates like the "sing" of a rattlesnake upon one's nerves, how much more difficult is it for one to carry through a shipment of goods! The simplest shipment, up a river into the interior, requires more red tape (more "peticiones" and "estampillas") than it takes to send out an ocean liner from New York. Every little canoe leaving an inland village port must have its permit, often signed by half a dozen "Autoridades" each affixing his seal and exacting his fee.

The following permit is a fair sample of thousands, and will serve to exemplify the innumerable restrictions and exactions that are placed on all kinds of commercial operations, even the simplest, in our "Sister Republics":

Embarco en la balandra nacional "Dalia Luisa," su pation Jesus Aria, con destino al Rio Limon consignado ála United States & Venezuela Co. lo siguiente:

1. Una caja tabaco de mascar	*K^s 7*	*B^s 28*
1. Una caja conteniendo dulces, frutas y sardinas	*" 48*	*" 48*
1. Una cuñete pescado salado	*" 15*	*" 20*
1. Un saco hauna de trigo	*" 48*	*" 24*
4. Bultos	*K^s 114*	*B^s 118*

Son cuatro bultos con peso de ciento catorce Kilogramos su valor ciento diez y ocho bolivares.

Maracaibo: 17 *de Diciembre de* 1903.

A. N. OSORIO AÑEZ.

[SEAL]

ADMINISTRACION DE ADUANA

Reconozca el *Cabo de muelle* y conforme que sea
Embárquese *y demiloase*

METETA ROCA

Cúmplase
p El Comandante

[SEAL]

Angel Yeo Ortiz

III. Passports for leaving Haiti

Tirecias Augustin Simon Sam, "President" of Haiti, promulgated a law at Port au Prince, October, 1897, which required all persons leaving Haiti to obtain passports and pay the following fees:

Art. 2. The price of stamped papers on which shall be delivered passports for foreign ports, with which every person dwelling on Haitian territory should be provided, is thus fixed:

To go into the Dominican territory — G. 4.00
To go to the Antilles or on the American Continent 6.00
To go to the other side of either ocean 15.00

It is reasonable to suppose that any man who was so unfortunate as to find himself in Haiti would be glad to pay either of the sums named for the blessed privilege of taking his departure.

IV. What happens to a Man without a Passport

The following letter, dated April 9, 1897, from Minister Granville Stuart at Montevideo, with reference to affairs in Uruguay, addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States, is self-explanatory:

Sir, — Herewith enclosed find statement of passports issued by this legation during the quarter ended March 31, 1897.

These three passports are irregular in that the persons receiving them have all been absent from the United States more than two years, but they are native-born citizens, and in danger of being surreptitiously seized and forced into the army and sent to the front, as is being done to foreigners as well as to natives, and when seized they are not allowed to communicate with any one, and as no lists of the killed are ever published, their fate would never be known if they fell in battle.

Hence I have taken the responsibility of issuing these passports, holding that prevention of the outrage in these countries is better than any amount of reclamation after the harm is done.

I have also issued protection papers in another form to eight native-born and six naturalized citizens of the United States, to wit:

Native-born: John J. Golden, William Clagett, Ernest Clagett, Samuel John, Wilson Kellogg, Edward Hall, colored, Henry Estrazulas, William Decker, James E. Lensby.

Naturalized: Antonio Macree, Antonio Labriole, Geunaro Ruggiero, Charles Querollo, Lewis Lawrence Richards, Fred H. Olsen.

These papers are as follows:

Legation of the United States,
Montevideo — (date).

To Whom it may Concern:

This is to certify that the bearer (name) is a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to protection as such.

Description: Age, years; height, ; eyes, ; nose, mouth, ; hair, ; complexion, .

(Red seal of the legation.)

(Official Signature.)

I charged no fee for these papers, and as soon as this civil war now raging here is over will cease issuing them, and also passports, unless the parties are clearly entitled to them under the instructions of the department, and I trust my issuing these papers will be approved in consideration of the terrible state of affairs prevailing here.

I have felt it my duty to use every means in my power to protect any and all American citizens, and have issued these papers for that purpose.

I have, etc. GRANVILLE STUART.

In reply, John Sherman, Secretary of State, on May 25, 1897, wrote Mr. Stuart that the department disapproved his act in issuing the "protection papers."

"The only certificate of citizenship issued by the United States is a passport, and the giving of any document of the nature or in lieu of a passport is not authorized," wrote Mr. Sherman.

If a citizen of the United States has been abroad more than two years, he is not entitled to a passport, and in such event, according to the ruling of Secretary Sherman, no certificate of citizenship whatever could be given him; it would appear therefore that under those circumstances an American citizen could be forced into the Uruguayan army without redress! If the American people wish to extend their foreign commerce, they should give their fellow-citizens in alien lands better protection than this.

In many Latin-American countries no attention is paid to an American passport, and in such cases, to the man who had a passport, Mr. Sherman was ready to issue a provisional certificate, in addition or as a substitute. But there are many American citizens who may have been travelling or living abroad for more than two years without passports; when such a man arrives in Uruguay, or in some other land of the South American *recluta*, is this or perchance some other outrage to bear him down, while the American flag floats idly over the legation? If the ruling of the Honorable Secretary represents the law as it stands to-day, what, then, is the remedy?

PART VII—CLIMATIC CONDITIONS, INSECTS, REPTILES, AND COMMON DISEASES

CHAPTER LV

INSECT PESTS AND REPTILES

GEOGRAPHICALLY the tropics comprise the territory between the parallels of Cancer and Capricorn, which are situated twenty-three degrees and twenty-eight minutes north and south, respectively, of the equator. Usually the highland and mountainous districts within these limits are healthful. Such coast districts and other lowlands of South and Central America as extend from the equator to a considerable distance north of Cancer and south of Capricorn constitute the real tropics in the ordinary sense of the term; and their climate as a rule is hot, humid, and unhealthful.

These real tropics include the coasts and other lowland districts of Mexico, Central America, and South America as far south as Rio Janeiro or even Buenos Aires on the east coast and Valparaiso on the west coast. In most of these districts the lowlands adjacent to the coast are covered by heavy timber matted with vines, thorns, and brush. Swamps are frequent; small streams widen out into large, shallow lagoons; and in many places, perhaps in most places, the undergrowth is so rank and luxuriant as to form an impenetrable jungle.

In these dense tropical forests there are vast numbers of poisonous vines, and many trees whose sap is deadly. *Palo de leche* (milk-tree) is the native designation of several distinct species of trees of exuberant poisonous sap. The deadly upas is to be found in many sections. The manzanilla, found along the coast of the Caribbean, is said to exhale a gas so poisonous that if a man should go to sleep beneath its branches he would never wake up. The natives express great dread of this tree, but whether or not the stories of its dangerous qualities are true, it is impossible to state.

In these jungles are also found thousands of medicinal trees, shrubs, and herbs, and doubtless the pharmacopœia will be still further enriched by new discoveries.

I. Insect Pests

Nowhere else is the marvellous fecundity of living organisms so impressive as in the tropics. One is especially amazed at the unlimited

variety of the forms and species of insect life, and by the infinite number of the insects, whose brief existences are ever being replaced by other myriads.

Many of these insects are intolerable pests, making life a burden for people who are compelled to live or work in the woods.

Mosquitoes. Of all the pests in the tropics mosquitoes are the worst. They are ever present, and in the jungles they are as numerous and vicious by day as by night. It is not an uncommon experience for a man to be even at midday so covered with mosquitoes that it would be difficult to discern the texture of his clothing. Horses are driven frantic by these torments, whose stings start the blood from almost every square inch of the poor brute's body. There are many kinds, each seeming unique in its capacity for some especial brand of mischief. They convey or inject the germs of malaria and yellow fever, but their poison most commonly brings on derangements of the nervous system. Their venom produces in the sufferer not only local disturbance, but nervous shock rather general than local in character. A mosquito is merely a rattlesnake on a small scale; the bites of a sufficient number of mosquitoes would surely cause death from poison.

Pinolias or Piojillos. The forests swarm with an exceedingly small insect, of the tick variety, scarcely larger than the point of a pin, of a reddish brown color, and called the pinolia, the piojillo, or by some other name, according to the locality. These insects cluster in great numbers on the under sides of leaves. The luckless traveller who disturbs a few clusters will find himself literally covered with these minute plagues. They penetrate the meshes of almost all kinds of cloth, and as soon as they touch a man's skin begin to bore into it. Hundreds of little pimples are formed, and intense irritation is produced. Occasionally, if the trouble is neglected, or if the blood is out of order, or the system run down, the limbs or portions of the body affected swell up, and running sores form. Sometimes, but not frequently, amputation of the feet or hands becomes necessary, to save the patient. The remedy is to wash the body with a concoction of tobacco and alcohol immediately after exposure.

Garrapatas. Another insect very numerous in certain localities, and similar to but much larger than the pinolia, is the garrapata. It adheres to the skin, forming a sore; but as it can readily be seen and removed, it is not such a nuisance as the pinolia. The skin should be bathed in alcohol, — if possible, in alcohol in which tobacco has been steeped for twenty-four hours; or an application of a two per cent solution of carbolic acid in olive oil will be found beneficial.

Conchugas. These are wood-ticks, larger and more poisonous than their North American relations. The bite frequently causes a running sore which lingers for weeks. These creatures seem to have a curious epicurean instinct, — they commonly abandon the first point of con-

tact and make at once for the tenderest part of the body, there to bury their villanous fangs. Thus, if a conchuga lights on a man's ankle, it will probably not bite there, but will leisurely proceed to get in between his victim's toes before "putting on the screws." The victim then retaliates, tearing off and annihilating the conchuga at top speed, but the latter has usually taken hold with such a grip that parts of his jaws or fangs are left in the wound, and an ugly sore follows.

Curemias. It seems probable that the curemia is not a member of the tick family. It is much smaller than the piojillo; indeed it is almost invisible, and one attacked by it is often at a loss to understand exactly the nature of his trouble. They are sufficiently numerous in many places to be reckoned a dangerous pest.

Nigua. This is a strange insect, as diminutive as the curemia. Its common habitat is in or near old stables, or *corrals.* The nigua attacks only the foot, and usually fastens upon the toe. One may feel a strange sensation on the under side of the big toe; a careful examination fails to disclose anything, or perhaps one may barely discern a tiny black speck, which looks like a brier prick. But the annoyance grows and spreads to the other portions of the foot; ugly swellings and open sores follow. It will now be found, on thorough investigation, that each nigua has laid a nest of eggs, making a labyrinth of openings in the surrounding tissue for the deposit of the larvæ, and that this process is being multiplied with alarming fecundity. Unless prompt steps are taken to exterminate the entire brood, amputation becomes necessary, for they soon burrow so deeply into the flesh that they are able to defy exterminative and curative measures. Every insect, larva, and egg should be extracted by sterilized knife or needle at the earliest opportunity.

Fleas. Fleas swarm in myriads throughout the tropics, and are a constant source of annoyance and sometimes even torture.

Rodadoras. These little black gnats are found in swarms in many places. They will crawl through a mosquito netting unless it is of the closest weave. They raise welts on the skin, and deserve mention on the list of pests of tropical life.

Flies, Hornets, etc. Common house-flies, horse-flies, wasps, hornets, and stinging insects of all kinds are much more numerous in the tropics than in the temperate zones.

Other Dangerous Bugs and Insects. Spiders (*Araña*) are black and ferocious, and their bite is often sufficiently poisonous to cause death. The tarantula is an ugly creature of the spider variety, much larger than anything of the kind known in the United States. Its bite is as deadly as that of a snake. Scorpions (*Alacran*) cause intense pain when they sting, but if the person stung has proper treatment, the result of the bite is seldom fatal. The treatment for all the insects described under the present heading is the same as that used for snake bites, as detailed later in the chapter.

Cienpies (Centipede). This is a creature with many feet and legs; it ranges in length from five to ten inches; its body ranges in size from a man's little finger to his thumb. The cienpies can crawl through an incredibly small space, and can secrete itself most unaccountably. It will hide where it would seem impossible for even a mosquito to do so, and its success in getting into trunks and valises is almost magical. Its bite is poisonous, but usually not fatal.

Vampire Bats. Vampires are not accounted a very serious menace to life in the tropics, although they have been known to kill persons who were sleeping unprotected in the open air. They sink their strong sharp incisors into the sleeper, and the leech-like sucking of blood proceeds. If there are several of them at their devilish work, and nothing occurs to awaken the unconscious victim, he may die from loss of blood.

II. Snakes

Fraught with danger to life in the tropics are the numerous poisonous snakes of many varieties. Many of them are exceedingly small, so that among the leaves of the heavy underbrush they are almost invisible. To describe the different species of the poisonous snakes of Latin America would be beyond the scope of this work, and I shall only refer briefly to some of the more common varieties.

Coral. Small, with red and black stripes; very dangerous and very numerous.

El Quatro Naris. The four-nosed snake is larger, and duller in hue, than the coral; no less dangerous.

Boca Dorada. The golden-mouth snake is similar to the copperhead found in the United States. It attains a length of three feet, or more. Its bite is deadly.

Rabo Amarillo. A snake somewhat smaller than the rattler. Tail tipped with yellow. Very poisonous.

Cascabel. This is the rattlesnake of the North. It is found in the more elevated regions on rocky highlands and prairies, but seldom in the swampy districts.

Guayacan. There are several kinds of guayacans in the dense tropical thickets. They reach the size of the timber rattlesnake, and are fully as dangerous.

Guayacan Guata. A snake of brownish hue, growing to six feet in length. It is found in the *manglares* (tracts covered with water, heavy timber, and dense underbrush) and in the swamps.

There are many other varieties, but these noted are sufficient for descriptive purposes. The poisonous snakes of the tropics range in length from a few inches to six or eight feet; they dwell on high, rocky lands and in the impenetrable swamps; they may be in the trees or on the ground or in the water; they are of all colors, from the

brightest to the dullest; almost all of them are aggressive and quick of movement.

If a poisonous snake strikes near an artery, there are but a few minutes before the heart will be paralyzed. But if the place bitten is in a region of few blood vessels, such as the front part of the leg below the knee, the prompt application of remedies may save the sufferer's life. The wound should be cut open so that it may bleed freely; if a limb is bitten, a cord should be bound above the wound, between it and the heart, not so tightly as to stop the circulation, but tightly enough to retard it greatly.

In Colombia a remedy called Curarina is prepared, and in Venezuela a similar remedy called Viborina, either of which is very useful for such emergencies. Spirits of ammonia is the next best remedy. Pour the remedy freely into the wound and keep on it a piece of cotton completely saturated with the remedy. Ten or fifteen drops of it in a wineglassful of water should be taken every fifteen or twenty minutes, or as often as the stomach will stand the dose without nausea. Of these remedies, Curarina is the best. It is manufactured by Juan Salas Sons, Cucuta, Colombia. Tincture of iodine is said to be a specific for snake bite. The wound must be cut open, and the tincture freely applied. A few drops also are taken internally — say six or eight drops, every two or three hours, according to the condition of the stomach. Permanganate of potassium, too, is regarded as an excellent remedy. Whisky is useful as a stimulant, but it is not a specific for the poison.

CHAPTER LVI

COMMON DISEASES IN THE TROPICS

MALARIA is probably the greatest curse of the tropics. It is especially a disease of the swamp-lands. In its more violent forms it is as dangerous as yellow fever, and much more prevalent.

Ordinary chills and fever (*calentura*, or, to use the native term, *paludismo*) is but one form of malaria. The victim may suffer for years, becoming anæmic, emaciated, and wholly incapacitated for performing the ordinary duties of life.

Considering now its more violent forms, malaria may cause the blood to become congested in the veins; congestive chills ensue, and the heart usually gives way under the strain. The sufferer may survive one or two congestive chills, but a third one is said to be fatal. Akin to the malaria causing congestive chill is the pernicious fever (*fiebre pernicioso*), a form of malaria in which the mortality is fully as large as in yellow fever. The person attacked usually falls unconscious and never recovers.

The only specific for malaria in all its forms is quinine, the base of all successful remedies for this disease. If the patient should be unconscious, quinine injections should be given. Hot irons or bricks should be kept at the feet, and bags of hot water on the stomach and bowels. An alcohol bath is a good thing. A nightly dose of ten grains of quinine, upon going to bed, is not an unusual prescription for a doctor to order in the tropics.

Mosquitoes are not the only propagators of malaria. It may be absorbed through the pores of the skin, it may be inhaled with the breath, and it is frequently contracted through drinking stagnant or otherwise impure water.

Malaria is a great and serious handicap to the development of these enormously rich and extensive regions, the tropics of our Western Hemisphere; and its eradication would be a consummation worthy of the profoundest study of the ablest minds, a consummation which can never be hoped for with confidence while, as to-day, a barbarous fighting rabble holds the reins of so-called "government."

In these days the duties levied by the successive Dictators on quinine and all other medicines keep them beyond the reach of the

poor man, so that perhaps seven tenths of all who die in Latin America leave this world without having been able to avail themselves of the opportunity for recovery that medicine would have afforded. Medical attendance, too, has been lacking.

If a sick peon recovers, he recovers in most cases through the inherent, unassisted strength of his constitution. For the quinine which would cost ten cents in the United States, the peon must pay at least a dollar, most of which is grabbed by the disreputable "head of the government." It is no easy thing for a peon to earn a dollar, and generally he goes without the quinine.

In Latin America hundreds of thousands of human beings are stricken, and linger awhile in agony, and die, to whom no saving grace of medicine or other assistance has been proffered, to whom no helping hand of a physician has been outstretched.

I. Stomach and Bowel Complaints

Diseases of this class, due in great measure to the poor food and poorer cooking, are prevalent almost everywhere in the tropics and throughout Latin America. Diarrhœa is exceedingly common, and if dysentery develops the danger to life is almost as great as in yellow fever. The best medical attendance should be called at once. If no doctor is available, the patient should be kept as quiet as possible, in bed. Usually the treatment will begin with a heavy dose of castor oil. "Anti-dysentericum," a German patent medicine, is the best and safest remedy for the disease, and, if taken in time, usually cures it. A little distilled water, black coffee, toasted bread crust, and beef tea should constitute the only diet. Milk, butter, and grease of all kinds should be avoided.

The Sun cholera cure is said to be very efficacious, but the writer has no personal knowledge as to this, while he has cured many obstinate cases by the above-mentioned method. In ordinary bowel complaints blackberry brandy is extremely beneficial.

II. Liver Complaints

Almost every one in the tropics gets a bad liver. Disease of the liver is frequently complicated with enlargement of the spleen, malaria, and diarrhœa or dysentery; the disease oftentimes results fatally. Physicians of the highest skill should be called in to cope with this trouble, and it appears probable that there remains much for even them to learn about the liver.

In cases of liver complaint blue-mass is often given, or a blistering of that portion of the body about the liver is resorted to; but the patient is advised to consult a good physician.

III. Smallpox

Owing to the indescribable filth pervading Latin America, smallpox is there endemic, perennial, eternal. Vaccination is the standard preventive. The writer has been exposed in the tropics to the smallpox at least a hundred times. That he has not suffered the slightest inconvenience from these exposures is due (in his belief) to the fact that he has been vaccinated every few years.

IV. Yellow Fever

This dreaded scourge, also, is a filth disease. It is spread mainly by mosquitoes, and it has been asserted on eminent authority that the mosquito is the only vehicle of its dissemination, but the writer does not believe that this limitation is supported by the facts. His belief is that yellow fever is an acute infectious disease, to be classed in this respect with diphtheria and smallpox.

V. Skin and Constitutional Diseases

There is unquestionably more syphilis in Latin America than in Europe and North America (north of the Rio Grande) combined. So universal is the disease that probably a clear majority of the inhabitants have some taint of it in their blood. Physicians treating Latin-Americans for diseases other than syphilis are frequently in much perplexity about remedies, for under the circumstances the laws of the materia medica are often inapplicable. The comparative mildness of typical tropical syphilis is ascribed to the free perspiration usually prevailing induced by the hot climate.

Carate, a loathsome skin disease, which has some appearance of being constitutional, is contracted by shaking hands, or by other contact, with the person afflicted. Permanent spots, discolorations of the skin, uncanny in appearance and of considerable size, gradually develop all over the body. If the subject be white, the spots will be bluish black; if the subject be black, the spots will be purplish white; and in like manner the pigment of the skin will variously be affected in accordance with the varying shades resulting from mixtures in different proportions of the copper-colored, black, and white races. The disease is extremely sluggish of action, but is probably incurable.

A number of other skin diseases are said to be caused by the sting of insects. *Utla*, a disease observed in Peru, resembling leprosy in some respects and *carate* in others, is said to be of this origin.

CHAPTER LVII

LEPROSY

THIS dread, incurable curse of mankind has been the terror of the world since the dawn of history. To-day the region of its most extensive germination and development, the scene of its greatest ravages, is Latin America. On nearly every island in the Caribbean Sea a leper hospital has been established, and on the mainland of South America tens of thousands of lepers are in hiding or even at large. Lepers do not make good soldiers; hence neither the "ins" nor the "outs" are much concerned with them.

Now and then a spasmodic effort is made to segregate these unfortunates. Often, when a new "Presidente" takes his seat, he makes a great hurrah, and gathers up from all parts of the community those who are afflicted with the disease — and many who are not — and hurries them to the lazaretto. As they may be committed without judicial process, and solely upon the order of the "Executive," this "worthy" holds a terrible weapon over the heads of any who have incurred his enmity. The enemy of the Executive sometimes awakens to find staring at him these alternatives: abject, bitter submission or — banishment to the leper colony. Nay, worse, there may arise a horrible dilemma, inevitably recalling Virginia and Appius Claudius.

When, however, a family, jointly and severally, is *persona grata* to the "Presidente," each and every member of such family is kept out of the leper hospital, even though some one of them may in fact have the disease. The victim usually keeps to his room, and does not receive visitors. But he continually meets other members of the family; they in time become infected, and often visitors are exposed thus without knowing it.

In the treatment of this vital problem a laxity prevails that would appall the people of a civilized community. The writer once heard quite accidentally in Maracaibo, that the "government" had just made a "raid" on the lepers in all parts of the town, and that ninety-six of them had been taken for transportation to the Isla de Pajaros, in Maracaibo Lake, a small island some four or five miles away, occupied by about three hundred lepers. The discovery of almost a hundred lepers living among families in the town created no especial excitement or comment, but was regarded as quite a matter of course,

and some one said that there were in hiding probably several times as many more.

The "government" should support this colony, but often, especially during revolutions, there are months at a time when no attention whatever is paid to it. Sometimes starvation drives the stronger members of the colony into the lake, in the attempt to swim across to Maracaibo, and many of them succeed in getting across. But the Sisters of Charity, who are in constant attendance on the island, usually in times of greatest distress appeal to the merchants of Maracaibo, particularly the Germans. They form committees of relief and send supplies, thus preventing utter starvation.

Strange to say, these lepers are permitted to marry. Many children are born, most of whom die young.

The methods of dealing with the leper problem in Venezuela are naïvely set forth in a letter to a Caracas newspaper, by a prominent citizen writing from De Trujillo, Venezuela, July 30, 1904, as follows:

"Our very dignified and progressive Provisional President has just dictated a measure which has received the most enthusiastic approval throughout the State. Mindful of the necessities of moral as well as material progress, the order dictated is a circular to all the Governors of Districts, which will be by them at once transmitted to the Chiefs of the Municipalities, and thence to the Commissaries of the Villages, containing explicit instructions for the investigation of leprosy as it now exists in the State, with remarks on the condition of the disease when encountered, and with the names and ages of the sufferers. The Citizen President proposes that all the lepers, who are disseminated in great numbers throughout the State, shall come to the lazaretto. This is a measure so transcendental that it makes manifest once more the high gifts of good will toward progress which are found invested in the present Magistrate. It is well known that, owing to lack of vigilance, leprosy has greatly developed among us, constituting a veritable danger, and that up to the present time there have been in the lazaretto only 126 lepers, scarcely the tenth part of those affected. Daily now those sick with leprosy enter the lazaretto. The National Executive will take measures concerning this matter, and it is certain that General Castro, always wise and prompt, will dictate effective and transcendental measures, with that scientific, sociological, and humanitarian skill which characterizes him. Recently the monthly sum devoted to the lazaretto has been increased to one thousand bolivars [about $200]."

This increase would swell the total to about $1.50 per month per patient, in a country where living expenses are higher than in the United States! The condition of luxury in which these lepers live may readily be imagined, especially when one considers that probably two thirds or more of this stipend is stolen in transit by the officials and guards.

In many sections apparently no attempt is being made to check or deal with this dread disease. In the vicinity of Bucaramanga, and particularly in the district of Socorro, Colombia, the percentage

of lepers passes ordinary belief, but a person making a thorough study of this locality may readily believe that one third of all of the inhabitants have been stricken. The Unclean are found in the streets, in the stores, on the waysides; they ordinarily go and come without restriction; and hundreds of them are to be seen in the most shocking stages of putrefaction. It is probable, to be sure, that a considerable proportion of the so-called lepers of this and other districts are in fact victims of syphilis (or other constitutional maladies), but it is stated that not infrequently leprosy and syphilis coexist in one and the same subject.

Leprosy in Venezuela, Colombia, and other Latin-American Countries

In the Western Hemisphere leprosy is substantially confined to Latin America, the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and Hawaii. There is considerable leprosy in Mexico, but it is carefully isolated and is not spreading. In Yucatan and Central America there is more of it. Colombia is one of the most leprous countries of the world. Nobody knows how many of the natives are afflicted, but the number mounts up into the tens of thousands.

In the Hawaiian Islands the first cases observed were by Dr. Hillebrand in 1859, — two Chinese immigrants taken to the hospital in Honolulu.

In 1866 the islands contained four hundred lepers. Isolation was then effected, and a peninsula, of about fifteen square miles in extent, on the north coast of the island of Molokai, was appropriated for the leper colony.

In 1881 the Molokai colony contained eight hundred patients. In the last fifteen years more than two thousand lepers have died at Molokai, and it is now stated that one tenth of the total native population of the Hawaiian Islands are stricken.

Vast sections of Brazil are infected with leprosy, and so it is in Paraguay. There are leper hospitals in the Guianas, in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, Barbadoes, Curaçao, and in all parts of Venezuela.

Leprosy is a contagious, infectious, endemic, chronic, and constitutional disease, and is absolutely incurable. Although it existed in ancient times, and in the middle ages was found in all parts of Europe, and although the medical profession has made the most profound efforts to master it, there has been no authentic record of a cure.

Many cures have been "claimed." Three or four years ago it was widely reported that *tua tua*, a plant found in Venezuela, had actually cured a case of long-standing leprosy. Within a year a prominent physician of New Orleans claimed to have cured one of the three or four cases located in the hospital there. Within the year 1906 distinguished scientists in the medical service of the United States gov-

ernment claimed to have cured cases in Hawaii by the use of the X-ray or by other similar rays. There is a widespread belief among the natives of Colombia that the mineralized waters of a certain rivulet bring out a profuse perspiration on the bathers therein, and that continued ablutions will cure leprosy. I have seen a man whose hands had been eaten away, and large segments of whose body had sloughed off, apparently from ulcers, but a thorough healing process had set in, which had left him apparently well for several years. This was cited as a case of leprosy which had been cured, or where the disease had run its course, but unquestionably the affliction was another constitutional disease, not leprosy.

In one case it was reported, from respectable sources, that the leper took vast quantities of chlorate of potash and got well; but no physician has ever been able to cure any other patient with this remedy. A physician has stated that he has cured a leper by the use of strychnin, but in my belief he was certainly mistaken. However, *hoang-nan*, a Chinese preparation whose properties are due to a small percentage of strychnin, is recommended as an alterative in syphilis, leprosy, and similar diseases.

Leprosy resembles tuberculosis in one respect (indeed, the bacteriologists say that there is more than one resemblance between these two dread diseases), and that is that there are, in the course of both diseases, periods of manifest improvement, in which the patient feels confident that he is going to get well.

There are certain local treatments for the ulcers, and there are tonics and internal remedies which greatly aid and relieve the patient. It is of great benefit to the sufferer to change his residence to some bracing, healthful climate, where the general health can be maintained and if this be done, the disease becomes milder and slower.

The discussion as to whether or not leprosy is contagious, or is infectious, or is hereditary, or develops from local causes has been in progress for centuries. One theory, ably advocated by eminent writers, is that leprosy is caused by the consumption of decayed or stale fish. Peons in all parts of South America also have this belief, although it is not probable that they have ever heard of the arguments of medical men on the subject.

Cases have been reported where a husband and wife have lived together for years, one of them leprous and the other healthy. Cases have been reported of healthful children when one or both parents were leprous. All such stories must be received with doubt. Probably there are persons who are immune to the disease. Some writers claim that it can only be acquired by heredity, but the improbability of this contention is shown by the alarming spread of the disease in the Hawaiian Islands.

That the disease is both contagious and infectious there can be but little doubt. In all probability it is communicable in various ways.

Dr. Ashmead, of New York, says leprosy is conveyed by fleas, as yellow fever is by the *stegomyia fasciata*. The fact that fleas swarm everywhere in Latin America, and particularly in the leprous districts, suggests possible confirmation of this plausible theory, and bespeaks for it earnest consideration by men of science. Ziemssen says:

"The transfer takes place from man to man, and may be direct, or indirect when only the bacilli, or their spores, are transmitted. Pus containing bacilli (spores), therefore, will be liable to infect, but not any kind of pus coming from a leprous patient. Whether, in analogy with anthrax, the spores possess so great a power of resistance that they retain their vitality outside of the animal body in the corpses of lepers, and thus are able to provoke the disease when they subsequently reach the human organism, has not been ascertained."

There is, in leprous countries at least, a widespread belief that the disease may be caught from contact of the hands with a dead body or with bare human bones, denuded, by decay, of all flesh, and no native of South America could be induced to handle the skull of one who had died of leprosy.

Latin-American physicians of standing relate many cases where persons having moved into houses formerly occupied by lepers were in a few months (or perhaps there may have been a lapse of years) attacked by the disease. The better classes avoid touching anything which has been handled by a leper. In places where lepers run at large, they sometimes enter pool and billiard rooms for the purpose of playing, and there is a theory of wide credence among the intelligent natives, that a person, however healthy, may become infected through the medium of a billiard cue.

The *bacilli leprœ* — probably the germs, certainly the constant concomitants, of the disease — were discovered by Hansen in 1879. This discovery was confirmed by Neisser the same year, and it has been confirmed by many subsequent observers. Shoemaker says that the bacilli appear as fine, minute rods about one five-thousandth of an inch in length, usually pointed at both ends, and that the majority of them contain spores. According to Gottman, they possess the power of spontaneous motion, but other bacteriologists deny this. The bacillus resembles the tubercle in form, but is of more uniform length and not so frequently bent or curved. It stains readily with the aniline colors.

Sternberg, in his "Manual of Bacteriology," says that the earlier attempts to cultivate this bacillus were without success, but that Bordoni Uffreduzzi obtained from the marrow of the bones of a leper a bacillus which he believed to be the leprosy bacillus, and which grew upon ordinary nutrient gelatin. Sternberg doubts the identity of the bacillus in this case, but proceeds as follows:

"We have experimental evidence to show that leprous tissues containing this bacillus are infectious and may reproduce the disease. The experiment has been made upon man by Arning, who inoculated a condemned criminal subcutaneously with fresh leprous tubercles. The experiment was made in the Sandwich Islands, and the man was under observation until his death occurred from leprosy at the end of about five years. The first manifestations of the disease became visible in the vicinity of the point of inoculation several months after the experimental introduction of the infectious material.

"Positive results have also been reported in the lower animals by Damsch, by Vossius, and by Melcher and Ortmann. The last-named investigators inoculated rabbits in the anterior chamber of the eye with portions of leprous tubercles excised for the purpose from a leper. The animals died from general infection at the end of several months, and the characteristic tubercles containing the bacillus were distributed through the various organs."

There are many strange and (so far) unexplainable things about this disease. As the precise mode of its propagation is still shrouded in mystery, it is not strange that little or nothing is known about its period of incubation. Authentic cases have been reported of Europeans finding themselves stricken after a lapse of two or three years since they had last been in leprous countries. Excepting as thus suggested, they did not know when or how they had been exposed. So long a period of incubation seems highly improbable. Leper-infected fleas may have come in their baggage, and may have more recently bitten them; or articles which they had brought with them may have been laden with the bacteria.

There are wide variations in the duration of the disease. In Norway or Sweden a leper may live for twenty-five or thirty years, while in Hawaii from five to ten years is the rule.

The disease occurs in different forms, generally known as *lepra tuberculosa*, *lepra maculosa*, and *lepra anæsthetica*, the latter being the *lepra nervorum* of Virchow. Whichever of these forms the disease may take, the characteristics of the other forms at length appear.

There is only one method known to science for successfully coping with this disease, — complete segregation. And if, as the writer fears and believes, fleas, mosquitoes, house-flies, and other insects may carry the disease, even complete isolation may be far from being completely effective, unless supported by additional measures shortly to be indicated.

The extraordinary spread of the disease in the Hawaiian Islands, in spite of the most rigorous isolation, is very disquieting. On the other hand, Germany and France were successful, through rigorous isolation, in exterminating the disease within their limits.

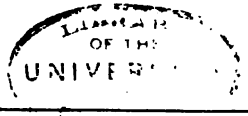
Lepers should be segregated and isolated; great care should be taken to prevent them from insect annoyance, and to destroy such insects as may come into contact with them, and to disinfect all premises where, prior to their segregation, they have been harbored.

It is hoped that by such means the spread of the disease will be completely stopped, or at least greatly retarded and diminished.

But for the isolation and treatment of this "living death," for the enforcement of the sanitary regulations which are indispensable to coerce the segregation of the afflicted and prevent the spread of the disease, the strong arm of stable government is needed. The area of leprosy in South America to-day is practically conterminous with the area of anarchy and military dictatorships. The northern part of the continent is in far worse condition than the southern part. For about half of the time Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador have no governments, and for the other half their governments are not much better than none. Vastly superior to these countries in respect of government are Chili and Argentina, at least. And pursuing the analogy suggested, one notes that there are relatively few lepers in Chili and Argentina, and that the number is decreasing.

This most dire scourge is increasing relentlessly year by year throughout the entire northern portion of South America. There is but partial isolation: tens of thousands of lepers roam at large; or live secluded in charge of family or friends, thus in their turn exposed. The natives are careless, their habits are filthy; they live crowded into unfit habitations, of unspeakable sanitary surroundings, without sewers or other things which make for the common decencies of life; there is a total absence of all public spirit; the pretended governments are engaged in schemes of extortion, or in exploiting the vain performances of some upstart general; and a selfish indifference to the welfare of the community is everywhere in evidence. There is no continuity of purpose, no general principles of accepted public policy, no earnest ambition to build up a real nation; there is only servile sycophancy joined with a cynical spirit of corruption and of utter disregard for all the amenities of life.

Amid conditions so unstable, so debased as these, to carry forward the rigorous isolation and scientific, humane treatment of lepers, and the adoption and enforcement of sanitary measures for the protection of the community against them, would be quite impracticable. This is a harsh and most regrettable conclusion. Now look into the future. Given fifty years more of the same class of "governments" as those of the past fifty, and Venezuela and Colombia will be huge, horrible, unroofed, unfenced leper colonies. That the situation is a real menace already, and presages an ugly possibility of evil in the future, to the inhabitants of the United States, there can be no doubt.



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